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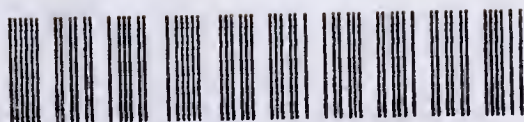


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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

EDITED BY

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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JANUARY, 1896.

ARTICLE I.

THE CHRISTIAN PULPIT.

BY WILLIAM M. BAUM, D. D.

1 Tim. 2 : 7 : I am ordained a preacher.

1 Thess. 2 : 4 : We have been approved of God to be entrusted with the Gospel.

The pulpit is preëminently a Christian institution. Before its appearance in the Christian Church its place and power were unknown. Neither philosopher nor philanthropist, neither prophet nor reformer knew its legitimate use. Public addresses and impassioned appeals were indeed not uncommon, but we nowhere find the appointment of an order of men, and the designation of a specific time for the elucidation and enforcement of a system of doctrine and worship. The results of an eighteen century experiment are now before the world and challenge examination. Of the wisdom of this appointment and the permanency of its influence there can be no question. In place as well as in purpose the founder of our faith is infallible.

The Christian pulpit occupies high vantage ground and com-

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bines many elements of success. It has full and free access to the popular mind and heart. Occasions for public speaking multiply rather than diminish. Such are the arrangements of society, established upon divine and human law, and sanctioned by the religious instincts of our race, that the Sabbath cannot well be divorced from public worship and Christian work. The efficiency of the pulpit transcends that of other agencies from the fact that its utterances are heard by all classes and conditions of society; by man and woman; by parent and child; by learned and ignorant; by old and young. It addresses its appeals to saint and sinner, through summer's heat and winter's cold, and claims a mission to every inhabitant of earth. The political harangue is heard almost exclusively by men, and this only through the short time of a heated campaign; the scientific lecture, confined usually to the long evenings of winter, reaches only the studious and the inquiring. Philosophy gathers its hearers from the educated and the favored sons of wealth and leisure. The opportunity for unfolding these and kindred subjects must be created whilst the interest of each occasion will depend very largely upon the personal attractions and known ability of the lecturer. Every circumstance interferes with a full and general access to the public mind and thus of necessity limits and circumscribes the desired effect. The pulpit, however, standing in the forefront of Christianity, its grand visible human instrumentality finds constant opportunity for declaring its messages to the world. By habit which has grounded itself in the very thought and feeling of society, the house of God is the place of resort on the Sabbath day. Conscience still loyal to God, and reason still yearning for the truth, urge attendance. Nor is its sphere of influence limited to these occasions. In every community, conventionalities exist and contingencies arise which demand pulpit ministrations in greater or less frequency. There is, indeed, neither bar nor hindrance to the fervent apostle, to the earnest evangelist. Men will hear, desire to hear, "the words of eternal life."

In order to estimate aright the capabilities of the Christian pulpit we must form a just and adequate judgment of the truth

it enunciates. Theology as a science can be second to no other, either in importance or interest. It embraces the highest subjects of thought and addresses the holiest aspirations of the soul. Its declarations, if true, claim immediate and unceasing attention; if false, or even unsustained, demand stern and universal resistance.

In this question, my brethren, we are deeply concerned. The value of our calling depends entirely upon it. We must acknowledge the right of all to demand the foundations upon which we build our claims. Mere denunciation of opposers does not become the pulpit; mere declamation will never enhance its influence or accomplish its mission. In choosing this instrumentality, its divine founder gave the implied promise that it would satisfy the just and natural demands of those not yet under its influence. Therein lies its power. It satisfies the cravings of the soul. It teaches truth so clearly as to be unhesitatingly accepted. It seeks no escape from attack by a resort to authority; it refuses no legitimate inquiry because of its inherent difficulty. The Christian pulpit claims a doctrine which is of God, and which is for man, of every name and in every age, and holds itself responsible for the maintenance of this claim. There are rights in all unbelief which we are bound to respect. Faith is not compulsory. Christianity is not fatalism. It appeals but never coerces. Its evidences are not irresistible. Objections of perplexing subtlety and arguments of real weight may be urged against our accepted doctrines and in behalf of obnoxious error. But these neither overthrow the one nor establish the other. In refuting them there is healthful discipline alike for the intellect and the heart. No fear of skepticism or charge of irreverence will justify the neglect of manly examination and critical study. Men will not be mocked to be told that they have powers of research, and that modern science illustrates and upholds the ancient faith and yet be forbidden to resort to either in its investigation. Romanism may indeed interdict examination and may seek to silence unconvinced opponents, by citing the canons of Nice or Chalcedon, or by hurling the anathemas of Florence or Trent but *we* cannot thus sat-

isfy the demand for argument and discussion. Protestants claim it as their birthright. It flows in every drop of our Teutonic blood. The right of private judgment will no longer be surrendered to priestly dictation. The understanding must be convinced before the heart will yield. Dictation may do for tyrants but not for theologians.

Nothing stands out more plainly upon the page of history than the fact that every form of honest intellectual difficulty has been urged against our cherished faith and has been answered. Mere malice, mere brutal persecution and discomfited rage, mere pleading for indulgence or apology for sin are no argument and deserve no consideration. But the inquiries of candid opposers, the real difficulties of science, the teachings of philosophy, the problems of history and the unfoldings of Providence, must all be patiently heard and their advocates satisfied. This is neither a hopeless task nor an optional duty. The Christian pulpit stands pledged to its accomplishment. In the comparative infancy of science, in the absence of many confirmatory facts, secured by untiring study and protracted research, the early Fathers and Apologists answered with success the learned disputant and the eloquent opponent. Nor need we fear that faith is more credulous than unbelief, or that error can be more successfully defended than truth, or that philosophy is more in harmony with science than revelation. The teachings of the Christian pulpit find free and ready access to the human reason and consciences and exert their mightiest influence upon society because of their fullest accord with true science and of their ultimate harmonizing of the great facts of the world created with the plain utterances of the word revealed.

Error is ever best refuted by the clear statement and rational defense of the truth. The counterfeit is most easily detected by comparison with the genuine. Hypocrisy is never so odious as when seen side by side with sincerity. Faith never glows so divinely as when the lurid light of unbelief would outshine it. In this is our superiority. The soul's truest, deepest wants are not ignored but met, the highest and holiest aspirations of humanity are first sanctified and then satisfied, the true relations

of man to God, and of man to his fellow-man are revealed more rationally and more authoritatively than ever before by philosophic speculation or legislative enactment and motives are urged more potential than mere expediency, more permanent than mere policy.

To the Christian pulpit have been committed the guardianship and propagation of religious truth. "*Go ye* into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." This and this alone is its distinguishing work. Nothing save Christian truth could be thus propagated. Founders of schools and leaders of thought would never have risked their theories to such a mode of existence or their extension to such an agency. But our Lord saw fit to revolutionize instrumentalities in founding the kingdom of truth. He did not leave to posterity a single written lesson or document. So far as the Gospel record informs us he wrote but once, and that *with his finger on the ground*. Even this is contained in the disputed passage concerning the woman taken in adultery. His instructions were entirely oral. Indeed it seems now after centuries of unceasing conflict that whilst Christianity is the only religious faith that has ever been successfully *preached* or that can *be preached*, the pulpit is the only fitting and adequate instrumentality for its diffusion. Our undying faith in its divine character and in its world-wide mission are best approved by our willingness to entrust it, without support of state or dependence upon military power, to the cordial belief of the heart and the unbought devotion of its advocates. As the light of the sun, it will diffuse its influence over all the earth.

We look in vain for an illustration of the irresistible energy of truth that may be compared with that of Christian preaching. The power of eloquence, for permanent effect, is always graduated by the substratum of truth in its utterances and truth has been victorious without the aid of eloquence, and yet what eloquence can adequately set forth the grandeur and power and value of Christian doctrine.

It is not our purpose as it is far beyond our reach in the compass of this short discourse to offer even the briefest digest of the teachings of the Christian pulpit. We would however call

special attention to the marked adaptation of its themes for public address. No orator of ancient or modern times has ever had more eligible subjects for the exercise of his powers. Description, narrative, appeal, admonition and exhortation can be pressed into constant service. We find employment for every style and variety of mental endowment. Every taste of speaker or hearer, every preference of age or nation may be gratified, in the varied subjects and representations of pulpit teaching. In unfolding the great facts of revealed truth, in enforcing the solemn obligations of Christian duty, in opening the mazy labyrinth of human transgression and in forecasting the grand issues of man's probation there is place for all the subtleties of logic, for all the strength of argument and for all the tenderness of passion. Every resource of the speaking art has been made subservient to these ends. The concurrent testimony of many centuries and the declared conviction of the most trusted thinkers in those centuries, have set forth the grand central idea of all revelation, as found in the person and work of Christ, as the most admirably adapted theme for public discussion with which the mind of man has ever been concerned. Sublimity with the most charming simplicity; theory exemplified in practice; divine perfection in sympathy with human dependence; eternity and time in inseparable union; heavenly glory and earthly suffering; the interest which mystery awakens and yet the conviction which clearness compels, make this one subject so rich, so full, so inexhaustible that with the great apostle to the Gentiles we need "*know nothing save Christ and him crucified*" to give an all-sufficient scope and variety to any ministry. As every road leads up to the capital and as every ray of light conducts back to the sun so every subject of truth or duty finds its real centre in Christ.

This one grand all-embracing theme has been committed to the Christian pulpit. Its earliest defenders hesitated not to accept the trust and to attempt its universal diffusion. Against them, in strange combination, and in threatening attitude, stood arrayed the ignorance and superstition of heathendom, the bigotry and prestige of Judaism, the pride and obstinacy of worldly

wisdom, the rancor and envy of the priesthood, the power and cruelty of civil rulers, all cemented in one grand amalgam of opposition and hate by the rage of man and the malice of hell. The results of the conflict which then ensued, written in martyr-blood and echoed in the wail of ten persecutions, are matters of history. Heathen deities could no more stand beside the Cross than could Dagon, their great prototype, when the Ark of the Lord crossed the threshold of his temple. The fire on Jewish altars died out, as the fires of devotion were fanned into brighter flame on the heart-altar of Christ's followers. Grecian philosophy and Roman power yielded in turn their sway of the human mind as the simple rites of early worship and the self-evidencing doctrines of Christian pulpits gained a foothold among the nations. Since that day, with acknowledged alternations of success and failure, there has been an ever-extending and widening influence of this divinely appointed instrumentality until there remains scarce a land or a league of earth where this Gospel may not be preached. In this review two things stand out with unmistakable clearness: The doctrines of the Gospel need but to be faithfully proclaimed to secure acceptance, and the most promising agency for their promulgation is the Christian pulpit.

To us, my brethren, within the sphere of our work and account have these doctrines and this agency descended. For the proper discharge of this responsible trust, we placed ourselves under the training of the several institutions in which we received our ministerial education. Are we meeting the demands of our position? Can we hold up our work with confidence to the scrutiny of men and the searching eye of heaven? It cannot be denied that all are not alike successful. Neither native talent nor shining culture will atone for a misapprehension of the province and the power of the pulpit. In the light of past experiments we may with profit attempt to solve the problem of success and thus fit ourselves the more fully for future effort.

The Christian pulpit has not been rightfully used when it has been transformed into an *altar* and its occupants into a *priesthood*. This change of design has been as determined as it has been detrimental. With strange infatuation men have failed to

learn wisdom from the mistakes of past ages. The imposing services of a former dispensation, now completed and discontinued forever, still attract and bewilder. Reverence for hoary age drags the unwary beyond the line of duty and substitutes exhausted forms for existing agencies. A two-fold influence facilitates this perversion of the pulpit. As the idea of inherent official power and vicarious ability advances is the importance of the officiator increased. Few have been found to resist this tendency. So, too, as the value and efficiency of worship have been made to centre in the offerer at the altar, the feeling of personal responsibility has diminished and the standard of morals has deteriorated. The keeping of the conscience is gradually transferred to the priest, whether Papal or Protestant, whether Pagan or Christian; and by his offerings and sacrifices, and by his consequent influence at the court of heaven is held (at least practically) responsible for the safety of all for whom he officiates.

When once the pulpit has been fully supplanted by the altar, worship becomes of necessity a mere form, devoid of spiritual life and shorn of its power over the heart. When once the Christian preacher recedes into the priest of a past dispensation, he becomes the official mediator for the people, to receive their gifts and offerings, given as a sort of periodical installment, an annuity, in consideration of an implied soul-insurance policy.

The full and harmonious working of this theory may be seen in the scandalous pretensions of Tetzels from which the spiritual consciousness of Luther instinctively recoiled and by which he was aroused to open resistance against the whole theory. With the restoration of the pulpit to its rightful place, the Church was reformed and Protestantism founded. The great evil accompanying this misconception, this abuse of the pulpit, is the neglect of the word of God which it fosters and necessitates. Under the pretence of worship it withdraws attention from the sermon, until by degrees the formulae of ancient liturgies, venerable only for their age; the attractions of music and paintings, deficient oft for their want of age; the niceties of dress, position and intonation; "the pageantries which chant their way through clois-

tered aisles," are all that remain to stir the conscience and feed the soul. The progress of Christianity and the legitimate development of our own Lutheran Church, depend, under God, upon the full and complete supremacy of the pulpit. Thence only can go forth an influence over human life and human society which will give fervor and reality to worship and breathe a divine power into all the forms of godliness.

The proper relation of the pulpit and the altar does not militate with the use of external forms in the sanctuary or demand their abolition. Social worship necessitates form, whilst it guards against formality. Under some form or other all true believers worship. The question for every age and for every Christian denomination to decide is, not whether forms can be set aside, but whether those in use are the most evangelical, the most rational that may be employed. The attempt to simplify the modes of worship has oft been pushed to injurious extremes, and has left a barrenness from which all devotion is forcibly excluded and in which the soul's truest instincts have found no satisfaction.

Standing midway between Tetzels and Carlstadt, Luther has left us an example we do well to follow. An elaborate service, a luxurious ritual, exposes to the danger of trusting therein and of resting thereon, whilst an insane attempt to reach the extreme of simplicity leaves an emptiness from which the very soul of formality can scarcely be excluded. In fleeing Scylla, Charybdis is encountered.

Whilst thus the pulpit may not be supplanted by the altar neither should it be converted into a *platform* or a *rostrum*. An undue veneration for the past has in some instances given place to a morbid imitation of everything modern and utilitarian. Every question of science and civil polity, every pretended reform or projected revolution has been dragged into the pulpit, until in not a few cases the political or reform position of prominent clergymen has been better known than their peculiar theological position. Many and serious evils must necessarily ensue. The voice of censure and sharp rebuke is lifted against

the Church as a whole whilst individual improvement is not attempted. Untrue and injurious charges are brought against the word of God. An unwillingness to endorse every vagary of the enthusiast is cited as positive evidence that Christianity is unsuited to the "spirit of the times" and is about ready to be handed over to the ecclesiastical undertaker. We plead not for an obstinate, bigoted conservatism which permits nothing new in the themes or applications of the pulpit, but on the other hand we deplore a tendency too often applauded to drag into the sacred desk, the dreams and schemes of Christless reformers.

Under the plea of sympathy for man, of keeping the pulpit abreast with the progress of the age, of going out after the masses, many unwarranted freaks have been perpetrated. The immediate applause of those who have been glad to secure recognition from so high a source is a poor return for this very questionable procedure.

The province of the pulpit is higher than mere temporary expedients or social problems. It can never stand arrayed against any true reform nor be indifferent to any question of morals, but its mission is perverted and its usefulness impaired when it becomes nothing more than a rostrum for agitation or a platform for debate.

Our efficiency and success, my brethren, are not uncertain. We need but to understand the inexhaustible resources of the Christian pulpit and use them faithfully to accomplish most blessed results. Such are the circumstances of our age and day that we cannot remove the responsibility of failure from our own shoulders. We have full and untrammelled access to the public ear. We have a system eminently practical and well suited to the genius of our republican institutions. We have every advantage to be gained from the study of past reverses and of past successes. We have an unprecedented activity lending all its strength to the spread of the Gospel. We have a willingness never before so general to hear of him, whose character though tried was sinless; whose pretensions though astounding were sustained; whose undertakings though superhuman have had eighteen centuries of triumphant success. To the work of

spreading forth the knowledge of this "name, which is above every name" we are by our vocation committed.

What remains then for us, as we go forth from this consecrated place, but to dedicate ourselves unreservedly to the work of the ministry? With all earnestness, yea with all professional enthusiasm because of the Church and the world, and with becoming reverence and godly fear let us exercise the functions and maintain the dignity of the Christian pulpit.

Thou must be true thyself, if thou the truth would'st preach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou another's soul would'st reach.
It needs the overflow of heart, to give the lips full speech.
Think truly, and thy thoughts, shall the world's famine feed;
Speak truly and each word of thine shall be a fruitful seed;
Live truly and thy life shall be a great and noble creed.
Go and preach the grand old story, story of the ages past
All earth's annals far surpassing, story that shall ever last
Noblest, truest, oldest, newest, fairest, rarest, saddest, gladdest,
That this earth has ever known.
Not long the sigh, the toil, the sweat, not long the fight-days'
wasting heat,
The shadows come,
Slack not thy weapon in the fight; courage! for God defends the
right,
Strike home! strike home!

ARTICLE II.

MILLENNIALISM.

BY REV. JOHN F. POLLOCK, A. M.

The term Millennial is used to characterize a phase of Jewish thought carried over into the Christian Scriptures and into the life and thought of the Church. The great burden of the Old Testament is the Christ who is to come. Around this theme the most glowing prophecies cluster, and the highest hopes of the people of God are awakened. For more than two thousand years, the promises of God were universal. There was no chosen nation, no chosen family, but the promises were to the fathers of the race, and to all their children who would embrace them. With the call of Abraham, in 1921 B. C., par-

ticularism began. It was not a particularism which showed that God had cast off the greater part of the race, and chosen but one family for benefits. It was a particularism of means. Abraham and his seed are chosen, that in him all the families of the earth might be blessed. Hence in the Abrahamic family itself, there is exclusion from the outward privileges of the covenant. The youngest son, Isaac, and not the eldest, Ishmael, is Abraham's heir. So in Isaac's family Esau is rejected and Jacob is chosen. This is in marked contrast with the after course of development. Each of Jacob's Son's, though quite different in character, is kept within the covenant family; and twelve tribes forming one nation, bound together by the Abrahamic Covenant, and looking for the realization of the promises of God in their midst, become the ideal character of the nation. When under Moses the tribes were brought out of bondage and formed into a nation, their national covenant still reminded them that the Jehovah who chose them was the possessor of all the earth, and that their choice was not God's rejection of the nations, but his manner of revealing himself to them as a moral Governor and a God of grace and mercy. Hence their law made special provision for the stranger in their midst. Israel might grow numerous and powerful, not merely through births, but also by the voluntary faith of strangers outside of the Abrahamic family, joining themselves to the Lord. Such persons might have a place in the nation and the church better than that of home born sons. Thus we have such men as Caleb, and such women as Ruth, among the Jewish people. So it was in all their history while under the guidance of the prophets. The denunciation of foreign nations in the Old Testament is always because of moral evil, and is thus a manifestation of God as a moral governor. The chosen people are denounced for the same reason, and their national chastisements are of the same kind as God in all ages brings upon national transgression.

When the canon of the Old Testament was complete, there was given to Israel a sufficient revelation of themselves and of mankind as sinners, not only as individuals, but also in all social relations, and hence a revelation of their deepest need. There

was also afforded them a revelation of how that need could be supplied. It was through one Person, who like Moses, would be God's representative, and as such would fully make known God's will, mediate between them as sinners and God as holy and bring them to God through intercession and priestly expiation, and would subdue all their enemies and keep them faithful in their allegiance to God.

It is not surprising that this latter part of the Messiah's office, the kingly office, should have been especially emphasized by the prophets. It was there Israel had most conspicuously failed to realize its high calling. Their first king, Saul, was a self-willed monarch, occupying the throne of Israel, not that God's will might be done by him and the nation, but that he might do his own will, and make the nation like other nations. In all Israel's history David was the one king, who had the true ideal of God's relation to the people of Israel, and hence David as king of Israel becomes the standard by which all his successors in office are measured and the type of the Messiah who is to bring the nation to its goal. By foreign alliances, idolatrous imitation of surrounding nations, failure to enforce righteous laws and establish righteousness and justice within the borders of Israel, the kingly government deteriorated after the time of David, and the nation became like other nations. Hence the chastisements which God brought upon them, destroying their government, cutting off the line of its kings and carrying the people into exile. In their exile and oppression, the people were not abandoned of God. In the Babylonian captivity it was the best of the people who were carried away. To them God sent prophets to instruct and encourage them. During that time, the people learned that religion, God's favor and presence, did not depend on the outward government or the land of Palestine. His presence was their peace and their safety in the iron furnace of sore affliction. It was during that time that religious institutions were developed which tended to make religion a force among men greater than that of outward government in the world, so that it became in a measure independent of it. Thus the Babylonian captivity was a preparation for the time, when they should

abide many days without a prophetic voice. Those days came with the close of the Old Testament canon. The Jewish religion then became a religion of the Book. By study of the Scriptures they were to bring forth their ideals of their expected king and be ready for his coming. What they then learned to expect and look for, would determine their conduct when the fulness of time came and the Christ of God was revealed. It was during that time that Millennialism was born.

1. The people as a whole, expected Christ to come. This expectation was not as clearly expressed by Palestinian Jews as among others. Among them arose the Sadducees and Pharisees. These were originally political parties. The Maccabean heroism exalted the priestly family and consolidated the ruling and priestly offices in the hands of the high priest. The priestly family soon began to see Old Testament Scriptures fulfilled in this, and belittled the promises made to David and exalted those made to Aaron. It was said, that the promises to the former were from father to son, that is by a direct line, while the promises to Aaron were for all generations by any line. Hence the priestly house began to see priestly exaltation as the glory of Israel. Opposed to these were the Pharisees. To them the glory of Israel was the law, the ceremonial law, and the fences which they had built about it. Thus both parties tended to obscure Messianic hopes. They were not able, however, to blot them out of the expectations of the people. Hence they were compelled in some measure to recognize them, and adapt their teachings to the expectations of the people. Hence we find, that Priests and Levites come to John Baptist to inquire if he were the Christ.

Among Jews out of Palestine, Messianic hopes were more pronounced. Virgil's Fourth Eclogue seems to be based on Jewish expectations of a Messiah, and Vespasian's way to the imperial throne was made easier by the generally diffused expectation of a king to come from the East.

2. Christ was expected to come to establish an outward kingdom and this kingdom Jewish. "There is no people who know God besides Israel (2 Esdras 2 : 32). If God searches

he will find that Israel by name has kept his precepts (5 : 36). The world was made for the sake of Israel (6 : 55). Other nations are like spittle and like a drop that falleth from a vessel (5 : 56). The heathen have ever been reputed as nothing (5 : 57.) Israel is God's people, his first-born, his only begotten, his lover, (5 : 58). Among all the multitude of people, thou has gotten one people, and unto this people whom thou lovest, thou hast given a law approved of all, (5 : 27). Tell my people I will give them the kingdom of Jerusalem, (2 : 10) The kingdom is already prepared, (5 : 13). Jerusalem is to be rebuilt with precious stones, (Tobit 13 : 16-18).

3. Till this kingdom came the course of history was to be downward and evils and sorrows were to be multiplied, and that by a general law. "The way of truth shall be hidden, and the land be barren of faith. Iniquity shall increase above all former times, (2 Esdras 5 : 1, 2). There is the imagery of sounding trumpets introducing wonders. The sun shines suddenly in the night, and the moon thrice in the day. Blood drops out of the wood, and the stones give a voice. He shall rule whom they look not for, and the fowls shall take their flight. The Sodomish sea casts out fish, and pregnant women bring forth monsters. Wit hides itself and understanding withdraws to its secret place. To nations inquiring if righteousness that maketh a man righteous has gone through it, the answer of each nation will be, No. Unrighteousness and incontinence shall be multiplied on the earth, (4-12). The reason for this is, 'The world has lost its youth and the times begin to wax old. The world is divided into twelve parts, and the ten parts of it are already gone and half of the tenth part, (14 : 10, 11). For look how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein. For the truth has fled away, and leasing is hard at hand, (17, 18).

4. There is a Jewish Anti-Christ, the little horn of Daniel's prophecy, Beliar, and he is the root of all the trouble. He deceives by false miracles, but the Coming One will destroy him.* There

* Sibylline Oracles as quoted by Prof. Candlish in "The Kingdom of God," p. 113.

are also the kingdoms of this world opposing the kingdom of God. These are represented by an eagle with three heads and twelve feathered wings. These denote the several changes in the Roman Empire and are explained as "that which remains of the four beasts God made to reign over the world." These kings and kingdoms are finally destroyed by Messiah represented as a lion chased out of the woods. When the eagle is destroyed the earth is refreshed, delivered from violence, and may hope for judgment and mercy from him that made her (2 Esd. xi., xii.)

5. For those who are employed in good works, or endure in the times of tribulation, there will be special blessings in the Kingdom of Messiah. "Wheresoever thou findest the dead bury them, and I will give thee the first place in the resurrection (2 Esdras 2 : 23). Those who endure in the evil days are crowned and receive palms in the day of triumph (2 : 45). Such as are rewarded with special rewards, are those "who have faith and works toward the Almighty (13 : 23). They are "more blessed than the dead" (24).

6. To enjoy this Kingdom the people of Israel will be raised from the dead (2 : 16, 31 ; 7 : 32).

7. The ten tribes will be brought back to the land of Palestine, with wonders like to the deliverance from Egypt (13 : 40-49).

The restored Jews will have abundance of everything and be the envy of the heathen (2 : 18, 19, 27, 28, 32).

In other apocalyptic books, these pleasures of the expected kingdom are painted in the most sensuous colors.

Now it was not possible, that any people having a history like the Jews, and having been cast out of their land and afflicted because of their sins, could be satisfied with such expectations. In their dispersion they came in contact with other nations. They could see that morally their state was like that of the people God had scattered them among. Other people were subject to moral government as well as themselves. To make a difference between themselves and other nations, and that difference not one having a moral character, was to deny the prin-

cial teachings of the Old Testament. In the school of discipline something was learned. A kingdom that was simply Jewish, and providing for external advantages to Jews, could not satisfy. Hence the Apocalyptic writers began to conceive of Messiah's kingdom as limited in duration. The limits imagined were various. The book of Enoch mentions a week. 2 Esdras 7 : 28, gives four hundred years. The Talmud gives various limits, but according to Von Otto, as quoted by Prof. Harnack in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the view most frequently stated is one thousand years. This is gotten at in this way, "God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh. But a day of God is a thousand years (Ps. 90 : 4). Therefore the world of toil and trouble will continue a thousand years, and after that a sabbath or thousand years of rest in Messiah's kingdom." This is the Jewish Millennium, a period fixed for the duration of Messiah's kingdom.

At the present time we find millennial doctrines, identical with these, held by many in connection with the second advent of Christ. It is said that the only mistake of the Jewish people was that they looked for a reigning Messiah, before they looked for a suffering Messiah.

It is held 1. That the coming of Christ is not a process including many events, which are to culminate in the perfection of his Church and his coming to judge the world in righteousness, sever the righteous from the wicked, and introduce the eternal state; but it is one single event, that is to be looked and waited for with longing, and that event is an outward and visible coming, "like a man moving from one place to another."

2. It is held that Christ has not yet come as a King, that his kingdom is not a present reality, but a future expectation. The kingdom is to be manifested with the second advent. It is a Jewish kingdom. The land of Palestine has been given to the seed of Abraham by an absolute decree. It has never been possessed by them according to the promise, and hence, if God is faithful, they must in the future possess the land to the full extent of the promise.

3. It is held that the throne of David was promised to Christ, that this throne means the outward kingdom of Israel in the land of promise, and a rule over the house of Jacob with his throne in Jerusalem and Mount Zion, and as this has never been fulfilled, it must be fulfilled at some future time, the second advent.

4. It is denied that the Church is the kingdom of Christ, and that it is the agent God has chosen to bring the world to the obedience of Christ. This is the work of the kingdom, and in doing this work, the sword is committed to the kingdom, and by mighty judgments, miracles and convulsions the world is to be subdued to Christ. The mission of the Church is to gather out the elect, and by trials and tribulations prepare them to be associated with Christ in the government of this earthly kingdom.

4. With these expectations, there is the same pessimistic outlook for the future till Christ comes. The world is to wax worse and worse. Nebuchadnezzar's dream symbolizes the course of the world's history, and the coming of Christ is to find the world in a state such as the deluge, or such as Sodom.

5. The great obstacle in the way is the devil and his works. Nations are the work of the devil, the extension of the kingdoms of the beasts, and till he is bound and cast into the abyss the course of history must be downward.

6. There appear to be two advents of Christ expected, in the first he comes for his people. At that time he does not come to the earth, but comes in the air, and his people are caught up to be forever with him. This is called the rapture of the saints. He remains away a little while, and during his absence is the time of great tribulation. The devil knows his time is short, and hence he does his greatest injury to men at that time. He is specially incensed against the Jews and they suffer from his malice. Suddenly Christ comes, the devil is bound, the Jews are formed into his kingdom, those nations that were kind to them during the time of Satan's rage, are spared, and continue for a thousand years. This is the judgment of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew according to Dr. Munhall. In

that kingdom the Jews occupy places of honor, and during the thousand years with Christ as their leader, the world is subdued to Christ. The glorious kingdom ends disastrously. At the end of the thousand years the devil is loosed. He raises a rebellion against the saints, and the converts of force become his army of attack against their camp, till God summarily disposes of them. It is for such a kingdom as this we pray "Thy kingdom come." And if we do not pray and work for this kingdom to come, we are said to be "keeping the saints in their graves."

Such doctrines are held by many different sects, such as, the Adventists, Christo-Delphians, Plymouth Brethren, the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church, and Premillenarians in communion with evangelical churches. Some of these bodies hold more of orthodox truth than others. The Adventists, as represented by *Millennium Dawn*, are in the main orthodox concerning the subjects of theology, anthropology and soteriology. In regard to pneumatology they are somewhat Montanistic, and in eschatology, they teach the annihilation of the wicked.

The Christo-Delphians deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and the immortality of the soul. The Plymouth Brethren are hostile to the Church as an organized body, and have private doctrines concerning the Holy Spirit. The Catholic Apostolic Church, originated in Montanistic demonstrations, and are waiting for some revelation which will keep up the succession of the apostles. Premillenarians in the communion of the evangelical church cannot be spoken of as a class. Frequently, they have no theology whatever, and these millenarian views are eagerly accepted because it makes the Bible a new book to them, and enables them to preach to the people with fervor and interest. Often we find them advocating the views of the Plymouth Brethren respecting the Holy Spirit. They are not "satisfied with salvation." They want something "more and better." They acknowledge that faith saves. But "it does not entitle to rewards in the kingdom." These rewards are for "work done." "We must suffer if we would reign." Hence there is a great willingness to suffer, and promulgation of their views in season

and out of it, if it causes opposition, is taken as persecution borne for the truth and making rewards sure.

Sometimes, premillenarian views are found connected with a high type of personal piety, and loyalty to all evangelical doctrines. Christ's crown rights are not denied and evangelical doctrines are loved. But generally American Premillenarians are at one with Adventists, Christo-Delphians, Plymouth Brethren and the Catholic Apostolic Church in maintaining the Jewish idea of the kingdom of Christ, and denying that Christ is now a reigning King. He is now king *de jure*, they say, but not king *de facto*.

These views are read into the Scriptures, and it is said the Early Church was premillenarian. Dr. Munhall says, "Papias, Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, Clement, Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, Lactantius, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Hippolytus, Apollinarius, Methodius, Nepos and Mileto, were all premillenarians." In the quotation, Justin and Justin Martyr are named as if they were two men. Justin and Justin Martyr are one man. This might be considered as a *lapsus plumae*, if it were not for the fact, that in Dr. Munhall's work on the "Return of Jesus and Kindred Topics," the quotations from well known authors are wholly unreliable, and well known opponents of Millenarianism are named as advocates of Premillenarianism. We find an instance of the same thing in Dr. Nathaniel West's History of the Doctrine in Premillennial Essays. Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, Papias, Justin Martyr, Mileto of Sardis, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Lactantius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Commodian, Nepos, Methodius, Victorinus, Gregory of Nyssa, Sulpicius, Severus, Paulinus are said to have held the chiliastic faith, and the chiliastic faith is identified with the premillenarian faith. Dr. West makes the same mistake with reference to Sulpicius Severus that Dr. Munhall makes with reference to Justin Martyr. He makes Sulpicius and Severus distinct men. They were in fact one and the same man, and whoever wishes to read an example of Baron Munchausen tales in early church literature may find such in Sulpicius' life of Martin of Tours in Vol. XI. of Post Nicene Fathers. A printer's devil might account for Dr. West's

mistake here, but how account for the citation of Gregory of Nyssa as a Chiliast? Here are his own words: "Do we romance about three resurrections? (baptism, the first resurrection and the general). Do we promise the gluttony of the Millennium? Do we declare that the Jewish animal sacrifices shall be restored? Do we lower men's hopes to the Jerusalem below? imagining its rebuilding with stones of a more brilliant material? What charges like these can be brought against us, that our company should be reckoned a thing to be avoided, and that in some places another altar should be erected in opposition to us, as if we should defile their sanctuaries?"

If this is not a repudiation of millennialism, what is it? But it is true, there were millennial doctrines in the early Church. It is worthy of careful inquiry, what these expectations were? How they came into the Church, and what connection they have with present millennial doctrines? If they did not come in by the door of Scripture, if they were wholly unlike present millennial doctrines, in no fair and honorable argument can premillenarians cite the early Fathers as confirming their doctrines and place the Church of to-day in the light of departing from primitive truth.

Now it can be stated with all positiveness, 1. That the early Church was painfully anti-Jewish. No Father of the Church taught that Messiah's kingdom, the millennial kingdom, would be Jewish. The entire Church believed and taught, that Judaism had reached its goal and that Abraham's seed, the heirs of all the promises, were the children of Christian faith of any and of every nation.

2. The early Church believed and taught that the Church would be triumphant. The early Church was inspired by hope. It led them to go into barbarous lands and preach the Gospel to all men, and they believed that their blood, shed for the sake of Christ, would be fruitful in raising up new witnesses for truth. Pessimism is as far from the life and teaching of the early Church as from the thoughts and feelings of the healthy man.

3. In the conversion of sinners of all lands, the early Church

saw Christ exercising his kingly office in fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. See Tertullian's Answer to the Jews.

The propositions represent the commonplace teaching of patristic writings, and holding to these teachings, they are as far removed from present millennial teachings as heaven is from earth. The early Church cannot therefore, be fairly quoted in favor of premillennial teachings.

But there were millennial doctrines in some parts of the early Church. These are to be inquired into and their character and sources determined. It is well known that the Fathers were acquainted with the Apocalyptic writings of the Jewish people, and quoted them as inspired writings. The mysterious Sibylline books are regarded as the voice of God to the Gentiles, and sometimes quoted as authoritative Scripture. Indeed, after the disappointed hopes of the Jews connected with Bar-cochba, they abandoned Messianic hopes to a great extent, and the Apocalyptic writings became Christian books and were made use of in much the same way as Old Testament Scripture. Hence we find the Book of Esdras, Baruch, Enoch, and the Sibylline oracles quoted by patristic writers. It is not surprising therefore that Christian thought should be affected, and what had been Jewish hopes, became in some way Christian expectations. The canon of Scripture was not understood: It took some time for the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to separate the wheat from the chaff. The first Church Council expressing a judgment on the canon of Scripture was that of Laodicea in 363 A. D. This includes 1 and 2 Esdras and the book of Baruch in the Old Testament, and excludes Revelation from the New. The Council of Carthage held in 397 A. D., is the first Church Council which includes the Book of the Revelation in the canon. The Murtatorian Fragment may be somewhat earlier. That gives a place to Revelation, but also to the Apocalypse of Peter, though "some will not have it read in the Church." This indicates a time when the canon of Scripture was in an unsettled condition throughout the Church. Not till after the Nicene Council was the canon fixed, and the Church as a whole brought to see what was inspired Scripture. In the

Old Testament, books were included which are not inspired writings, and from the New Testament, books were excluded which are now thought of as apostolic.

Now if there are any writings of the Fathers older than the Book of Revelation, or written by men who did not know of its existence, it is plain that any millenarianism they speak of does not have its source in the New Testament, since Revelation is the one and only book in which any mention is made of a millennium in the whole of Scripture. Have we any such writings? All that class of writings known as the Apostolic Fathers belong to that class. These are, The First Epistle of Clement of Rome, the Epistle to Diognetus by an unknown author, Polycarp's Epistle to the Ephesians, the Epistles of Ignatius, fifteen in all, eight of which only have any claims to authenticity, and the Epistle to Barnabas. In these writings there are no quotations, and no certain allusions to the Book of Revelation. This may be explained by saying, that the nature of their subject did not require them to quote or allude to that book. This may be very true, if they have nothing to say of the Millennium. But if they say anything about the Millenium, the nature of their subject does require a reference to the twentieth chapter of Revelation, and if they are millenarian, without alluding to that Book, their Millennium is from Jewish and not Christian thought. As a matter of fact but one of the Apostolic Fathers has anything to say of the Millennium. Clement of Rome, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch are silent as the grave concerning the Millenium. The one and only writer, among the Apostolic Fathers who speaks of it is Barnabas.

This Barnabas, is not the Barnabas of the Acts, but he was in all probability a Jewish layman of Alexandria. About the year 100 A. D., is the conjectured date of this writing. The epistle contains so many things utterly senseless and childish in the way of allegorizing Scripture, that it needs only to be read to deprive it of any authority, except the authority of a witness. The whole tone of the Epistle is painfully and repulsively anti-Jewish. He is the one millenarian among the Apostolic

Fathers. His millennium is introduced in connection with his teaching concerning the Sabbath, chapter 15.

"The Sabbath is mentioned at the beginning of creation (thus): 'And God made in six days the work of his hands, and made an end on the seventh day, and rested on it and sanctified it.' Attend my children to the meaning of this expression, 'he finished in six days.' This implyeth that the Lord will finish all things in six thousand years, for a day is with him a thousand years. And he himself testifieth, saying, Behold to-day will be as a thousand years. Therefore, my children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, all things will be finished. 'And he rested on the seventh.' This meaneth when his Son coming (again) shall destroy the time of the wicked man, and judge the ungodly, and change the sun, and the moon and the stars, then shall he truly rest on the seventh day. Your present Sabbaths (the Sabbath of the Jews) are not acceptable to me, but that is which I have made, (namely this) when, giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is the beginning of another world. Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day on which Jesus rose from the dead. And when he had manifested himself, he ascended into the heavens."

This is the millennium of Barnabas. Wescott in the Canon of the New Testament supposes it to be derived from an Etrurian legend and in a note gives a legend from which it might be drawn. To me, it seems more likely, that it is derived from Jewish sources. It seems like the deductions of the Talmudic writers. Whatever its source, it is plain to be seen that it has nothing to do with any Scriptural teaching on the subject of the millennium.

According to Barnabas, the time for the destruction "of the wicked man," the judgment of the ungodly and the change of sun, moon and stars, is on the seventh day. This is introduced by the coming of the Son of Man, and is identical with the eighth day and that is in the other world. Of this day, the Christian Sabbath is the memorial, and is so because on it Jesus rose, and after manifesting himself ascended to heaven.

This would seem to indicate that the Jewish seventh day had become the first day of the week with Christians. That was their sacred day, kept with joyfulness, and was the memorial of a past triumph and the anticipation of a future millennium in heaven. The millennium of Barnabas, if he be interpreted by himself without reference to later teachings, is heaven. He, however, can in no sense be cited as a pre-millennarian.

Justin Martyr belongs to the age succeeding the Apostolic Fathers. Born in Flavia Neapolis, a city of Samaria, of heathen parents, in 114 A. D., he was converted about 135 A. D., and came into the school of Christ through the school of Plato. His apology shows that he never really grasped Christian truth. Christianity is a better philosophy than Plato, Christ a better teacher, but into Christ's teaching Justin reads Plato's lessons. Less anti-Jewish than Barnabas, while he is against the Jews, he conceives of Christianity in a Jewish manner. As in heathenism, the outward form and letter is of great value. The early Church believed that in the Old Testament, the New was latent, but it is by painful allegorizing the old writers bring it out. Justin Martyr is no exception to the fathers generally. The impression is sometimes made, that the only allegorizers in the early Church were those who denied millennium expectations. This is a mistake. The millenarians of the early Church allegorize painfully; and anything like a doctrine that the Old Testament prophecies are to be interpreted literally, is not to be found in the early Church. The Apology of Justin is supposed to have been written about 140 A. D. and the Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, about 160 A. D. The lately discovered Apology of Aristides is earlier, some suppose about 125 A. D., and is not millenarian. Justin Martyr is not millenarian in his Apology, but in his Dialogue we find millenarian doctrines. In the Apology, chap. xi., he defines the nature of the kingdom Christians seek: "And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you suppose, without making inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God, as appears also from the confession of their faith, made by those

who are charged with being Christians, though they know that death is the punishment awarded to him who so confesses."

In chap. li., speaking of the certain fulfilment of prophecy, he says: "For the prophets have proclaimed two advents of his: the one, which is already past, when he came as a dishonored and suffering man; but the second, when, according to prophecy, he shall come from heaven with glory, accompanied by his angelic host, when also he shall raise the bodies of all men who have lived, and shall clothe those of the worthy with immortality, and shall send those of the wicked, endued with eternal sensibility, into everlasting fire with the wicked devils. And these things also have been foretold as yet to be, we will prove. By Ezekiel the prophet it was said: 'Joint shall be joined to joint, and bone to bone, and flesh shall grow again; and every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess him.'"

From this it has been argued by Munster and Gieseler, that Justin believed in but one resurrection, and that the general resurrection at Christ's coming. This is certainly the natural teaching of the passage, and had we nothing but this from Justin's pen, we should naturally infer that he taught the general resurrection and judgment of all at Christ's coming. This passage has to be taken into account when we come to consider Justin's language with Trypho.

In chapter lxxx. of that dialogue, Trypho asks: "And do you expect your people to be gathered together, and made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs, and the prophets, both the men of our nation, and other proselytes who joined them before your Christ came? or have you given way, and admitted this in order to have the appearance of worsting us in the controversies?"

To this Justin replies: "I am not such a miserable fellow, Trypho, as to say one thing and think another. I admitted to you formerly, (the admission does not appear in the Dialogue) that I and many others are of this opinion, and (believe) that this will take place, as you assuredly are aware; but, on the other hand, I signified to you that many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise. Moreover I pointed out to you that some who are called Christians,

but are godless, impious heretics, teach doctrines that are in every way blasphemous, atheistical, and foolish. But that you may know that I do not say this before you alone, I shall draw up a statement, so far as I can, of all the arguments which have passed between us; in which I shall record myself as admitting the very same things which I admit to you. For I choose not to follow men or men's doctrines, but God and the doctrines (delivered) by him."

Justin then goes on to show, that Christianity should not be judged by such heretical sects any more than Judaism should be judged by the Sadducees, Meristae, Galileans, etc. Those who do not admit the truth of the resurrection of the dead are not Christians, any more than these Jewish sects are true Jews. Returning to the subject of future expectations, he says: "But I and others, who are rightminded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, and enlarged and adorned, (as) the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare."

In the next chapter, he goes on to speak of that state and fortify his position. 'Jerusalem is to be made a rejoicing and God's people a joy. There will be none immature in it nor an old man that shall not fulfil his days. Houses will be built, vineyards planted, and those who build and plant shall enjoy the fruit of their labor. Children begotten shall not be accursed for they shall be a seed righteous and blessed and their offspring with them.' The words, 'According to the days of the tree (of life) shall be the days of my people,' obscurely predicts a thousand years. So the fact that Adam did not live a thousand years, though he was told, 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' is a hint in the same direction, "and the expression, 'the day of the Lord is as a thousand years' is connected with the subject. And further, there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell (make) a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the general, and, in short, the eter-

nal resurrection and judgment of all men would take place. Just as our Lord said, They shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be equal to the angels, the children of the God of the resurrection."

1. According to Justin, then, the millennium is a state of great outward prosperity and enjoyment. The saints marry and are given in marriage, children are begotten, and houses are built and vineyards planted during the millennium. There are sinners during it, but they are old before their time. It is only after the general resurrection and judgment that they neither marry nor are given in marriage. If this is not the character of Justin's millennium, then we must understand that these outward blessings are only for those who shall be living. He does not speak of a first and second resurrection, but of one resurrection only. It is true that he speaks of a resurrection and a thousand years in Jerusalem and then goes on to describe that happy time of earthly good. But taking the doctrine of his *Apology* into consideration, to make Justin consistent, we must admit some confusion of thought or mode of expressing it.

2. The millennium of Justin marks the triumph of the Church. It is not a means of extending the kingdom of God but the consequence of victory won. There is nothing to exalt one people over another on the mere ground of their nationality. The Gospel believed, is the one thing that makes men to differ in God's sight, and there is no gathering of Jews or of Gentiles as such, but of believers.

3. This doctrine was not accepted by all rightminded Christians. Those who accepted it are "I and many others." Those who did not accept it are, "Many who belong to the pure and pious faith and are true Christians." When we take into consideration the natural tendency of human nature, to exaggerate the number who agree with us, we may well believe, that in Justin's time, millenarians were a minority.

4. The sources of Justin's millennialism are Jewish. His method of getting the thousand years from the Old Testament is Jewish, and his whole exegesis of passages is derived from Jewish methods. It does not appear that he had seen the book

of the Revelation. He had heard of it and from hearsay confirms the doctrine he had received from tradition and read into the Scriptures.

5. No doubt he was honest in accepting these traditions, as he accepted others. Bickersteth is no doubt perfectly honest in advocating the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. But has the doctrine no connection with the declared idea, that Christianity will thus appear more acceptable to the Jews? The Hope Missions among the Jews do not teach that circumcision is forbidden to Christian Jews. It teaches that Paul's declaration, "If ye be circumscised Christ shall profit you nothing," was made to a Gentile Church and so forbids Jews imposing their yokes on Gentile believers, but does not forbid Jews following the custom of their fathers. In like manner, Justin accommodates the Gospel to the beliefs of Trypho, and admits that a Jewish expectation is a Christian hope. But in all Justin's concessions, he affords no comfort or support to present millennial prophesyings.

The reading of Justin followed, is that of the American Edition of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. That Edition, gives no hint of any corruption or interpolation of the text. Neander in his History, Hagenbach in the History of Doctrines, Prof. Harnack in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and other classic works, give no hint that the text has been corrupted.

Dr. West, however, alleges that the text is corrupt and on this corruption "antichiliasts mainly rely." He amends the reading so as to make Justin say, in answer to Trypho's question, "I confessed to you before, that I and many others besides, do believe, as you well know, this shall be. But on the other hand, I have also signified to you that many who are not of the pure and pious faith of the Christians, do not acknowledge this: they are called Christians indeed, but are godless, impious heretics, because they teach doctrines that, in every respect are blasphemous, atheistic and foolish, etc."

For this correction, no testimony from manuscripts, or from history, or of any approved critical authority is given. On the mere surmise of Dr. West and others, whose opinions need the

alteration of Justin's text, we are asked to believe that some anti-chiliast has mixed dross with Justin's gold. If this is not an example of the so-called Higher Criticism, what is it?

Papias is another writer of the early Church earlier than Justin Martyr. Only fragments of his writings remain, and as these are preserved mostly by Irenaeus, these two writers may be considered together. Papias belongs to the years 70 to 155 A. D., and Irenaeus to 120 to 202 A. D. In a fragment from Eusebius we learn that Papias taught: (1) "That there will be a millennium after the resurrection of the dead, when the personal reign of Christ will be established on earth."

Irenaeus teaches the same thing and begins the thirty-second chapter of the Fifth Book Against Heresies, thus: "Inasmuch, therefore, as the opinions of certain (orthodox persons) are derived from heretical discourses, they are both ignorant of God's dispensations, and of the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and of the (earthly) kingdom which is the commencement of incorruption, by means of which kingdom those who shall be worthy are accustomed gradually to partake of the divine nature (*capere deum*) (or gradually to comprehend God); and it is necessary to tell them respecting these things, that it behooves the righteous first to receive the promise of the inheritance God promised to the fathers, and to reign in it when they rise to behold God in this creation which is renovated, and that the judgment shall take place afterward."

(2) Papias taught that the Millennium belongs to the rewards of faith, a part of heaven. He represents the presbyters who conversed with the apostles as teaching, "Then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendor of the city; for every where the Saviour shall be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see him. But there is this distinction between the habitation of those who produce an hundred fold, and those who produce sixty fold and those who produce thirty fold; for the first will be taken up into the heavens, the second class will dwell in paradise, and the last will inhabit the city; and that on this account the Lord said, In my Fath-

er's house are many mansions; for all things belong to God who supplies each one with a suitable dwelling place, even as his word says, that a share is given to all by the Father, according as each one is or shall be worthy. And this is the couch on which they shall recline who feast, being invited to the wedding. The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, say that this is the gradation and arrangement of them that are saved, and that they advance through steps of this nature; and that, moreover, that they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father; and that in due time the Son will yield up his work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet, etc." This fragment is from Irenaeus.

Here, too, Irenaeus agrees, and quotes Papias in support of these views (Bk. v., chap. xxxvi., 2).

(3) Papias teaches that in the time of the millennium the earth will be wonderfully fertile. From the elders, the disciples of the apostles, and the elders who saw John he reports them as saying, "that they heard from him how the Lord taught in regard to those times, and said: "The days will come in which vines will grow, having each ten thousand branches, and each branch ten thousand twigs, and on each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty measures of wine. And when one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me." In like manner he speaks of the grain, and says, "Now these things are credible to believers. And Judas the traitor, says he, not believing, and asking, How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord? The Lord said, They shall see who come to them. These, then, are the times mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, And the wolf shall lie down with the lamb."

Irenaeus also quotes this from Papias and argues that the words of Isaiah cannot be applied, as some persons endeavor to refer them, "to the case of savage men, both of different nations, and various habits, who come to believe, and when they have

believed, act in harmony with the righteous." He admits that this application is true, but contends that it must be literally true concerning animals, and asks, "If that animal, the lion, feeds on straw at that period, of what quality must the wheat itself be, whose straw shall serve as suitable food for the lion?"

This is the millennium of Papias and of Irenaeus. It is noteworthy, (1) That it is not founded on any exposition of revelation. The sources of it are the hear-says of Papias at second hand. (2) It is not a millennium of means, to do what the Gospel fails to do, extend the kingdom of God over the world, but it is a millennium of rewards, the vestibule of heaven, the opposite of purgatory, a state of preparation for comprehending the divine nature and of being gradually prepared for higher bliss. (3) Jews, as such, have no part in this millennium. Irenaeus says: "Now I have shown a short time ago, that the Church is Abraham's seed; and for this reason, that we may know that he who in the New Testament raises up from the stones, children to Abraham, is he who will gather together, according to the Old Testament, those that shall be saved from all nations." (4) The source of this teaching is Judaistic. Papias' description of the wonderful fertility of the earth in millennial times, is taken largely from the Apocalypse of Baruch. Papias was from Phrygia, the home, says Neander, of a sensuous religion, and it is supposed he himself was a Jew. Thus can we account for the millennium of Papias. It came from Jewish sources. While he may have been a pious man, he was evidently weak and credulous, and hence his Jewish birth and credulous disposition led him to adhere to and adapt some Jewish expectations to his Christian belief. Irenaeus was also from Asia Minor. He was a pupil of Polycarp's and between Marseilles and Smyrna a brisk trade flourished and missionaries came from Asia into Gaul. Thus early Christianity in France and in the British Isles is connected, not with Rome, but with the cities of Asia Minor. Thus there was a connection between Papias and Irenaeus, and in the teaching of these two men, we do not have teachings of different parts of the Church widely separated, but teachings from a common centre. The fact that Irenaeus speaks of the orthodox who did not entertain

these millennial views, and has to defend the literal interpretation of Isaiah 11 : 6 f., shows that the common interpretation was otherwise. The fact that he does not refer to Polycarp, his master, as holding these views, is another indication that the millennium doctrines were not the doctrines of the Church of his time. That Irenaeus makes use of these doctrines is quite natural. With Irenaeus, the great test of truth is apostolic tradition, and that not gathered from written records of the apostles' teaching, but from unwritten traditions that the industrious gatherers might collect.

Now writing against Gnostics, who denied in some sense, that matter was the creation of the supreme God, it was material he could use against the heretics and among a rude people, if he could find any tradition which implied that material things entered into the picture of the bliss of the last times. This is the nature of the millennialism of Irenaeus. He gets his materialism from tradition and reads it into the Scripture, because it served his purpose. In the age in which he lived, with the canon of Scripture in such a confused state, and no such thing as a formulation of doctrine, it was the best he could do. But admitting the millennialism of Papias and Irenaeus to have a scriptural foundation, it is then removed so far from the millennialism of to-day, that there is nothing in common between them. In the former case we have a millennialism that marks the triumph of the Church, and provides for the gathered host a vestibule, where for a time, they may abide and accustom themselves to the glory that is to grow brighter. In the latter case, we have the manifestation of the Church's defeat and the need of other means to establish God's kingdom on the earth. In the one case we have the last scene in the triumphant progress of the kingdom of Christ, in the other, the beginning of the kingdom, and that kingdom to be successful only in procuring an outward submission, which ere long becomes open rebellion, and the converts of force becoming the victims of summary judgment.

Tertullian is another chiliast. When he became a chiliast we do not know. We do know that in his extant works there are

no traces of chiliasm till he had accepted the Montanistic or Phrygian heresy. He was born about the year 145 or 150 A. D., became a Christian about 186, a Presbyter in 192, a Montanist about 199, and died about 220 A. D. His place of labor is usually said to have been Carthage, although some contend that he was a Roman Presbyter. He is a voluminous writer, and one of his writings, now lost, was on the subject, *De Spe Fidelium*. Dr. West describes him as "the master," from Cyprian's phrase, and says of him: "Renouncing his Montanistic error, (he) still adhered to his pre-millennial faith, and wrote a book in its defence, now lost." Tertullian never renounced his Montanism so far as history informs us, and his chiliastic views appear only in his Montanistic writings. From Tertullian's own description of *De Spe Fidelium*, we could scarcely call it a defence of pre-millennial faith. He speaks of it in the third Book against Marcion, and says: "As for the restoration of Judea, however, which even the Jews themselves, induced by the names of places and countries, hope for just as it is described, it would be tedious to state at length how the figurative description is spiritually applicable to Christ and his Church and to the character and fruits thereof, besides, the subject has been regularly treated in another work, which we entitle *De Spe Fidelium*." The work may have treated of chiliasm; we know, however, that it treated of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and took the same view as Irenaeus, that they were to be spiritually interpreted and applied not to the literal restoration of the Jews, but to the blessings God would give to his people through Christ. Hence Tertullian's millennium whatever its character, is not the exaltation of the Jewish people, as a people, and hence is in no sense allied to the pre-millennial faith of the present. Tertullian describes his faith thus: "But we do confess that a kingdom is promised to us on the earth, although before heaven, only in another state of existence; inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely built city of Jerusalem, let down from heaven, which the apostle also calls our mother from above, and while declaring that our *politeuma*, or citizenship, is in heaven, he predicates of it that it is really a

city in heaven. This both Ezekiel had knowledge of and the apostle John beheld. And the word of the new prophecy (Montanism), which is a part of our belief, attests how it foretold that there would be for a sign a picture of this very city exhibited to view previous to its manifestation. This prophecy, indeed, has been very lately fulfilled in an expedition to the East. For it is evident from the testimony of even the heathen witnesses, that in Judea was suspended in the sky a city early every morning for forty days. As the day advanced, the entire figure of its walls would wane gradually, and sometimes it would vanish instantly. We say that this city has been provided by God for receiving saints on their resurrection and refreshing them with an abundance of all really spiritual blessings, as a recompense for those which in the world we have either despised or lost; since it is both just and God-worthy that his servants should have their joy in the place where they suffered affliction for his name's sake. Of the heavenly kingdom this is the process. After its thousand years are over, within which period is completed the resurrection of the saints, who rise sooner or later according to their deserts, there will ensue the destruction of the world and the conflagration of all things at the judgment. We shall then be changed in a moment into the substance of angels, even by the investure of an incorruptible nature, and so be removed to the kingdom of heaven."

This is Tertullian's millennium. It is really an extension of the day of resurrection to a thousand years, and during that thousand years the righteous rise according to their deserts. It is also, as in Irenaeus, a part of the bliss of the world to come, and so not a millennium of means to bring in the kingdom of Christ, but a millennium of triumph to the witnessing Church. With it Tertullian joins nothing Judaistic, and hence it has nothing in common with the pre-millennialism of the present day.

Commodianus is claimed as pre-millenarian. There is much difference of opinion concerning his time. Some assign him to the year 250 A. D., and some nearly a century later. The historian Gennadius describes him as having been "engaged in secular literature." While thus employed he "read our writings and

finding opportunity accepted the faith. Having become a Christian thus, and wishing to offer the fruit of his studies to Christ, the author of his salvation, he wrote in barely tolerable versified language, *Against the Pagans*, and because very little acquainted with our literature he was better able to overthrow their doctrine than to establish ours. Whence, also, contending against them concerning the divine counter promises, he discoursed in a sufficiently wretched and, so-to-speak, gross fashion, to their stupefaction and our despair. Following Tertullian, Lactantius and Papias as authorities, he adopted and inculcated in his students good ethical principles, and especially a voluntary love of poverty."

Concerning the millennium Commodianus teaches: "From heaven will descend the city in the first resurrection; this is what we may tell of this celestial fabric. We rise again to him who have been devoted to him. And they shall be incorruptible, even already living without death. They shall come also who overcome cruel martyrdom under Antichrist, and they themselves live for the whole time, and receive blessings because they have suffered evil things; and they themselves marrying beget for a thousand years. There are prepared all the revenues of the earth, because the earth renewed without end pours forth abundantly, etc."

Commodianus is anti-Jewish, and the millennial kingdom is limited to those who "overcome cruel martyrdom under Antichrist." Antichrist, according to this author, is Nero, raised from hell.

Lactantius is the Cicero of the Fathers. By profession he was a rhetorician, a pupil of Arnobius and a native of north Africa. Such was the fame of his eloquence that he was invited by the Emperor Diocletian to settle in Nicomedia. He did not there meet with success, and was reduced to extreme poverty. Abandoning the profession of a pleader, he devoted himself to literary pursuits. It was at this time, apparently, that he became a Christian. About 315 A. D. he settled in Gaul and was entrusted with the education of the son of Constantine. 325 A. D., at Treves, he is supposed to have died. He teaches mil-

lenarian doctrines. According to Lactantius the term Sabbath is derived from the Hebrew word for seven. "The seventh is the legitimate and complete number." The seven days of the week determine the revolution of the years. "The seven stars which do not set and seven luminaries which are called planets, whose differing and unequal movements are believed to cause the varieties of circumstances and of times," emphasize the importance and significance of the seven days of the week. "Since all the works of God were created in six days, the world must continue in its present state through six ages, that is six thousand years. For the day of God is limited by the circle of a thousand years, as the prophet shows, who says, 'In thy sight, O Lord, a thousand years is as one day.' And as God labored during those six days in creating such great works, so his religion and truth must labor during these six thousand years while wickedness prevails and bears rule. And again, since God, having finished his works, rested on the seventh day and blessed it, at the end of the sixth thousandth year all wickedness must be abolished."—*Divine Institutes*, Bk. VII., Chap. xiv.

As the end of the world approaches evil increases. Antichrist is then revealed. Contemporaneous with him comes Elijah "to turn men to the knowledge of God." While Antichrist is deceiving and causing hardship and persecution, he learns from the Sibyl; "And then God shall send from the sun a king who shall cause all the earth to cease from disastrous war." Virgil, who speaks of the dead being a thousand years in the lower regions, and then being restored to life, has mistaken the truth. "The dead will rise again, not after a thousand years from their death, but that, when restored to life, they may reign with God a thousand years," xxii. "Then those who shall be alive in their bodies shall not die, but during those thousand years shall produce an infinite multitude, and their offspring shall be holy, and blessed by God; but they who shall be raised from the dead shall preside over the living as judges." xxiv.

The last times are near, within two hundred years of the author's date, xxv. The authorities Lactantius quotes and relies upon, are the legends of pagan poets and the declarations of the

Sibylline Books. He seems to have followed Hippolytus in his speculations concerning Antichrist. The last author supposes Christ was born 5500 of the year of the world. He proves this from the fact that the dimensions of the ark when added are five and a half cubits. This indicates that Christ was born when five and a half millenniums had fled. As the world was to last but six thousand years the end was near at the time of Hippolytus and near or at the time of Lactantius. The former author is cited as a millenarian. Perhaps he was. He says nothing about the millennium however. He is spoken of as the Targumist, the Syrian Targumist. Thus we have the genealogy of the whole millennium speculations of the early Church. Wherever we meet it in the early Church, it is in some way connected with Phrygia and Jewish literature. The different writers are not so many different men in different parts of the Church, all studying the Scriptures and reaching the same conclusions. All the writers are working at the same material, and improving upon doubtful traditions. Thus we have a Jewish millennium modified according to the Christianity of the writers. These millennial hopes attach themselves as readily to heresy as to orthodoxy. The Montanists are millenarians and in the hands of Cerinthus the millennium becomes an anticipation of sensual gratifications. Its own weight became sufficient to refute it, and its disappearance from the life of the Church is not to be accounted for by the authority of Origen, or St. Augustine, but the real piety of the Church, which could not find in the millennium anything to inspire to holy living and activity in spreading the news of the Gospel. But looking back upon that early time and the millennial hopes entertained, we find,

1. That the millennium of the early Church, while derived from Jewish apocalyptic books, tradition and legends, was for the most part Christian, in that it recognized the gospel as a conquering force in the world. Out of every conflict the Church was to come forth victorious, and the millennium was never conceived of as a means of extending the cause of Christ. Even Antichrist, of whom Hippolytus and Lactantius speak, is successful in deceiving men only by working false miracles and

proclaiming himself the Christ, and doing works which for a time seemed like works Christ would do. Of no millennium of means to extend the kingdom of God farther than the Church with Christ in its midst could carry it, did the fathers ever dream.

2. The Fathers as a class taught that the old dispensation had reached its goal, and any millennium blessedness, was not for Jews or Gentiles as such, but for believers of every name and nation. The children of faith, to their view were the sons of Abraham and heirs to all the promises.

3. The millennium of the Fathers belonged to the other world, and in primitive times was regarded as the vestibule of heaven, where men might be fitted to comprehend God and have a gradual approach to the transcendent glory of his immediate presence.

4. While the Fathers recognized different degrees in glory, they do not teach different ways of being saved. They know nothing of a salvation by miracles and judgments. They know nothing of salvation in a state where there is no temptation, nothing to overcome. They are wholly ignorant of "ten thousand ways of being united to Christ" besides the one way now revealed, viz., by the operations of the Holy Spirit, revealing itself in a faith which chooses and follows Christ, and obeys and witnesses for him. They believed that Christ walked in the midst of the Church, that the Church was founded upon a rock, that in its onward march the gates of hell could not prevail against it, that the Christ lifted up in the preaching of the gospel, and in Christian life, would draw the world to him. Thus the early Church's millenarian doctrines were wholly different from the millennial expectations of the present time.

5. In conclusion, it may be said, there is comparatively little of millenarianism in the writings of the Fathers. The quotations given represent nearly all that is found in their extant writings. Only in the case of Commodianus and Lactantius, both of them professed literary men, and in no sense teachers of the Church, or expounders of Scripture, has there been condensation of statement. Millenarianism did not really belong to the system of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus or Tertullian. They

were too earnest in commending the truths of the Gospel to men and urging the life it commends to be turned far aside by any such speculations. When from the influence of traditions or other causes, millenarianism was accepted it took but slight hold of them. It was not the germ out of which their theology or their life was evolved, but an excrescence upon it. Thus it will ever be with earnest men. The Gospel, that comes to sinners as a personal experience, will ever be regarded as the power of God unto salvation, and "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; casting down every imagination, and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought to the obedience of Christ." (2 Cor. 10 : 4, 5).

ARTICLE III.

APPERCEPTIVE CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROFESSOR M. H. RICHARDS, D. D.

Let us imagine a group of several persons looking at a picture. The picture is one containing a number of objects, somewhat complex in its character. The faces, the relative positions, the postures, indicate a definite action. The landscape also designates time of day and of year, and an especial locality. The picture is sufficiently well executed to tell its own story without the aid of a title underneath it, unless it be to satisfy the craving for a specific name by which to call it when speaking of it.

The group of observers is diverse in age and intellectuality. One, if you please, is but a child, and childlike in understanding. Another is adult in years, of ordinary experience and merely average education. A third is cultured and refined and thoughtful; and a fourth, it may be, is of especial training in art and well versed in the history of human events. What will each one of these spectators see in the picture, and why will he see it? It requires little consideration to realize that what is seen in each case will be a something different, and differing by assignable cause and not by accident.

The child will have the consciousness of color and form, and that grouping together of these in a unity which it has learned to call a picture. It might be puzzled to explain why it calls one sort of aggregation of colors and forms a picture, and refuses to consider every sort of confused collocation of the same a picture. Nothing is reflective with it! It distinguishes the painted resemblances of human beings from those of trees and rocks; it notices the distinctions of sky, earth, water; but there is no especial meaning for it in the expression given to any one object, and no idea worked out by their relation through all the combined objects. A picture, for it, is a picture; and that is all!

The ordinary adult sees more than this. The sum of his experiences includes the recognition of thought and feeling by means of facial expression, and of intended action through the posture and indicated gesture. He may have been observant enough to note the season of the year or the time of day, if these are strongly brought out in the picture. In a rough and general way he classifies the scene as joyous or sad, one of pleasure or peril, one of war or peace. The picture pleases him or displeases him just as it fits in with his sympathies or is alien to them.

The man of culture and refined taste will see not only a mass of color subdivided into various forms, but will much more behold an embodied idea. He will question that idea, and give his verdict accordingly. Noting the intention of the artist, he will seek for a correct delineation of it, and even consider the right or the worth of its being expressed upon the canvas. A certain moral tone will assert itself in his consciousness and make itself heard in the final form in which that picture takes its place in his mind for memory or recollection. The adjectives by which he defines what it is, will express sentiments, emotions, spiritualities, rather than indicate appetites or any of the animal passions.

Beyond all these, while sharing possibly in them all, the artist who scrutinizes the picture will see technicalities which none of the others have noted. Faults or merits in drawing and color-

ing will be manifest to him, the shading will be identified and judged, success or failure in solving certain difficulties will be recognized, and a hundred matters of detail will stand out sharply. It may seem strange to him that others do not see these things as readily as he does; they are so plain, so palpable! He and his kind will argue as to the correctness of shade and color: the listener will hear of these as existing in the material world so differently from his own notion of them that he will question at last his own eyes, or wonder what sort of vision these artistic people have.

Objectively, it is one and the same picture for all the members of this group; subjectively, it has become as many different pictures as they are differing personalities. If the art of painting depended upon any one of them, it would be a quite different thing. If the welfare of mankind depended upon the art of painting, it would certainly be very variously served as one or another of these subjective consciousnesses dominated and determined it. They cannot all be right, though all may be wrong. There is strong probability as to which of them, even if still imperfect, is the nearest approximation to the objective reality of the contents of the picture, and the safest and fulest authority for those who seek to see all that is to be seen, know all that is to be known, and do all that is to be done, that they may become all that is becoming.

But it is time now to ask the question, To which shall we ascribe the several impressions, differing so greatly, produced by this same picture upon the several members of our supposed group? Is it a difference in the sense-organ, the eye? Can it be accounted for by a variation in brain structure? Is it even to be solved by more or less keenness or training in the perceptive power of the soul? This last might produce a Chinese accuracy of copying down to the most minute detail, without any consciousness of the real thing to be seen, the idea itself of the picture.

It is not a difference as to sense-perception, which, strictly speaking, gives us only the consciousness of material objects and energies phenomenally, and does not tell us what they are

in themselves, or what they mean. Nor does it pertain simply to that experience of the joint product of all the senses which is called acquired perception, to distinguish it from original perception, by means of which we infer or judge from the activity of one sense what would be the result if some other sense were aroused by being in correspondence with the external excitant; as, for instance, we judge by the redness or whiteness of iron that it is hot, will burn the fingers.

The difference is to be found not in perception but in what is called "apperception," the activity of a mind trained to an almost automatic immediateness of recognition and explanation to itself of what it sees, hears, tastes, touches, or smells. By reason of its education and acquisition, such a mind sees in every object the related objects as well. It classifies the object at once, and marks its place to all other things in the universe; it connects the object thus with the totality of experience and explains it thereby. "For every object is as it were a ganglion in an infinite network of causal relations—all the influences of the universe flow hither to it and make themselves manifest in it to him who has the inward eye to discover them." "The causes that have made this object what it is, the future effects of its being and acting, the significance of the whole, these are not to be perceived, but to be *apperceived*."

The very essence of apperception is then the recognition of the relativity of things, the seeing of things, when seen individually, as things related and not isolated. The education of the child consists in evoking, fostering, guiding in it this reaction of the mind upon the occasion of every sense-perception, every recall or representation of such an object, every discovery of intuitive truth upon such occasion. Thus all our acquired knowledge is made to work together to explain the new, to assimilate it to the stock already in hand, to reduce it to the proper scale of importance that it may hereafter act equably as a factor in our subsequent judgments.

It does not require any great amount of consideration to feel the importance of an apperceptive training of the intellect. Popularly speaking, it is what is spontaneously in our mind when

we commend some one for "thinking," and blame another for "not thinking." In other words, we demand of men that they view things in their relations; and we reprove the child for not seeing the consequences of actions, the relation of cause and effect, in its very resolve to do, even as it wills to do. We can hardly express a more severe judgment upon a fellow mortal than to say: "He has no common sense." Our meaning is that he is oblivious of the ordinary relations of things, such as of matches and gunpowder; and in a world where everything is related to every other thing such obliviousness is a constant danger or annoyance to those who cannot rid themselves of relation to the oblivious offender.

The part which this apperceptive power, this combined energy of perception, recollection, judgment, and the like, plays in the world's history is almost transcendent. It is the prime factor in discovery and inventions; it is the active principle in all science, which is classification according to relations; it regulates and perfects the arts, even as these must be scientific in their fundamental laws; and it enters into the spiritual life of man to adjust his beliefs and arbitrate between seemingly conflicting calls of duty. It gives that just sense of proportion, that seriousness of balance, that concentrating of the manifold into a unity, without which life, and every theory of life, is but a mighty maze without a plan.

Let it now be remembered that this "apperception" is not such an original endowment of the intellect as needs no cultivation, as will arrive at perfection without direction of others, or that self-discipline which is so doubtful a quantity when left to individual caprice, and the importance of education in apperceptiveness is at once manifest. Why train the perceptive powers of the child if no use is to be made of the percepts thus enormously massed together: it may become learned but it cannot be said to know. Why drill the memory of the child, if it is not taught what to recall, and when and why, in relation to action? Without this, there can be no resultant wisdom. Why culture the judgment unless its pronouncings of agreement or disagreement between terms, are firmly related to the things for

which the words stand, and these things are known in their totality of relations? To use this word, it must be order for us, not confusion; and to live our life it must be a cosmos, just as well, and not a chaos.

There is no difficulty in coming by any number of facts or so-called truths. The difficulty is much more to assimilate, classify, adjust them in our machinery of living. Our senses are operative the major portion of the hours, and are like drays unloading goods at the gateways of the mental magazine more rapidly than we can stow them away. A man feels the necessity, again and again, of closing up all these gateways in order to get the goods already delivered into their proper places. He hardly has a chance to conceive of what he perceives: he "cannot see the town for the houses."

The difficulty is just as great in regard to those spiritual facts which we call truths. Their number also is legion. Each one would guide us to some action, some doing or suffering. Their voices rise into conflicting calls! They are like the eager pack of porters inviting the stream of passengers issuing from boat or cars to the rival hostelries of a town. We want to go to a hotel, to *the* hotel; but in this chance-medley of clamorous appeal we are likely to get to none at all, or to the meanest of them all. What we need is to get them into relations, study them as related, classified, reduced to one and the same scale; and then decision and action can readily follow.

This is not that "making up" of one's mind which is a virtue born of necessity and begotten of ignorance! That is, to resume the figure just used, to take the first porter that comes, or to select one because of some fanciful preference. There is enough, sadly enough, of this in the world already; and it is copied, apparently from those lower orders of brute being in which "firmness" is frankly called stubbornness. Such will-power is sheer wilfulness, weakness of will just as truly as inability to make up one's mind may be. An apperceptive training leads to the judicial decision which is so much needed, and not the feverish haste or frantic espousal of partisanship, or the passionate outcry of those whose feelings have been wrought

upon, and who see things for the moment in the red light of stage effect instead of in the white light of truth and sober reality. God does not desire the "Deus vult" of the zealot! He would have his creature meditate in his precepts and statutes: their prayer to him must be, "Give me understanding."

For it is precisely in our spiritual life that this matter of apperception rises into supreme importance, and just here the lack of it is too often so woefully patent. 'My people do not think, they will not consider,' is a repeated lament of the prophet of old, reëchoed in bitterness of spirit over and over again by the preacher and pastor of to-day. Even where men show considerable aptitude in thoughtful understanding of the things of this life, and trace out their relations with great painstaking, they neglect to do anything of the sort in spiritualities. They even laud their lack of apperception therein as if it indicated greater spirituality, and exalt mere emotion, mere impulse, in the place of it. And yet the one thing we need more than anything else is apperceptive Christianity, in greater quantity, and higher degree.

Let us consider the case! The picture is the Bible, the Sacred Scriptures, the word of God—which of the spectators ought we to be to see it aright? It is a very complex picture, almost a series of pictures; and yet its unity is complete, for it sets forth the Christ, the Messiah, the God-man, the Son of the Father. Christianity is this very thing, a proper understanding and acceptance of the Christ of God; and Christianity is set forth only in the word. Christ points to that word as that which testifies of him. The word itself affirms its own inspiration. Believers in Christianity agree that these writings are the word. There are no other writings of such authority, of such acceptance; and there is no question which are these authoritative writings. The Church has framed the picture against enlargement, diminution, or variation. If the question is asked: What is Christianity? the answer must be: Search the Scriptures, for they declare it and set it forth.

Look at this picture! How vast its dimensions! How long it was in painting! How varied its details; and how various its

especial points of interest. What lights and shadows are here ; and how manifold and subtle the delineation of the passions and virtues, the emotions and sentiments. No one save the divine artist could have so guided and instructed the many pencils and brushes employed in it under him as to preserve unity and give coherent purpose to it. And yet the Holy Ghost has done this, touching up his pupils' work, while not destroying their individuality, so that out of the many one has come forth. The unity of this picture is the Christ ! Whoever gazes upon it and fails to see this, to explain all its parts by this, to relate them to it, and it to them, does not see the very essence of worth that is in it ; he does not see the divine artist's picture, but a something else, a worthless something of his own.

Here most manifestly is a need for apperception ! To see and know all the parts separately is not to know the whole. "The sum of all the parts," as a mere aggregation, is not "equal to the whole." The whole is something more than all the parts ; and that something is their relativity which makes a whole out of them. Let it be granted, which is granting considerably much, that such a part of the whole as Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, be known in itself, or all of them separately in themselves, still that is not Christianity unless these are all related so as to exhibit their unity in the Messiah that was to come. Even the New Testament is not complete without the Old Testament, since Christ did not destroy the Law and the Prophets in fulfilling them : both Testaments together constitute the word of God, the revelation of the Christ.

It is just this lack of seeing things in their relations, and of seeing their relations in things, which produces heresy and sect and false doctrine. No wonder that these flourished in the early decades while yet the canon of the New Testament was forming. No wonder that men trained in all the suggestiveness of Jewish traditions or of heathen philosophy found in the word, as they thought, that which was only in their own minds. In our own day we mark these same results reached after a similar fashion. Interpretations proceed out of the heart ; and a man's statement of what the picture is and means, tells no little of the

man's own state of thought and feeling. There is but one cure for heresy, and that is the common fund of the apperceptive wealth of all made available for all, employed and tested by all. There is one common despair as to even this cure, and that is the conviction of the unwillingness of sinful humanity to take the treatment through fear of some detriment to interests pertaining to this world only. Meanwhile we can but hope, and pray, and study to grasp the full meaning ourselves, and urge others to do the same, confident that this is the cure.

Is it not true that just as the study of the word as a whole, the investigation of its parts as related to one another in the unity of the whole, has increased among those calling themselves Christians, in just this degree they have come nearer and nearer together in their common declaration as to the meaning of Christianity, and the content of the Scriptures? The multiplying of names, the continuance of historical denominations may disguise the fact, but we are surely to look underneath these and ask what men believe, and not what they are called. An apperceptive study of statesmanship narrows down the differences among political parties to but one, or, at most, but several points: they agree as to the conduct of public affairs as to all the rest. It would surely be strange if clearer vision as to the word wrought contrary results among Christians!

But Christianity may be considered, indeed must be considered, in another aspect, that of a life. The word is not set forth for the final cause of knowing, but of becoming, doing. Knowing is the means, doing is the end; and then again doing, experimental knowledge, becomes a means to better knowing, and this in turn to better doing: we grow in grace and knowledge, abounding knowledge and judgment work more and more abounding love. The law of relativeness must stretch its sway over our living, and connect all that we are with all that Christ is for us. What he is, must be a suggestiveness, as well nigh automatic as may be, determining what we are in all our changes, that is, our living.

Because the Holy Ghost works in us to will and do acceptably to God, because we reckon not upon a salvation by works, but

confide in one by faith, as did our spiritual father Abraham long before the law was given, alters nothing in these conclusions. The Holy Ghost works no immediate mechanical changes in us: it works by means, through the word. It destroys no responsibility on our part to know that word, but rather increases it since now it is possible to believe and be saved. How much more than ever should I now seek to see the Christ in every part of that glorious picture, and understand every part of it in its relation to him. Upon my concept of the Christ will depend my hiding my life in Christ; and I must get that concept from the word. How clearly, distinctly I should get it, not as a thing of shreds and patches, but in its completeness, in all its relations.

Again, what is faith viewed objectively? In any preëminent sense it is this same apperceptive consciousness of Christ accepted, approved, appropriated. It is a state in which, in proportion to our ability, this can be predicated of us. It assumes our increase in such consciousness, both in quality and quantity, as we increase in intelligence and stature. A childlike faith becomes the child, and justifies it; but for a man to appropriate his Redeemer no more intelligently than a child, is to raise the presumption that he does not care very much about him! A child's love is not as intelligent, comprehensive, as that of one who has a matured mind: it can give very little answer for the affection that is in it.

The whole tenor of apostolic exhortation is toward what we may well call an apperceptive faith, and not toward any blind devotion, ignorant zeal, mere superstition. The apostolic preaching to the Jew was the setting forth of the relativeness of the prophetic word to the Messiah, and of the relativeness of Jesus of Nazareth to this prophetic word: the Scriptures were fulfilled in him. Paul at Athens builds up his discourse on the only foundation there was for such an audience, "the unknown God," and strives to move his hearers by such arguments as had relation to the scanty spirituality which existed in their hearts. Slow work indeed! Unavailing indeed until the word is pictured

to some extent at least and the Christ-concept apprehended and put into relation to the needs of the soul!

It is no argument against this that our faith is imperfect, and that the atonement of Christ extends its salvation over such as come to him in all their imperfections of understanding, feebleness of intellect, insufficiency of opportunity, and the like. One might as well argue that precautions to retain health are absurd since no one can be in perfect health, or that efforts to acquire knowledge are useless since no one can know everything. Since at best our faith is imperfect, all the more should we seek to quicken and strengthen it by every available means: because I have not attained, the manifest course of conduct on my part is to press forward.

When we sing, "My faith looks up to Thee, Thou Lamb of Calvary, Saviour divine!" what faith would there be in singing the words without knowledge of the things for which they stand? What does "Lamb," what does "Calvary," what does "Saviour divine," mean unless seen in relation to one fact after another, one truth after another, in the Scriptures? Unless our "faith" has some immediate insight into these related things, sings them with the spirit and the understanding, as it enunciates the words, what name shall we give to it? Can we presume to call it "faith," in any Scriptural sense, as applied to a rational human being?

Here is the root of inconsistent living, the practical heresy of believers who are "weak in the faith." They have not sufficiently apprehended Christ in the word, in the first place, and have not made sufficient application of their scanty apprehension even, it may be, in the next place. Their Christianity is too meagre in its suggestiveness to join in with those ever recurring changes of consciousness which we call temptations, and they act consequently without thought, without conscience one might say. Increase these relations, strengthen the law of suggestion, and you increase the probability of the thought of the Christ-relation of your word or deed arising with the question or desire of saying or doing. That is to have what we call a "sensitive conscience." Make "faith" a mere feeling, or a sim-

ple sense-perception, or an aggregation of disconnected injunctions, prohibitions, formalities, excitements, ejaculations, postures, whatever you will, and you cannot expect consistent living; for that upon which you would base it has no consistency, no relativeness, no unity.

The proper test of the various Christian bodies, of their doctrines, worship, and methods, should be based upon this standard of apperceptive probability. That is, it should be based upon the reasonable presumption as to the degree of apperception they will produce as to such related knowledge of the word, and related application of the word to daily life. As they are strong in the Christ idea, and rich in the Christ life, they most certainly outrank those weak in the one and meagre in the other. Mere worldly activity, the mere bustle of organization, the mere enlistment of numerous recruits because of the generous bounties offered, mere popularity through shrewd adaptation to human sinfulness, or tactical skill in trimming the sails to the breeze of the moment, none of these unspiritual standards should enter into any serious claims of comparative standing in Christianity. That some persons do base their judgments and make their comparisons upon such standards, shows once more how familiarity with Bible and Church may exist without any real acquaintance with either: we may buy and sell for years with men whose homes we never enter, whose inner selves we never know.

The "temporalities" of church life and church organization have a charm for many whose living shows no spirituality, at times even a low degree of morality, as sad exposures demonstrate. Business is business, whether for church, state, or self; and men of business tastes are almost as easily interested in the business of Church as that of state, or even of self. It is a mistake to suppose all business is undertaken just for gain; the fascination is the engagement in it, and the gain only the proof of success, the vindication of skill. So, too, social disposition may oscillate between a prayer meeting and a ball room, simply because of the society in both of them. And there are men and women so fond of hearing themselves talk that time, place, and topic are indifferent: such are as ready "to lead in prayer"

as to harangue in politics, or in anything else, with as little spirituality in the first as in the last. The more apperceptive the standard of Christianity, the more readily you eliminate all such from any respectable suspicion of being great Christians, leading members, exponents of the faith; and the more you eliminate them the fewer stumbling blocks you leave in the way for the "little ones," the least among those truly brethren.

We do not desire to institute any comparison here between the Lutheran Church and other followings, but some consideration of our apperceptive standing is as natural as it is desirable for ourselves. It is made the more readily because, in the main, one need not go back of our church standards, our confessional writings, to ask what, after all, the Lutheran Church is: our congregations and pastors are very generally, what their confessions would declare them to be. This is not the case with all "denominations!" Some of them stand to-day toward their confessions as the pound sterling of this year's money does to the ancient and original pound; or, to keep the illustration more at home, as the silver dollar of to-day does in value compared with the same coin when it was the proud peer of a dollar of gold.

The Lutheran confessions are extremely apperceptive in their tone and concept. Honest reception of them demands a thorough study of the word of God as a prerequisite. They are not to be accepted in themselves but as related to that word and conforming fully to it. There has been, as we all know, much controversy upon this very point of what is a proper form of subscription to them, the essential distinctness of which has been the guarding of confession through such subscription to the whole word of God as related in every part to the Christ set forth therein in the entire revelation made of him as divine and human, as one and inseparable in person, as present by his own might, and not localized, not dependent upon the faith of the believer. Such conceptions are possible only where the word has been studied in its relativeness; and where views quite plausible in themselves have been corrected and adjusted by the im-

mediate suggestion of their relation to other declarations of the Scriptures.

The summary of teaching set forth "in plain form" by Luther, as the minimum that the child or the lowliest layman should acquire, discloses the same spirit and purpose. It has nothing to say about external form and government, but everything about that which centres around "faith," the relation of the Christian to Christ. It implies a glad hearing of the word; it proclaims the Law as a schoolmaster to lead to Christ; it sets forth what Christ teaches as to creation, redemption, sanctification; it strengthens and directs the hands of faith stretching forth to receive grace; and it lays that grace in the divinely appointed means within them. It does not encourage a man to look to God to work out his salvation while he remains indifferent; nor does it embolden a man to work out his own salvation of his own strength and wisdom while God remains indifferent. The supreme prominence it gives to the word, and the sacraments as set forth in the word, shuts up the believer to that word for all the sources of strength and enlightenment; and shuts him off from immediate ecstasies or mere bodily exercises.

The Lutheran Church is peculiar in its position as to this. It is a Church whose shibboleth is difficult to formulate in any terse battle cry which may appeal to partisan passion. It is convenient in dealing with the men of this generation, averse to much thinking, and especially to spiritual thinking, to have some such short rallying cry: but these shibboleths never tell "the whole truth," and often cannot claim even to be "nothing but the truth." Perhaps it is as near to it as one can come to say that ours is the Church of the Means of Grace! But that requires too much apperceptive understanding to make it a war cry for the thoughtless multitude. The spiritual child of Luther must be trained up in the word or it will soon stray from the fold, not knowing the priceless worth of its own household.

The Lutheran pulpit, where it has been trained according to these ideals, and, as a matter of fact, very generally, adheres to the word: the sermon is a something which is to grow out of

the text in its relation to the context, and in the relation of this again to the whole word. The man who makes a text a mere motto, or who takes its wording in a sense foreign entirely to it, or who does not "stick to his text," is not thought highly of, even if he is lavish of rhetorical pyrotechnics or original in witty coruscations. Not the new, but the true, is the requirement.

It would be strange indeed if one could not go about gleaning exceptions to the outcome of antecedent probability as to these marks and tendencies. Even where Lutheranism is massed together in the old world it has had little opportunity to sift its seedwheat and sow according to its liking. And in this new world its neighbors have sown broadcast and many of their seeds have lodged in our acre and sprung up with those of our own planting unto the harvest. But a good test, and a fair test, is to take the longest length of time and the greatest breadth of contemporaneous being, average facts and truths, mark out tendencies, and determine the general drift. We do this in other things, and we should do it in this matter also. And judging and concluding thus, we claim by these tests that the Lutheran Church is an eminent form of Apperceptive Christianity. The signs of the times are indications, joyous to us all, of a mighty current of steadfastness in the faith, of common determination to find unity of agreement in the whole counsel of God; and not politic union in things indifferent, deeming the form of the chalice more precious than its contents.

May we not rest confident that the trend is general in this same direction, even if it be not manifest. There are currents which move slowly, as that of the glacier, the ice river, but which are demonstrably currents. The very form of attack upon Christianity which would bid the word divide its supremacy with authority and reason must draw increased consideration toward that word. That ingenious and insidious repudiation of the word which would find the word within the Scriptures only, and not affirm the Scriptures to be the word, as identical in contents, must evoke renewed study of the relativeness of each part to every other part. Surely it will be felt more than ever that it is the whole word, or no word at all. Equally will

men realize that this word must stand before the inward eye as an organic whole, not as an aggregation of isolated facts and truths.

May we not equally confide in the logical result of such an apperceptive consciousness of the word? Surely it must be a life adjusted likewise, proportioned, symmetrical. When these things come to pass, they will be the shooting forth of "the fig tree and all the trees," and we may say to one another: "The kingdom of God is nigh at hand." Apperceptive Christianity is the only instrumentality whereby the amiable hope of the many who have sought to realize their pious wish by following up impracticable paths, can eventually be attained,—the wishful hope of seeing all believers constituting one fold to the eyes of the world, even as they are one holy Christian Church in his eyes in whom and through whom they have become the communion of saints.

ARTICLE IV.

THE WASHING OF REGENERATION.

BY GEORGE U. WENNER, D. D.

Questions that have been discussed for ages, in relation to which churches and schools have assumed a definite position, are not easily approached with open minds. The reiterated use of doctrinal or technical terms produces even in honest minds a certain degree of prejudice. Some of these terms have not even a legitimate origin or a recognized standing, but, like counterfeit coin, they nevertheless secure a certain degree of currency.

A witty fellow once upon a time fell upon a word that rhymed with transubstantiation. This he said is the doctrine of the Lutherans. It was one of those limpid words, which, through the association of ideas, could easily be retained by the memory and it presently became one of the stock phrases of theologians who get their information at second hand. The absurdity of the doctrine which it taught, if the word may be said to teach anything, was at once sufficient to close the mind to a fair con-

sideration of the question. Its inventor thus did more to discredit the doctrine of the conservative Reformation on the subject of the Lord's Supper than if he had written a whole system of theology or had worsted Luther in the debate at Marburg.

So too with the doctrine of baptism. The term regeneration has acquired a fictitious meaning. It is frequently confounded with conversion. In the ordinary popular discussions of this question, it very soon becomes evident that people mean the self-conscious act of the mind and will in which man turns back to God, although this bears about the same relation to regeneration that the full-grown fruit does to the seed from which the tree sprang.

To many minds the term "baptismal regeneration," although it has a legitimate pedigree and a valid Scriptural significance, conjures up nothing but thaumaturgical operations, incantations of magic. He who believes in it is himself a relic of the Middle Ages. In the columns of the REVIEW it is not necessary to plead for an open mind. There are no barnacles on the boats of its readers, and here at least it is not difficult to secure plain sailing.

Few subjects have had a more interesting or more intricate dogmatical history. It is not an easy task to study the patristic positions, the Augustinian standpoint the discriminations and the definitions of the Reformers, down to the latest opinions of Schleiermacher and of modern Protestantism. But a brief glimpse at the chief divergencies must be taken. The Socinians of course are the ultra Protestants. To them baptism is only a ceremony, retained, if at all, for aesthetical purposes only. To the Reformed after the manner of Zwingli, there are no "means of grace," and baptism is merely a sign of joining the church.

While this bald view is rarely met with in the subsequent development of Reformed theology, it has found strong support in the Anglican Church, the mother of the Protestant Episcopal denomination in this country, if we may take the Thirty-Nine Articles as its distinctive symbol. The Twenty-seventh Article

says: "Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, * * but it is also sign of regeneration whereby they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church * * faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God." All this is purely Zwinglian. Yet a singular inconsistency appears in the development of Anglican church-life. Through the mediation of Hermann, the Lutheran archbishop of Koeln, the English Reformers obtained a translation of Luther's baptismal office of 1526. This excellent Lutheran manual has been incorporated into their prayer-book, and with slight modifications is now universally used in all Anglican churches. As all of their members have the prayer book and hear the baptismal office, and but few of them ever read the Twenty-seventh Article, the errors of the latter have been to a great extent counteracted by the teachings of the former. The Lutheran view has had considerable influence in English theology, particularly so during the present century.

But the noblest of all the Reformed confessions, as related to this subject, is that of Westminster. It stands on broad Scriptural ground when it says: "By the right use of this ordinance, the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost." Unfortunately, the force of this statement is weakened by its concluding clause, in which the benefits are limited "to such as that grace belongeth unto," that is to the elect. Nevertheless the principle has been correctly stated, only its application is limited.

Of the Reformed Churches in general it must be said that they regard baptism merely as a symbol. The grace of God and salvation are not conferred by it. Regeneration is not connected with it, and takes place later in life. If they followed their doctrine to its logical conclusion, they would repudiate infant baptism, as some of their churches have done; and these, the so-called Baptists, are the only adherents of the Reformed faith who are consistent in their views of Baptism.

In this article an attempt will be made to present as briefly and clearly as possible, the doctrine of baptism as it is taught

and believed by the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg.

Luther's Catechism says: "Baptism is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command, and connected with God's word." This is evidently a popular setting of the Augustinian dictum: "*Accedit verbum ad elementum et sacramentum fit.*" It represents a wide-spread conception. The view need not be pressed as of fundamental importance. It is simply an illustration of the manner in which very great and sober intellects endeavored to state the general idea of the objective and saving character of the ordinance.

As to its benefits: "It works forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and gives everlasting salvation to all who believe what the words and promises of God declare." The Augustana says that the grace of God is offered by baptism. The dogmaticians declare that it is a ceremony commanded of God, accompanied by a promise. The object is to effect in men the work of salvation. With adults the word precedes and in that case baptism serves to seal and confirm the effect of the word.

The magna charta of baptism is Matthew 28 : 18-20. "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations by baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: and by teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you all the days, even unto the consummation of the age." Of this text it has well been said that all the ancient creeds are but the periphrasis or working out of the baptismal formula.

Four things are indisputably taught by these words: All nations are to be discipled; the means are baptism and teaching; the agents are those who themselves are disciples; the Lord himself is ever present with them with his divine authority and power.

Discipleship is not mere apprenticeship, but fellowship between Christ and those whom he has redeemed. But there can be no fellowship between Christ and the unrenewed man. "Or are ye ignorant," says Paul in the sixth of Romans, "that all we

who are baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life." "He who is baptized," says Bengel, "puts on Christ the second Adam; he is baptized into a whole Christ, and so also into his death, and it is the same thing as if, at that moment, Christ suffered, died and was buried for such a man, and if such a man suffered, died, was buried with Christ."

But how can these things be? The question of Nicodemus is still the question of the ages. Woe unto us if God's word merely demanded regeneration and baptism were merely a symbol signifying the washing away of our sins. The record of our sin is to be found on every page of the Bible. "Conceived in sin," "shapen in iniquity," "born of the flesh," *σῶμα τῆς σαρκὸς*, *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, "receiving not the things of the Spirit of God," "by nature the children of wrath." With such characteristics, are these the people, who, with perhaps a little outside encouragement from God or good people, are nevertheless able to attain to the spiritual life. If so, they do not need regeneration. The very reason why we need regeneration is the reason why we cannot by conversion, or any other human act of ourselves attain unto it.

The answer of the Scriptures is that Christ is the life of the world. The work of the Spirit whom he sends is not merely to bring men to Christ but chiefly to bring Christ to men. Only thus do they become his disciples when the Spirit brings Christ to them in all his fulness in the acts of repentance and faith which he works in them, giving to them only what he received from Christ and what has already existed in him and had been secured by him.

The means of communication with men are those that have been appointed by Christ. They are the divine-human word and the divine-human ceremony. Each of these is effective in its own way and both have the seal of his appointment.

Of the ceremony of baptism, nothing can be clearer, as to its objective and sacramental character, than the testimony of Scrip-

ture. In all of Paul's more solemn epistles, in which he speaks of himself as an apostle, he mentions it expressly, in the more familiar letters he presupposes it.

It is "the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost," Titus. Through it "we have been buried with Christ into death," Romans. "Wherein ye were also raised with him through faith," Colossians. "As many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ," Galatians. It is "for the remission of sins" and for "receiving the gifts of the Holy Ghost," Acts of the Apostles. In short everything that constitutes a person a saved person is ascribed to baptism as its effect.

That the same effects are also ascribed to the word does not invalidate the argument, and the relation of the two, the word and the ceremony to each other will be considered later.

The passage in the sixth of Romans, showing the relation of baptism to the new life is very important in enabling us to determine the nature of discipleship. The disciple is one who has been planted together with Christ, revised version, united with him; it is more than any translation can fully express, it is *σύνφυτοι*, it is *connate*. One writer translates it *connaturati*, engendered together; it is endowed with the same nature together with Christ. As in Christ's words to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

Is there anything here to indicate that baptism is merely a symbolical act? No one denies that baptism has such a significance. But in such passages we are clearly taught that there is a ceremonial application of grace, an actual conferring of salvation. If it were merely a symbolic act, Paul's argument would be of a different character. He would have said, "Shall we continue in sin? God forbid. In baptism we have assumed a moral obligation to cease from sin." But that is not what he does say. He speaks of a completed act, a thing accomplished in baptism. In both directions indicated in the outward act of baptism, the dying unto sin and the rising to the new life, the work is done. The baptized person is alive unto God through Jesus Christ the Lord. "What baptism demands that it effects, what it signifies that it is!"

The significance of this argument is made more clear when we recall the fact that Christ himself had a double baptism. The first, in Jordan, was typical of the second; necessary indeed to fulfil all righteousness, but only important because of the typical relation to that other and real baptism of which Christ said, "I have a baptism to be baptized with: and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" And in regard to which he asked his disciples, "Are ye able to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?"

In that baptism, namely in the death and resurrection of Christ, our redemption was accomplished once for all. Henceforward the work of the Church consists in carrying out the Master's royal edict to disciple men by the use of the means which he has ordained. The means are baptizing and teaching, these two.

Both of these means, we have seen, are effective in introducing men into fellowship with Christ. And since both are ordained, and to both are ascribed the same effects, what is their relation to each other? It cannot be that in any given case we may take our choice, using the one or the other as we may deem most convenient. Nor can we suppose that by using both, the use of the one increases and strengthens the use of the other. Nor have we reason to believe that a double or increased use of the one means, say of the word, renders superfluous the use of the other, the ceremony.

In seeking to answer these questions the dogmaticians use a beautiful expression which may describe the relation between the word and the ceremony. The former they call the word audible, the latter the word visible. But even this does not fully describe the difference. For both are still on the same plane. He who sees the promise has no special advantage over him who hears it. And yet the peculiar characteristic of the ceremony, the so-called sacrament, is that it applies to the individual what is otherwise offered to all. It was a glorious gospel when Christ said "Go and show John those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight." But to the blind man over whose eyes Christ spread the clay, that clay was an

individualized gospel. The difference must be sought in the appointed means themselves. Each has its natural and peculiar significance and each finds its complement in the other, while the precedent use of the one or the other must be determined by the nature of the case.

At this point it becomes necessary, in a parenthetical manner, to introduce the subject of infant baptism in order that anti-paedobaptists may not be excluded from an unprejudiced consideration of the subject.

The practice of infant baptism is not based upon the assumption that children were baptized in the New Testament. It can not be proved that they were. Nor can the contrary be proved. The oldest documents do not oppose the idea that the children of Christians were baptized as well as proselytes. Most probably they were. The contrary is highly improbable. On religious grounds the rite of circumcision would justify it. Aside from that, the unity of the family, which was a dominant oriental idea, would alone be a potent argument in favor of the practice. Nevertheless we have no interest here in the question of historical usage. We do not recognize in the Church of the first century the right to fix the norm for the Church of the nineteenth century. We care not so much about what the practice was, as about what it should have been. We should practice infant baptism even if it could be clearly proved that not one infant had been baptized in the first century.

The practice of infant baptism is based upon scriptural teaching as to the nature of baptism and the nature of little children. Little children need regeneration just as much as do adults. This no one will dispute. Are they capable of receiving it? Who can doubt it in view of the Saviour's assertion that of such is the kingdom of heaven, and that adults must become as little children before they can enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is true they have not faith in the same sense that adults have it. But what is the saving faith of Scripture? Is it a product of our own thought and will? Is it not everywhere that which has been wrought by the Divine Spirit? Wherever it is found it presupposes that humility of spirit, that receptivity of heart

to which adults must first return, but which children have by nature. With adults grace must first conquer the heart. In children there is no active opposition to be conquered. Of the Forerunner it was said, "He shall be filled with Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb."

Nor are children excluded from the right to be baptized. They too belong to the nations that are to be disciplined. And for the very reason that the means of teaching are not applicable to their case, the other means must be used. That is the only door that is open to them. He that shuts it renders himself obnoxious to the Master's protest: "Forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

And why should we reject that which God has accepted. For he himself has set his seal upon this institution inasmuch as the Church has been called, gathered and enlightened through this means as in no other way, and in ten thousand times ten thousand cases do we evidently behold the regenerated life in those who were thus baptized in infancy.

After this diversion we return to the question of the relation of the word and the ceremony to each other. In the nature of the case one finds its complement in the other. In the case of adults who have been regenerated by the word, baptism necessarily follows, otherwise an essential condition of the Christian life has not been fulfilled. For, if this passage in Titus has any reference to adults, it implies that they attain something in baptism which they had not obtained through the word. In the case of infants, the teaching is an essential condition of the development of that life which has been divinely conferred in the ceremony. In the case of adults the personal surrender to Christ in repentance and faith precedes baptism. In the case of infants it follows. Perhaps the physical processes of conception and birth and their relation to each other may help us to form a notion of these spiritual relations. At the same it must be admitted that these are mysteries which the subtlety of human understanding strives in vain to solve.

Speaking of regeneration, Dr. Pusey says: "We know it in its author, God; in its instrument, baptism; in its end, salva-

tion, union with Christ, sonship to God, 'resurrection from the dead and the life of the world to come.' We only know it not where it does not concern us to know it, in the mode of its operation."

We must not overlook the practical bearings of this doctrine. The first question in regard to any doctrine must be: "Is it true?" But without irreverence we may also ask: "What is it worth?" It must be conceded that there are dogmatical difficulties which have never been satisfactorily solved. But it may also be claimed in regard to this doctrine that its Scriptural basis, its recognition of Christ as the life and the light of the soul, make it a safe foundation for the development of the Christian life.

Its opponents regard it as the mark of a formal religion and of an unspiritual church. The tree must be judged by its fruits, they say, and the fruit of this doctrine is seen in the Christless lives of those who have been brought up under its teachings. We admit with unspeakable sorrow that we are constantly placed upon our defence by such arguments, we also recognize much that is superior in the spiritual life of churches to whom this doctrine is a hard saying. At the same time we cannot admit the full truth and justice of the criticism. The argument seems to be, "The Germans believe in baptismal regeneration. Most Germans do not go to church, many of them are infidels, and some of them even drink beer. Judged by its fruits, this doctrine cannot be good."

We answer, it must not be forgotten that very much of the present religious life, or rather irreligious life, of the Germans is not the fruit of this doctrine. An enemy hath done this. What you see is tares and not wheat. For a hundred years the dominant thought in pulpit and cathedral was not Lutheran but rationalistic, even Socinian. Even now, not all is Lutheran that bears the name. We disclaim responsibility for all who do not honestly carry our flag.

But we ask, does such a doctrine invite security and impede spirituality? Does it take away the sense of personal responsibility?

Who of the army think you will fight the more bravely, the uniformed camp-followers, or the one who has already received from his king the decoration of the iron cross?

So far from making secure, it dedicates to a life-long conflict. It looks not forward to the conversion that is to take place in the dim future or backward to the experience of the past. It demands a daily conversion. It teaches that "the old Adam in us should, by daily sorrow and repentance be drowned and die, with all sins and evil lusts; and, again a new man daily come forth and arise, who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever."

Nor does the doctrine preclude that deep experience which the prodigal enjoys who has again reached his Father's house. While it teaches that it is possible for a man to grow into the Christian life without ever knowing the time when he was not a Christian, such experiences are not ordinary. The believer in baptismal regeneration may also celebrate that bridal hour of the soul when it sings:

"To those who fall how kind thou art,
How good to those who seek.
But what those who find? Ah! this:
Nor tongue nor pen can show;
The love of Jesus, what it is
None but his loved ones know.

ARTICLE V.

GOD IMMANENT, AND THE INCARNATE WORD.

BY PROF. W. H. WYNN, PH. D., D. D.

It is essential to our conception of God that he owns all things, that all physical and moral forces are immanent in him. All worlds are his, and all that those worlds carry through space, conspicuously whatever in them displays a quality of being most like his own. We delight in the thought that everywhere over these cosmic masses, swimming in immensity, the stately steps of man are witnessed, and that the highest product of creative energy is represented in him—that, indeed, God made the inert ponderable masses, with the view of putting on them a creature, whose distinction it should be, that he can think and love.

We speak clumsily on such matters, I know—with an embarrassing perplexing limitation in the unavoidable anthropomorphism of the words we must use. God owning things; God having a proprietary right to the works of his hands,—clearly these awkward figures of rhetoric can do no more than limit the vast idea that rests with sufficient vividness on all minds, of the inherent, organic, immanent relation of God to the universe which he inspheres.

Happily there is a corrective element in the lame phraseology we are obliged to use, as if there were a tacit agreement between the mind and its crippled formula, that, always, there should be laid on its shoulders but the merest moiety of the stupendous burden there is to be borne. “The work of his hands”—we have clearly said what we did not intend. He does not work with his hands; our stammering representation has put him aloof from the things he has made, and yet there is the utmost unanimity and good-will between the mind and its staggering phrase. The inadequacy of language in all this high range of thinking is self-confessed—in the same way as we look into the

sky, and talk familiarly of it, when we know that there is no such thing, but rather immensity on the blue border of which the wandering vision has been stayed. Doubtless the inadequacy of human language has its correlate, and furthermore its origin, in the conscious impotency of the mind itself, when struggling with all that class of ideas in which the infinite is involved. We are so bound in thought by the analogies of the physical eye, as to shrink back from that which presents no outline or limits round which the eager intellect may feel its way. And it is the fashion of our time to discourage all effort, and all anxiety of mind, with reference to everything—all subjects of inquiry—that cannot, at least, be proximately defined.

This were bad, considering, first, that it cannot be done, and, second, that it is just in that direction that human yearning most uneasily craves. Conscious short-coming is not simply a stimulus to effort, but it has always been accepted as a pledge and prophecy of something beyond. Out of what vista does discovery come, if not from a point far over the hills of our childhood, and from horizons ever widening with the march of mind? Moreover, how ruinous to the hopes of man, and the deeper springs of his aspiration, to expunge divinity from the whole range of his terrestrial experience, and then drop the pall of nescience over every dream he may have of the undiscoverable beyond. Short-coming is one thing, and hopeless incapacity is another; the one incites to opportunity, the other shuts a door upon emptiness, and calls the groping spirit of man a fool. The one asks help to see—like the dying poet crying out for “more light;” the other is enamored of darkness, and blows with the bitter breath of malice on all the candles of God, shining hitherward from the crypts of the worlds.

But why is it, that we so readily divorce God from his works—put him on the outside—and prefer to see the worlds that spin from his fingers roll on of themselves. It might be said, conventionally, that the natural man—meaning thereby the man who lives and revels in the nature-realm of his being, without thought of an opening sky above him—is not Godward, and is content, morally, and for ends of carnal comfort, to omit or es-

cape the disturbing idea whenever he can. That is true, but it is an answer to our inquiry from a tribunal of conscience to which we have not appealed. All men, of whatever moral temper, are liable betimes, to drop heedlessly into the delusion of an absentee God, tortured, mightily, and intellectually harrassed by it, because they would not have it so, and falling, oftentimes, because of its persistence, into the despairing persuasion that it is the outcome of an inherent limitation of the human mind. You cannot be conscious of an ever-present God—therefore do not try—against this evil counsel some assuring word of philosophy or religion must come to our aid.

Much is gained when we have clearly indicated where the difficulty lies. In general we are confronted with our infirmity in two directions, first, in nature, where there seems to be too little will, and then in man, where there seems to be too much. It is with mathematical precision that the stars keep in their courses, and the law of necessity, or the spring of self-active forces, seems to have the whole material universe for its eminent domain, running out from its central furnaces in the sun, to the farthest vibrating atom of the pendant worlds. Where mathematics are incumbent things are not free, whereas it is essential to our conception of God that he shall move through immensity with untrammelled feet. The old Hebrew singer, speaking of the “free spirit” of God, and that other, of his brooding over chaos in the free origination of the cosmic masses that shall carry life on their bosom—have simply voiced the inalienable instinct of the human mind in entertaining the thought of God. But, confessedly, on looking on this inert bulk of a world, laying the hand on it—its banks of clay, its rocks, its dust—it does not much respond to any intrinsically worthy conception we are wont to entertain of God. Nor is there much advance on this, when we look on organic life, pulling itself loose, in a manner, from the fetters of gravitation, and getting power to move above the fixity of the everlasting hills. Trees, and animals, not even the majestic march of mighty populations of men, can, in any wise, take the place of God in our gropings, nay, it is with difficulty they suggest him as having his abode and chancery other-

where. It is not impossible for devout people and philosophers to work themselves into a mood of that kind—and the mood is a lofty one—to see God, or have a sense of his presence, in the perennial miracle of the vital forces about us, but it is something that does not fall spontaneously in with our habits of thought. These trees, these waving fields of grain, these fowls of the air, these busy men, neither singly nor in the aggregate, may put themselves congenially, and with satisfied fulness, into the place of the human idea of God. All over this region there is a lack of liberty, and the intrusive sense of the dominion of force.

Could there be stronger evidence of this, than in what has happened to the scientific men, who have completed their formula of reality with the conception of force—impersonal force—the universe all that, and nothing else? Going out into nature in any direction, with appliances to reduce the grosser forms of things, and throw search-lights down the hiding-places of the distant and obscure, they have been able to report nothing, seen or conceived, that can be called by any other name than force. Streaming all round their pathway, thousand fold, running together and diverging, leaping and scintillating, are the myriad forces constituting the sum of things, and merging at last into what may conveniently be called the Prime Force, the unembraceable All, the matrix of the worlds. It is a vast matter, but they have no notion of calling it God. It is, however, the utmost the mind can do, and if it will not stand for God, why—then—dismiss the idea of God. It is something to be noted down, that no most ardent materialist has ever proposed his All-Force as an equivalent or substitute of God—as meeting the requirements of that idea as it lies on the human soul—rather, he sees that the idea of God, if it be not a whim, must be sought for on the other side of an impassable gulf. All this goes to show that there is a valid human difficulty in seeing God in the natural world, and that scientific research and formula will not repair the breach.

But going up higher, may we not have better success in a region where the distinctively human quality has a province all its own, and the free man, as in the oldest of anthropologies,

may image and implicate a free and omnipresent God? Assuredly here the poets and philosophers have found their Olympus, and have seen, or dreamed they saw, the divine splendors breaking all round the sky. Man is godlike—we say this, when there would be a conscious incongruity in speaking after that manner of the mightiest sun-globe that burns in space. Bulk and brains are at opposite poles, and it is always after the analogy of the living man, flashing an original creative energy from his brain, that we speak of God. He must in some sense be man-like, rather than star-like, or sea-like, though, doubtless, in his bosom he must always carry the stars and the seas—otherwise the idea, however much emblazoned with the light of kindling worlds, must go. Confessedly, now, there can be no God purely of bulk, with energies running on forever and fixedly in astronomic grooves, and having no range of freedom in what he does. In that case, it were not He but It—or, what is the same thing, the virility of the idea, its freshness, its consistency, its essential significance is gone. So then, clearly, if we are to find God at all, we must climb up over a vast scaffolding of inert worlds, and effect, somehow, an appreciative opening into the central mystery of human life. Something deserving the title of a creative force, lives somewhere in the human frame, and we have the indefeasible feeling that as we get near to this, we get proximately near the inner shrine of the increate life of the world. To do something, to face an alternative, with power to turn this way or that, to come down seemingly from nowhere upon the muscles of the hand, say, now flaccid and inactive, and by creeping into the fingers, move them to their subtle magic, and to ends far beyond the scope of the compulsory instincts—this is the godlike quality in man, and from of old this has anchored the mind of the world upon God, going, as it were, by direct intuition, from the image up to its essential archetypal source. The mind, lifting itself on the ladder of its own freedom, has mounted up to God—is not that enough?

And yet it is just at this point, just in the heat of our self-consciousness, when we promised ourselves to be nearest our God, that, to speak in paradox, he reveals himself as farthest

away. The old doctrine, "man in, God out," becomes intensely and crushingly real, when we look directly on that quality in the make-up of man which most assimilates him to God—his freedom, his having some space in the realm of being exclusively to himself. In so far as he stands on the merest inch of isolated, self-controlling energy, his tenure, in whatever way we may consider it, is essentially *allodial* in its character—his own—since joint occupancy in a realm of that kind is no more conceivable, than that God should be held as doing that which the accountable man himself has done. The burglar that robbed the bank, and murdered the cashier—it would not do to say that God did that, though, visibly, the whole catalogue of physical processes involved in that adventure, except one finest jot of self-determination in the case, were automatic movements, going on, not of themselves, but certainly in no respect by human option or will. All the vital chemistries were active at the time, the myriad forces at work in the heart, and lungs, and brain, and all the finest net-work of tissue, moulding the powerful arm of the man, with which he dealt the deadly blow—forces, if not running of themselves, then by a power within them, that we cannot otherwise think of than as the impulse of God. But we can never come to believe—spite of the strutting challenge of the materialism of our time—that God lifted that bloody hand—or irresponsible force, if we must accept the substitute—or, that anybody else than the perpetrator is to be credited with the deed.

But clearly the alternative opens out "a patch of ground" in the universe of being, where we seem to be compelled to look in upon a spot that is vacant of God—where the free man must preëempt the space, or not be free. This is an old difficulty, the stubborn, insoluble riddle of the metaphysics of all time. And often enough, the great ones, in their confusion, or perhaps in their reluctance to leave a problem they cannot solve, will coax themselves into the belief—absurd on the face of it—that the individual man, as, likewise, the inert worlds, do in some inexplicable manner stand outside of God. God has thrown the outermost rim of things so far downwards and outwards, that sec-

ondary causes, and agencies more or less isolated and free, are delegated to do his bidding there—he himself, meanwhile, in some way of actual transcendence and fact, holding himself aloof.

In the case of man, who seems to stand alone in his freedom, the theory of an outside God is cautiously commended, on the ground that the territory thus isolated is infinitesimally small—contracting more and more as science goes on widening the domain of invariable law, as if the fact of isolation were to be measured by square and rule. A little here is altogether equivalent to an infinity of much, for to be safely outside of God, for the briefest moment of duration, or for the barest point of being that can be shadowed in the thought, is to be none other than God. If God is out at any single point of being, however conveniently small, then there is a gap there, an ontological hiatus, that is fatal to the whole order of the world. Moreover the territory invaded by this fallacy is not small, and, indeed, can never grow less. Here, specifically, is the despair of science. For, having gone far and labored hard to extend the dominion of law, these industrious workmen have made no inch of progress in besieging the human will. They are not even bearing that way; they are groping in a direction in which the thing is not found.

But let us think for a moment of what this infinitesimal jot of *factitive* capacity must imply. What can it not do? Seeing the heroic confidence and sublime self-devotion with which it drives on in a career of ever widening conquest, suffering no most formidable difficulty to remain long in its way. Genius, in the sense of easy comprehension of nature's secrets, and the timely mastery of her forces, when the clamor of necessity is shouting that way, seems always a spring of self-generated resource, and the miracle that is thrown upon the throbbing world, the product, purely, of the mighty brain that brooded over its task. The laboratories of our day are teeming with miracles of this kind, and the utilities are taking to themselves the whole prestige of our wonder-working age. The utilities—that is the working of a thousand wheels in tireless revolution in the service of man—subtle forces, such as electricity, and magnetism,

and others we have not yet learned to name, going and coming, on speedier errands than if riding on the wings of the wind—these may well fill up and crowd the horizon of the public thought of our time, because of the imposing spectacle they present. The product of all this, the physical comforts and general well-being made to abound, through these agencies, in our busy communities, come in but sparingly for our gratulatory gossip, considered along side of the inventive thaumaturgy that gave these agencies place.

In all this—and it is a field imposingly vast—we seem to see the isolated individual bending over his task—the inventor alone with his apparatus and his thoughts, awaiting the favored moment when he may throw his noose over the escaping energy, and draw it into the service of man. But it is the inventor that absorbs our wonder, unless, perhaps, we consent to divide it up between him and the subtle force he has succeeded in drawing into his toils. God seems out of view. Neither the inventor, nor we, the curious multitude that have come to look on, may assert a conscious turning to any discernible deific quality in the work done—the roar of furnaces, the driving of wheels, a network of rails engirdling the world, light gleaming, as it were, from a thousand man-made suns. It is the glory of man, his skill, the marvel of his mind that engages us, and farther than this if we attempt to go, we seem feeling our way with groping hands in a limitless domain of impersonal force. To call this God, or to accept it in any terms of equivalence for the idea, would be to try over again the ill-fated experiment of the high-sounding systems of our day—seeking the living among the dead, and building an altar on cloud-wrapt promontories beetling o'er the abyss. Better turn the other way, and think to find the God we crave in the personal mind-force, or some imposing aggregate of it, that marches through the centuries, and chains the elements to its chariot, and is out on the planet, and reasonably we may suppose, on all the rocky worlds that roll in space, fashioning them in conscious mastery and self-mastery to ends within itself. Only, there are two insuperable objections

to this; First, mind-force moving in a mass, and with proportions however vast in the limitless aggregate of the on-flowing years, is nevertheless, as compared with the brute immensities it is marching to conquer,—the waste places of the universe which it never can reach—a very little thing, too hopelessly restricted in compass to be reckoned a God. Second, it lifts itself—this Humanity God—so high above the current of our mortal years, in such isolation of withdrawing quality as to drop out, quite exclusively, all reciprocal warmth of conception which inheres indissolubly in our idea of God. It becomes impersonal—something over us, like the atmosphere that closes in the world, and so but a substitute, somewhat more plastic and elastic, for the brute immensities upon which it moves.

And so the pendulum oscillates. In the region of mind-force we come nearer our God, it is true, but are doomed to see it swing off, on the one side, into the august aloofness of the unfeeling and unfatherly aggregate—a piled up *tumulus* of mind, from which the glowing life of the individual has exhaled—or on the other, into that confounding mystery of the free isolation of man, where, as before hinted, he seems to stand for the moment alone, his God being nowhere, or clearly on the outside.

We come now to an unsuspected difficulty—still within what appears to be the factitive resources of the human mind. Man is distinguished as the creature that talks, the one being alone from whose lips the articulate, thought-burdened word goes forth on the air. Language, considered as articulate intelligence, is the distinction of man. Of all the animal creation, he alone stands upright, and coins his breath into volatile thought. The “word”—*that* epitomizes all other human resource, and is the first and chief achievement of the creative faculty, which on any reckoning, lifts man infinite leagues above the brute. To roll, and twist, and modulate the thought principle through the air channels of the physical body, ringing the vocables over vibratory reeds in the throat, and cutting them into significant surds and sonants with the supple tongue and lips, until across the interval the ear catches the wisdom and eloquence of a soul that otherwise were brutishly dumb—this is, by all odds, the high-

est product of the creative skill of the free man, if, indeed, it be ultimately a thing of skill at all. We are apprised of the long and acrimonious controversy raging round this point—as to whether human language, the articulate, intelligible vocable, is the invented product of some social necessity of man, as his clothing is invented, his instruments of art and industry, the tent or house in which he lives; or, whether there is not some deeper origin for it, in the organic structure of the thinking mind, so that we hear the articulate word coming up from the mental deeps always and inseparably with the articulate thought, which is the note of difference between the mind of man and the irreflective thought-movements of the brute. Is human language, as summed up in the articulate word, and as set over against the indeterminate cry of the brute or the bird, an artificial product—the mute man making the discovery, after a time, that he could wing his intelligence on the facile phonetics of his animal voice—or, does the mind of man, as distinguished from the mind of the brute, inherently, in its thinking, advance by measured postulates, steps of reflective self-reckoning, as the measuring inch-worm loops up its hind feet to the point the front ones have attained, the word coming of necessity at the precise moment the postulate plants its foot?—this is the question that has so long divided our philologists into hostile camps.

The controversy concerns us now, only as illustrating the trend of scientific speculation away from the *ex deo* conception of the whole system of things under which we live. It is pretty uniformly conceded that language, with its implications of a distinct mind-process that has no clear analogy among the brutes, presents the most formidable obstruction to the evolution formula, now so unanimously accepted by scientific men, as the law underlying all laws in the ongoing of things. Stumbling elsewhere, perceptibly, this noted formula is especially hampered in the presence of the human word. It comports best with this theory, that there should be no breaks in the ascending links of animal life, no leaps, no gaps, no chasm, over which it would not be possible, at least, to throw a conjectural bridge. But the breach here—between the indeterminate cry of the brute, and

the intelligible, articulate utterance of the man, even if the dull monosyllable mark the limit of his linguistic skill—the breach here is most difficult to span, since, for ages and ages, no brute in closest domestication with man, has made the slightest approximation toward the free use of the syllabled word. I can talk with my dog in language which he understands, and he answers back in language which I cannot mistake—but he will never be able to frame a sentence, or utter a single word, which in itself—alone—would warrant the presence of the “free logic” of the human mind. There is a discrete difference there, a boundary line, which we are strongly inclined to suspect was laid down in the primitive order of things—how, where, why, we may not venture to tell. Presumptively that boundary line fences off, in essentially non-interchangeable provinces, the two kinds of mind—of the brute and the man—just as the ether and atmosphere may crowd each other in open spaces, but never venture to “swap off” in the midst.

Now we must respect, and indeed reverence, the largest, sublimest generalization that science has ever made, being the out-birth of an effort—unquestionably heroic and commendable—to see the law of continuity running, without let or hinderance, throughout the entire sum of things—rightfully suspicious, also, of any reported interference from without. The great formula is not essentially godless. The most sanguine advocates of it have not set out, with atheistic purpose prepense, to throw down the Christian’s God from his place in the heavens, and blot him out from the clear-visioned horizon of the Christian’s faith. Simply this law of evolution, operative everywhere within the legitimate range of scientific research, is—the only thing in view, and the only thing they have to report. The jog of environment, like the blow on the mineral solution that sends it into crystals, throws up forms of increased powers of endurance, and fitter adaptation to the unfriendly forces among which they must move. And so it is observed that creation, in so far as science can lay hold of it, is a long line of variations, the simpler forms shooting up into the more complex, through slow aeons of imperceptible advance forever—no deific power thrust in, at any

stage of the process, either to help on, or begin anew. It were wholly bootless to call the process itself God; and to go back of the process to find a personal God, would be to abandon the formula in the act, and attempt that which the canons of science peremptorily forbid. Thus God, for the consistent evolutionist is behind a cloud—out of view—not within the range of things with which he has to do, and with him, the worst that may befall, is to keep closed lips on the subject, or shut it up deliberately in agnostic gloom.

All this suggests his prevailing attitude toward the human word—resenting, rather, the theory, that it should come out of a mind of discrete elevation above the physical mouth that gives it vent. It makes an enormous difference, as bearing upon his all-conquering law, whether the word floats down from above, or bubbles up from below—evolution, in the latter case, having some chance of credit in the premises, in the former case, none. Let the man invent his word, under stress of necessity, as in any other contingency crowding in upon physical need—that will be his factitive capacity brought into play, in which, as we have seen, he stands alone, or, at least brings into exercise no power that cannot be shown to be congenially embraced within the evolutionist's list. Inventing under necessity a word—not finding it in some essential distinction, in kind, of the human thinking that was possible only by the aid of the word—that way of getting the word, as we get our food, by absolute manufacture, will comport well with the creed of the evolutionist, and leave no opening for the dread shadow of supernaturalism to creep in. But find the roots of language deep in the soil of human thought—albeit you must open again the doors of metaphysics supposed to be forever closed—and there comes in upon you, with the discovery, a sense of something quite above the range of material law—perhaps the mystery of the human mind itself, the self-consciousness that implicates the consciousness of God, unless the great philosophers have, in like manner, been mistaken in this.

If there be any doubt as to the conventional origin of the word, falling as a vocable from the lips of man, there can cer-

tainly be no hesitancy, as to the wholly artificial character of the alphabetical symbols, with which the word is speedily impaled, to keep it from flying away. Confessedly these are arbitrary in themselves, and they represent the widest range of varying phonetics, all over the world. The Babel of tongues, the hum and chatter of a thousand dialects, shifting and changing almost with the veering of the wind, and dropping into letters under no discoverable law of inherent connection, or binding affinity, between sign and sense—all this has the appearance of surrendering the realm of language to the ordinary agencies and forces which are at work in the material world. Especially as we seem to have with us the drifted survivals, from pre-historic times, of the stages of evolution through which language has passed—the root stage, for example, a language of monosyllables, spoken by swarming, immobile populations in south-eastern Asia—the agglutinative stage, an advance toward grammatical coherence in the art of gluing the roots together, as among the vast Mongol tribes of the Ural and Altaic mountains—culminating in the intricate inflectional apparatus of the Indo-European tongues, made by the fusing of the roots—all these are lying before us, with an almost articulate message that they have worked their way up, by the same law that developed the crust of the earth, and peopled it with organic forms from the amoeba to the man. Evolution lays a confident grasp upon the linguistic domain, and so, to that extent, as elsewhere, gives no hopeful evidence of the presence of God.

When, however, we speak of the conventional or artificial origin of language, we are not allowed to think of art, in its old time sense of the free use of means—it is art, as when jostled by a rushing team on the street crossing, on the one side of you, and the grip of a policeman, on the other, you seek to adjust yourself to a position of safety as between the two—in this way the evolutionary philosophy finds an easy solution for all the aforetime puzzling on the so-called “factitive capacity,” or free energy of man. We must learn to resolve all voluntary power into a subtle reflex, and then to see all things differentiating—from flocculent star-mist, on through ponderous worlds,

and the more and more complex forms of organic life, and the thousandfold efflorescing of mind—by means of the jostling of one thing upon another, and the primordial motion that presides over it all; just as, with old Democritus, the happy jumbling of his atoms built up the world. No interference from without—for, so far as the eye of science reaches, there is no without from which to intrude. Now if the human word is dropt also into this atomic whirl—as, indeed, it must, if evolution is the all-inclusive law of all things—then it is easy to see with what lack of countenance science will hear the news of an “inspired word,” a word, that is, into which the eternities have breathed—the real veritable phenomenon of a “sacred book.”

Ardent scholars in philology, working through Christian missionaries, were not long in discovering the universal presence of religion, as an elemental force in human nature, to the ends of the world. All races, the lowest down in the scale of humanity, have it, a craving to get on sympathetic terms with the august Power that moves about them, in tempest and in calm, with terrible majesty over the sky, and often with silent swaying among masses of men, to issues of fortune, apparently, both beneficent and malign. Among all these, the learned inquirer is compelled to note the early and uniform appearance of the religious leader, and his inspired word, the priest, the prophet, the intermediary, who professes privileged access to the inner mysteries of the unseen and the occult, and reports back to men, in oracular utterances, what in his moments of ecstasy he has seen and heard. These utterances the attending scribe catches and records, and thence, aggregating through the ages, and from farthest back, dimmest, prehistoric years, there are the sacred books, the great ethnic scriptures, representing in greater or less elevation of the religious consciousness, the “inspired word.” Little profits it to have the names of the favored ones, through whom the eternal wisdom was lodged in the written speech of men—their lofty function has this one inner verification—if verification there be—that they caught their message in moments of ecstatic abnegation of self. The message is all. The soul of the prophet was simply the vibratory instrument through which the

supernal wisdom breathed its inspirations on the grosser air, to be caught and concreted at last on the printed page.

We are now prepared to see the special danger, coming in from philological sources, and under the lead of materialistic maxims, that must waylay the critic when he turns in seriousness to the "inspired word." What does the phenomenon mean?—a Bible, a sacred book, say this one, immediately at hand, which all scholars agree in calling the Book of Books. In most general terms, it is a resort to the experience of men to find God, when the vision of him through all other media has practically failed. God was not in the whirlwind nor the earthquake, haply he may be found in the still small voice—in that region of the human soul where its distinctively human and divine affinity is proclaimed in the issuance of the "word." The prophet goes up into the cloud-enveloped mount of God, and is there "alone with the Alone," and out of his holy silences speaks, or sings, as he is moved by the influences coming in upon him from the other world. But what other world?—our critic is inclined, either covertly, or audaciously, to inquire. The whole matter lies there—exactly the thing that so stubbornly eludes his quest—God—the other world—quantities he must find here, or otherwise they are as zero to him. The eccentric man—an epileptic, no doubt,—may have dreams and visions in his ascetic solitude, and, because of his austerities and recognized moral elevation above his fellows, become to them a high spiritual oracle, in all matters unerringly related to their highest well-being in times present and to come, and yet those dreams and visions may have no foundation in fact—may be a "baseless fabric" woven from the hectic aberrations of a fevered brain, believed in earnestly by the prophet, and leading to good, but nothing more. Why not? Do we not in this way account for all the marvels of the pagan mythology, the dreams of Cassandra, the Pythian rapture, the divinations of the Roman haruspex, the seership of the medicine-man in his primeval woods? Confessedly the Koran was born of a mood of that kind, and the Book of Mormon can be credited with no higher source. The Vedas, the Zendavesta, the Shu-King, the Nirvana ecstasies of

Buddha—the alleged jet of supernaturalism in all of them, the orgiastic illumination out of which they are severally represented as having burst upon the world—why may not this all be reckoned down to the eccentric exaltation of the human mind, moving, nevertheless, within the well-ascertained limits of natural law? Even Christian Biblicists look upon the ethnic scriptures in that way—accounting them good and lofty for the amount of spiritual truth discoverable in them, but giving them no credit for contact with the eternities, as Moses, the Hebrew Lawgiver, found with Jehovah in the Mount, or Elijah in the awful cavern of Horeb, or John, the New Testament prophet, on Patmos' fiery isle. On the other hand the critic, approaching the Christian Scriptures from long stretches of arid philological wastes, and under strong traction from the dominant scientific formula of our time, is inclined to put all Bibles in the same category, making them, every one, the progressive product of the higher religious musings of the more gifted and devout spirits, as the ages go along, but with no accredited supernatural access of God to the minds of men. It were well, indeed—God, not coming clearly to view in the natural world, to have him shine in upon the rapt intuitions of prophet or scribe, and make his revelations, well-attested, from thence—well, indeed, but does the Christian Bible meet the case? This momentous question indicates the scholarly religious crisis of the times in which we live.

Now, manifestly, on the face of it, this Semitic Bible, claiming no priority in the order of time, no right of antiquity as having dropt down first, so to speak, from the lowering skies, when the gates of Eden were closed—claiming nothing of this it is nevertheless seen to be, in some recondite particular, of infinite spiritual elevation above all other books of its kind. The learned world concedes this in advance; and now our task is to grasp, proximately at least, the recondite particular that gives this Book its pre-eminence, and authenticates our conception of it, as, in a unique sense, the breathings and broodings of the Spirit of God.

Observe, first, in the absence of all claim whatsoever, of any kind, as set up by the Book itself, on its own account, we are left at liberty to ply it with all sorts of tests consistent with an honest purpose to see what is in it, what real contribution it makes toward lifting up the mystery of our human life and destiny, the common theme of all the sacred books that are extant in the world. What is in it—that differentiates it from all other books of its class, so that these others embody, as it were, the gropings and religious achings of men after God—feeling after God, if haply they might find him—this, God actually found and consciously in their embrace?

Observe the comparative absence of the orphic element, the frenzied rapture of the tripod, that mood of mind that voices itself in hymns. There are some lyrical outbursts in the Old Bible, none in the New—the Psalms, there sounding oftenest like the roll of thunder in the sky, and the cry of the prophet like the voice of many waters, or the clamor of a “lonely city sacked by night.” The rhapsody of affluent imagery characteristic of the oriental scriptures, often incongruous and grotesque, and dropping in prodigal richness from every singer’s lips—there is nothing of this in our old Bible, no hymnings as of sad processions filing through lowly vales, and drowning their distresses in song. There is here, almost alone, though we come tardily to see it, a sublime *epos*, nay, rather, the majestic march of a providential history, in continuous spiritual self-identity, until the great event at which it aimed has had time to mature. It is history—all these pages, turn them onward, from the first to the last, from the exiles of Eden, on to the descent of the Spiritual City, as foreseen by the prophet in the flaming heavens of the apocalyptic dawn—history past, and history to be, centering the world’s chronology round the one transcendent event “toward which the whole creation moves.” If in this history the prophets have a mission, or the preacher, or the moralist, or the retailer of dogma, it is all manifestly tributary to the right ordering of events, to the keeping of the currents in the high channels the great God has cut for them in the flowing years. In like manner, clustering about this history, and helping it on,

were the splendors of a ritual the most imposing and deeply suggestive the world has ever known, all—advisedly let us say it—carrying in its bosom a specific historical forecast of the coming event, at the date of which its meaning and glory must perish like a cloud.

Now holding on to this—to what we have said of the human word lifting the man infinite leagues above the brute, and to what we have characterized as the disabling infirmity of the materialistic formula that dominates the linguistic science of our day—poisoning its critical activity, as it flows round our sacred books, we, the craving, groping world, having turned in that direction to find our God—let us furthermore assure ourselves of the historic verity of this all-incumbent Bible event, the appearance of the Incarnate Word here on our earth, in tangible human shape, by adverting to a wonderful matter, not history, not of the chosen channels in which the providential history flowed, but the very consummate flower of human philosophy among the Greeks. Coming to think of it profoundly, we are startled by the coincidence—that at the feet of the Babe in Bethlehem the Hebrew annalists and Greek philosophers should meet, the philosophers having discovered the point in the human mystery where the divine may intrude,—if, indeed, the divine may ever come into apprehensible nearness to man. It is the *logos* they have found—the *Word*—we may well pause to think out anew the meaning of that term, which marks the limits of the theistic gropings of the acutest minds of the ancient world, and was unconsciously the key to the incarnate mystery, swinging wide the door of the manger in which the young child lay.

We must bear in mind that one of the biographers of our Lord—the one of deepest religious intuitions—takes this term, the “*logos*,” the “Word,” whether from the Alexandrian Theosophists, or from some source nearer at hand, and makes it stand in his sublime Proem for the creative self-determination of the inscrutable God, moving at the heart of things as they float out in the visible heavens, and becoming in due time incarnate in the flesh. “In the beginning was the *logos*, and the *logos* was with God, and the *logos* was God; and all things were made by

him, and the *logos* became flesh"—the Word thus manifesting the Inscrutable in creation first, then preëminently and assuredly in the divine-human figure whom we may confidently call the Incarnate God. With the Greeks, from Anaxagoras on to Plato and the Stoics, and then, nearer the event itself, preëminently with Philo, the contemporary of our Lord, it was "*Reason*," a universal mind element, they had found in the universe, *νοῦς*—for beyond all question the *νοῦς* of Plato, in the *Timæus*, is essentially the *λόγος* of Philo—nevertheless an abstract something, not wholly alive, a kind of dim immanent *divine* which they felt to be the essential creative soul of the world. We note, however, that they gave it a name at the precise point of conscious introversion in which they found it, where the "*word*" emerges, where articulate intelligence first coins itself into sound. There was *Reason*—the "*Word*"—for them a dim, impersonal, sense of the immanent God, the utmost the subtlest intellects of the world could do. Now it is the key-note of the Johannean gospel that this immanent, creative, energy becomes incarnate in the Nazarene, concreting and impressing upon the religious consciousness of the race the reality and all-pervasiveness of the life of God, a truth in every other quarter, as we have seen, but hesitatingly and confusedly announced.

It would seem, then, a most seasonable service to the halting theologies and Bible-mongering of our times, to emphasize this Johannean rendering of the person of our Lord, as the Incarnate Word, expressing the immanent reason and life of all things, as any ordered word of human speech will express the like qualities of the human soul. Down on the human level, within actual sensuous limits, and touching our mortal estate at all points of its tenderest intellectual and spiritual needs, the Incarnate Word comes; and looking at it, pondering it long, holding it fondly within our embrace, we shall have no difficulty in discovering in it the creative fountain of life and light to the world. The Christianity of John is still one step—an enormous interval, indeed,—in advance of the Christology of our day, asking specifically that he, the wandering preacher of the Holy Land, who antagonized evil in its corporate stronghold, and in

one tragic hour vanquished the Prince of the power of the air, shall be accredited with ends of larger cosmic significance than would be exhausted in the spiritual deliverance of a race—a creative function, namely, which, as in the old Arthurian legend, will find the Christ in all the stars. With this book of John before us, we can be satisfied with nothing less—unless, indeed, we keep hugging our scholastic sterilities in stolid self-satisfaction to the end.

Let us try this—a simple experiment, requiring no theologian's learned store, or critic's practiced skill—let us pass the great Proem on, and drop it down, over the whole wondrous three-years' doings of the public life of our Lord. Observe the effect. The Creator seems to be moving on our planet with his divinest energies in reserve. His miracles, which often enough in these days are dextrously cut from the living tissue of his *ensemble*, as an excrescence adhering to the otherwise matchless picture of the ideal Man—lasting over, and clinging, from the gloomy *demonism* of his unhappy time—these miracles, as we must now see, get a creative significance as falling from the fingers of the Incarnate Word. His touch thrills with the forces of life crowding in from all the stars,—distinguished, transcendently, from the pseud-miracles of that and all subsequent time, by exhibiting instantaneous and consummate mastery of all the subtlest forces that lie in the bosom of the natural world. His touch upon the blind eye kindles the opaque retina, as suns are kindled in the heavens, meaning by this reiterated miracle, not only that he gives spiritual enlightenment to the darkened soul, original and underived—a prerogative belonging only to God—but, specifically, that the light that floods the empyrean is his, the very stars themselves being for him the thousandfold eyes of cherubim, looking out always upon the azure space.

And so in every other case—his miracles are but the apocalypse of the immanent God, as was sublimely asserted in this logos-doctrine of John. Their distinction is, they are creative, and not simply restorative—they involve the power that abides in the sifting sun-light, and the restless wind, and the silent

chemistries that weave at the loom of slow time, building up planets, and peopling immensity with teeming worlds. Take any of them—at random, if you choose—diseases of every variety he cures with his word, furnishing on the spot the uncontested evidence that the cure was complete, meaning, as every one must see, that the subtlest springs of physical life and potency are responsive to his touch. He takes the slow processes of nature out of their revolving cycles, and, swifter than the weaver's shuttle, speeds them to their result—as, for example, changing water into wine in the eye and hearing of all the wedding feast. Why not?—the blood of the vintage is his, on all the vine-clad slopes of his own and every land. Further than this, in the desert of Batiha, if hungry thousands are to be fed, the creative resources of all the harvest fields of the world are with him there, and the moving markets, and the manufacturing fires, —all represented in the little parcel of the basket-boy hovering in the crowd—these he can instantaneously multiply on the invisible trays of the air, until the thousands are filled, and a superfluity is gathered up from the sward. Why not?—in him was life,” the life of every stalk of wheat, of every fish that swims in the sea.

Further than this, if the elements sometimes sweep in on us with destructive violence, raging from the four winds, and tossing the helpless fleets on a wrecking sea, and prostrating cities and forests in their devastating track—image, O how impressive, of the fiercer storms that embroil and confound the moral world—at such times it is more than philosophy, more than science, more, I may venture to say, than the meagre gospel upon which the men of our time are satisfied to feed—to look, and see the hand of the Master lifted in the tempest, and speedily all the foam-capped billows drop into a quiet sea, and sing in a summer lullaby to the shore. Or, on that night when the winds were too much for the skilled crew on a foundering bark, and their sail was smitten and the rigging gone, to see the Master, in the fitful brightening of the heavens, walking on the sea, and pressing the watery floor as it had been the grassy knolls of Olivet—the sea, and the night, and the sailors growing calm at

the sound of his assuring voice—certainly there is all here, in those hands and those feet, that there is in any sea, or in any most limitless expanse of the farthest sky.

Finally, if the shadow of death, moral and physical, falls round the fleeting generations of man, with the manifold evil and suffering that nestles in the gloom—disease, the rendings of violence, the madness and mockings of misled multitudes under headway of the leadership of bloody men, the mystery of iniquity, making a space in the moral world where God seems not to be—through all this he will pass, abating no whit of the splendor of his going, and confounding the cross, and robbing the sepulchre, by the droppings of divine pity in crimson currents from his side, and by the luster of his risen body floating over it all. Naturally we inquire, What has the Incarnate Word to do with death? Seeing, now, that he assumes to be the one, sole, increate life of the world. Rather what has he to do with the evil which makes death cast so grizzly a shadow among the fears of men—the darkness, the madness, the despair?—the old cry of philosophy, still echoless and blank if uninstructed by the tragedy of the cross, and its *denouement* in the cheated sepulchre on the resurrection morn. What had the Son of Man to do with death—finding it in its maligner aspect lying heavily on the groaning world, and eating out the heart of hope? Why, he abolished death, that is to say, he opened a rift in the sepulchre, and let in the light of the eternal world. His cry at the mouth of the grave of Lazarus, like his admonition to Mary on the morning of the resurrection—groping among the flowers to touch his hallowed feet—was intended to roll from the minds of men the mistake they were making, the long-time delusion, that God was not in it all, that the race was turned into orphanage because of sin. He meant to say that love was immortal, surviving all the moral and physical ruin that sweeps through the centuries—“rise up, and let us follow in the path of love.” “Let not your hearts be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.” And, then, that this might fall upon their untrained minds with the force of a lesson printed on the vision of the grosser eye, he gathers them on some high point of land, amid the wav-

ing trees, and lifts himself from their presence, rising higher and higher in the azure distance, until he is lost to view, and—among the clustering stars.

In all this we discover that the Incarnate Word reveals the immanent God, by taking up the troubled elements of the divine, that lie apart and are isolated in the vast domain of things—law, and love, and power—and blending them in a living theophany before the eyes of men—dissipating the illusion of philosophy, and of theology, in its grosser habit, as well, that God can be fragmentarily dispensed. Looking to him, as he walks through a little corner of our world, but is manifestly implicating in his creative and beneficent miracle the tributary forces of the realm of nature as a whole, this world and all worlds—we shall be disposed, no longer, to lose our way in abstractions, to say, there is power here, the reign of inexorable law yonder, and love almost nowhere in this heartless tangle of life and death. This bitter mood of skepticism, and the cold blank creed of the materialist, looking with glazed eye on a dead universe, swayed by dead abstractions, the empire of dead gods—all this will be henceforth dismissed, because in the Man of miracle we have the living synthesis of all those powers and principles, which to the dull vision of science, lie severally apart, and are holding in oppressive *mortmain* the barren immensities cut up in strips. Looking to him, and listening to his words—sweet words, and divinely comprehensive and deep—we shall find our God, whom elsewhere, through all the round world we sought in vain, and whom, now, we meet and clasp, not as a pilgrim in a little land, in a little community, lying around a little sea, but the contemporary of all time, nay, “far more deeply interfused,” looking upon us from every tree and shrub and flower, every mountain and stream and plain, from the deep sky that otherwise troubles us, from the cloud and the storm—throwing his mantle round us, meanwhile, to shelter us from the biting winds. Looking to him, we make the discovery—a lesson large enough for any philosophy, far too large, it would seem, for the little systems that embroil the peace of our day—that love is at the heart of things, and that love is something that is never dead—something that

can never die—and that he who threw his wealth of miracle in divine munificence over an unsuspecting world in stupid indifference as to what had come to pass—that he is love, and abides in the world he has made, and is the immanent God because he was the Incarnate Word.

ARTICLE VI.

WASHINGTON:

CHRISTIANITY THE MOULDING POWER OF HIS CHARACTER.

BY FREDERICK W. CONRAD, D. D., LL. D.

There are two ways of commemorating the birth and life of Washington, the sensational and the rational. The former is accomplished with fife and drum, cannon and parades; the latter by recalling his services, rehearsing his opinions and principles, repeating his counsels and portraying his character. The exercises of the one are addressed to the senses, and their effect is ephemeral; those of the other are addressed to the reason, and their impressions may be lasting. The sensational mode of commemorating the birth of Washington is confined to the 22nd of February; the rational is just as appropriate on another day.

Americans have celebrated the anniversary of the birth of Washington for nearly a century. This annual tribute of national gratitude is called forth by an increasing sense of the value of his public services. So conspicuous was the part he bore in the achievement of our independence, as commander-in-chief of the armies of the Revolution; so commanding was his influence in the establishment of our government, as president of the convention which framed the constitution; and so successful was his administration of it, as the first President of the United States, that he has been designated by the universal voice of history, as "The Father of his Country."

The more his character is examined and compared with that of others who have taken a prominent part in the founding and government of nations, the greater does his superiority appear.

But what gave Washington his preëminence? It was not genius, for his constitutional endowments were not extraordinary. It was not learning, for his literary attainments were of an ordinary character. It was not eloquence, for he was not gifted with oratorical powers. It was his moral excellence and his piety.

Washington was a Christian. Study his private life, amid the shades of Mount Vernon; contemplate his career as a soldier at the head of the army; scrutinize the acts of his administration as Chief Magistrate of the Republic, and you will constantly find proofs that he was governed by Christian principle. If we exclude the moulding power of Christianity in the formation of Washington's character we can neither account for nor interpret it. Depraved human nature could not bring forth, under the most favorable circumstances, such a man, such a hero, such a ruler, such a patriot, and such a statesman! Heathenism, in the highest stages of civilization attained in all ages and lands, has produced no character approximating to that of Washington.

The study of the life of such a man must be interesting to any nation; but the contemplation of his character by the American people, cannot fail to prove both instructive and useful. Any individual aspect of his character would furnish a fruitful subject for consideration, but the relation of his whole character to Christianity presents a theme of special interest and value. We therefore propose to consider Christianity as the moulding power of his character:

I. WASHINGTON AS A MAN.

He was born on the 22nd of February, A. D. 1732. His father died when he was eleven years old. His mother was an intelligent and energetic woman. She was a member of the Church of England and adorned her profession with a godly life. She realized her obligations as a mother, and instilled the principles of Christianity into the youthful mind of her promising son. After she became a widow, it was her daily practice to read portions of "Sir Mathew Hale's Contemplations" to her children. The influence which this course of training had upon

him in his early youth, is manifest in his unwavering devotion to truth, and his inflexible adherence to justice, in consequence of which he was usually selected as umpire to settle disputes among his associates. In his boyhood he commenced the practice of copying striking extracts from books and papers, among which many of a religious character are found. He also compiled and improved nearly sixty rules for the government of his conduct, most of which embodied Christian principles.

He made an early profession of religion, by uniting with the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was connected with the Fairfax Parish at Alexandria, and also with the Truro Parish at Pohick, seven miles from Mount Vernon, and served in each as a vestryman. When at home, he attended divine worship regularly at one or the other of these places, and nothing but sickness or the extreme inclemency of the weather interfered with this practice. Bishop White states that while at Philadelphia, both during the Revolutionary war and the period of his presidency, he constantly attended the religious services of Christ's Church; that he was a devout worshiper and hearer of the word; that he believed the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as taught in the Thirty-Nine Articles; and that he adhered to them through life.

He always said grace at table. On one occasion he forgot himself, and from the force of habit performed this duty, when a clergyman was present. Being told after his departure, of this incivility, he expressed his regret at the oversight, but added: "The reverend gentleman will at least be assured, that we are not altogether graceless at Mount Vernon."

He was faithful in attending to his private devotions. An adopted daughter of Mrs. Washington, who lived twenty years in his family, says, that he rose before the sun, and remained in his library till called to breakfast, and that he visited it again an hour before retiring in the evening. Mr. Robert Lewis, who was his private secretary during the first part of his presidential term, tells us that on one occasion he witnessed his private devotions both morning and evening in his library; that he saw

him in a kneeling posture with the Bible open before him, and that he believed this to have been his constant practice.

He improved ordinary and extraordinary opportunities for enjoying the means of grace. The testimony furnished by members of his household is, that Washington always received the Holy Communion with his wife before the Revolution. While the American army lay encamped at Morristown, N. J., it occurred that the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated in the Presbyterian church of that village. One morning during the previous week Washington visited Mr. Jones, the pastor, and thus accosted him. "Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sabbath; I would learn whether it accords with the canons of your church, to admit communicants of another denomination? The Doctor replied, "Most certainly. Ours is not a Presbyterian, but the Lord's table, and hence we give the Lord's invitation to all his followers of whatever name." The general responded, "I am glad of it that it is as it ought to be, but as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, for I purpose to join with you on that occasion; though a member of the Episcopal Church, I have no exclusive partialities." It is hardly necessary to add, that he received a cordial welcome, and was numbered among the communicants on the following Sabbath.

He made the moral principles of Christianity the rule of his life. These principles are recorded in the Holy Scriptures, which he received as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. He calls the Bible "the pure and benign light of revelation," by which man must be directed through the journey of life. These principles were also practically illustrated in the life of Jesus Christ, whose example he recommended to others for their imitation. In writing to the governors of the different states on disbanding the army, he concluded his epistle with the prayer; "that God would dispose the people to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean themselves with that charity, humility and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion, and without an humble im-

itation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."

These principles he learned in his youth, studied in his manhood, and inculcated in his published writings. While he graced the presidential chair, numerous addresses were presented to him by all the different denominations of the land, every reply to which was distinguished by correct apprehensions of the doctrines taught and inculcated by Christianity. These and other evidences drawn from his life demonstrate that Washington was a Christian. He was emphatically a trophy of Christianity which received him as a precious charge in infant baptism; nurtured him in a pious family; trained him through her holy ministry; confirmed him by the laying on of hands; transformed him by the power of the Holy Ghost; nourished him with the Lord's Supper; moulded and governed him through life; gave him a peaceful and happy death, and has doubtless placed upon his brow, through her Divine Author, the crown of immortal glory.

II. CHRISTIANITY REGULATED THE CAREER OF WASHINGTON AS A SOLDIER.

We contemplate Washington in the next place as Commander in Chief of the armies of the Revolution. But shall we henceforth lose the Christian and find in him nothing but the soldier? or shall we rather find in him the blending of the Christian and the soldier, even the Christian soldier? We do not regard the profession of a soldier as incompatible with that of a Christian, but believe that a soldier can and ought to be a Christian. The nature of the cause which he espouses, and the manner in which he conducts himself, must determine his moral character as a soldier. Judged by this criterion, we claim that Christianity made Washington a Christian soldier. He publicly rebuked the vices to which both officers and soldiers were addicted. In his instructions to his generals he says: "Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigades. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of the ruin of many a brave and gallant officer." In his orderly book, he ut-

ters his regrets and expresses his hopes in the words: "The general is sorry to be informed that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing is growing into fashion. He hopes that the officers will by example as well as influence endeavor to check it, and that both they and the men will reflect, that we can have but little hope of the blessing of heaven upon our arms, if we insult it by our wickedness and folly."

He procured regular chaplains for the army and encouraged both officers and privates to attend statedly upon the religious services conducted by them. It was his habit, even during his first military campaigns, to have regular religious services conducted; and it is expressly stated, that during the active scenes of the Great Meadows, this was done every day. And his opinions relative to the importance of the appointment and influence of chaplains, may be inferred from the following extract, transcribed from his orderly book: "The Honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to appoint a chaplain to each regiment, the commanding officers are directed to procure chaplains of exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them suitable respect. The protection and blessing of heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The general hopes, that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

He acknowledged the divine obligation of the Sabbath and enforced its observance in the army both by his authority and example. He issued a general order, enjoining upon all the scriptural duty of remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy. No unnecessary duties were required to be performed in camp on that day. Indeed, so general was its observance that the enemy became aware of it, and frequently took advantage of it, by making annoying attacks on the Lord's day. While the principal encampment of the army was at New Windsor, he attended divine service regularly on the Sabbath, though his headquarters were several miles from the town. Nor was this an isolated in-

stance, but it was his regular habit of reverencing the holy Sabbath as head of the army.

He approved and kept days of humiliation, fasting and prayer, for the forgiveness of national sins and the aversion of national calamities. Such days were appointed by Congress during every year of the struggle for independence. Washington not only sanctioned this practice, but he enforced the duty of a rigid observance of those days, upon all, under his military jurisdiction and conformed his authoritative injunctions by his own example.

He hailed the appointment and observed days of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for special interpositions of Providence and the bestowment of general blessings. "To-morrow," says he, in his orderly book, "being the day set apart by the Honorable Congress for public thanksgiving and praise and duty calling us all devoutly to express our grateful acknowledgments to God for the manifold blessings he has granted us, the General directs that the army remain in its present quarters and that the chaplains perform divine service with their several regiments and brigades, and he earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day.

He believed in the special providence of God and attributed every favorable event, his own success and the the ultimate triumph of the cause of liberty, to its direction and superintendence. In speaking of the progress of the war, and the manner in which the Americans had sustained it, he said: "The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel, who lacks faith, and more than wicked, who has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations. I am sure there never was a people who have more reason to acknowledge the divine interposition in their affairs, than the people of the United States; and I should be pained to believe, that they have forgotten that agency, which was so often manifested during our Revolution, or that they have failed to consider the omnipotence of that God who is alone able to protect them."

He regarded Jehovah as the God of battles and constantly prayed to him for victory and success in founding our nation. Illustrations of this are abundant. While the army lay en-

camped in New Jersey, a soldier arrived before day with dispatches for the commander in chief. On his way to his room, he had to pass along a narrow passage. As he approached the door, he was arrested by the sound of a voice. He paused and listened, and found it to be that of General Washington engaged in audible prayer. He seems to have been so absorbed in his devotions that he did not hear the footsteps of the soldier, or if he did, he was so intent on prevailing with God, that he would not be interrupted.

A Quaker, by the name of Potts, living near Valley Forge, mentions the following occurrence: He was passing through a grove not far from headquarters, when he heard the voice of a person engaged in prayer. He stopped and listened, and soon afterwards saw Washington come out from a kind of natural bower. He hastened home and on meeting his wife accosted her thus: "Wife—Sarah—My Dear—all's well—all's well—George Washington is sure to beat the British—sure!" What's the matter with thee, Isaac?" asked the astonished wife, "thee seems to be moved about something." "Well, and what if I am moved—who would not be moved at such a sight as I have seen?" "And what hast thou seen, Isaac?" "Seen! I've seen a man at prayer in the woods—George Washington himself! And now I say, just what I have said; all's well—all's well—George Washington is sure to beat the British—sure!"

In the last official act which he performed, that of resigning his commission as General in Chief into the hands of Congress, he closes his military career with these prayerful words: "I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping."

These were the sentiments and such was the practice of Washington. In him we find the exercise of the highest military authority, regulated by the soundest Christian principles. The Christian man was not sunk in the unchristian soldier, but the Christian man appeared in the Christian soldier. The Christian virtues of his private life, he maintained without blemish during

his military career. What he recommended and enjoined upon others, he practised himself; what he condemned and reproved in others, he avoided himself. Thus by his unwavering devotion to religious principle, amid all the vicissitudes of war, he won the esteem of his officers, the attachment of his soldiers, the confidence of his countrymen, and the admiration of the world.

III. CHRISTIANITY WAS THE GUIDE OF WASHINGTON IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT AS PRESIDENT.

As a perfect revelation Christianity must constitute an adequate and infallible guide to individuals, families and nations. A Christian ruler must, therefore, receive and be governed by its teachings in national affairs. This was true of Washington, who, as a ruler at the head of the nation, administered the government according to Christian principles.

The sacred Scriptures teach that government is an ordinance of God—that is, a divinely appointed agency, clothed with power to control the political conduct of man towards his fellow. This Washington believed, and hence he felt, that not only the right to establish government, and the authority to administer it, came from God, but also that the opportunity for laying its foundations, and the wisdom and justice incorporated into its entire structure, were derived from God. The first act which he performed as President, the delivery of his inaugural address, begins with a prayer addressed to God, as the author of government, in which he acknowledges that he is the Almighty, that he rules over the universe and that he presides in the councils of nations.

Christianity teaches that the end of government is the good of the people, consisting in the protection of their inalienable rights, and the promotion of their civil interests. This truth Washington received and promulgated in his first official communication, by declaring that the end for which the government of the United States was instituted was the liberty and happiness of the people, beseeching God to overrule every human de-

fect in it, and to consecrate it to this righteous end by his benediction.

Christianity also teaches that all political blessings come from God. He is called in Holy Writ "the Father of Lights, from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift." This Washington realized and announced to Congress in his first message in these words: "In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and private good, I assure myself, that it expresses your sentiments no less than my own, nor those of my fellow countrymen at large, less than either."

The Bible teaches that national virtue is indispensable to national prosperity. Its revelation declares that "righteousness exalteth a nation." To this fact Washington testified as follows: "There is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity."

The sacred Scriptures teach that national sins are the certain precursors of national judgments and ruin. Nations are held responsible to God for their conduct; hence, if they violate their obligations to him by their crimes, he must, as a righteous God, visit them with his chastisements in this world, as he does not deal with them as nations in the world to come; and if they refuse to repent of their sins, he will eventually destroy them. All this is expressly affirmed in God's word: "Sin is a reproach unto any people." "The nation and people that forget God shall be destroyed." This Washington confessed thus: "We ought to be persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation, that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained."

Christianity is the only reliable source of national virtue. Virtue, in its Christian sense, is righteousness or holiness. The virtue of a nation is made up of the aggregate virtue of the rulers and citizens composing it. As there can be no individual holiness whose root is not found in the faith of the Bible, there

can be no national righteousness, whose source does not spring from the faith of Christianity. This the Scriptures affirm: "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin," "Without faith it is impossible to please God." To this conviction Washington was brought, as appears from the following emphatic testimony: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. Let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of a peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail, in exclusion of religious principle."

Christianity teaches that the Bible is the higher law of nations. Man derived his being from God by creation and his development by providence. He appears on the stage of human action, individually as a person, socially as a member of a family and politically as a citizen of the state. In each of these positions he bears peculiar relations, upon the fulfilment of which depends his well being. A perfect revelation for man must, therefore, furnish him with rules of action in each of these departments of life. And as God has determined man's moral and political wants in his organic development, he has also supplied these wants in his written revelation. It contains many civil precepts, comprehensive in their character and universal in their application. Its requirements of rulers and its demands of citizens, are founded on the immutable principles of right. Its fact as developed in the history of the patriarchs, the government of the Jews, and the progress or retrogression of other nations, furnish precedents to follow and beacons to shun, of the greatest value to the nations of the earth. Its instructions on every important subject connected with government constitute an infallible rule of faith and practice for nations, no less than all its other instructions, constitute a similar directory to individuals and families. All this Washington believed. He searched the Scriptures daily. And that he was governed by the dictates of Christianity in all his official acts, the records of his administration abundantly attest.

IV. THE PATRIOTISM OF WASHINGTON.

Patriotism means love of country. It may exist either in the form of a natural affection, or in that of a spiritual virtue. As a natural affection, it has its source in constitutional endowment and is common to all men; as a spiritual virtue, it has its source in divine grace and is found only among Christians. The patriotism of Washington was confessedly of the highest order, and must, therefore, have been Christian patriotism. In this respect he stands pre-eminent among men, and this lofty position he attained by developing the characteristics of Christian patriotism. The patriotism of Washington was lofty and disinterested. Natural patriotism is often selfish, while Christian patriotism is always disinterested. Such was the patriotism of Washington. Mr. Sparks, his biographer, says: "Love of country with him was invested with the sacred obligation of a duty, from the faithful discharge of which he never swerved for a moment, either in thought or deed, through the whole period of his eventful career." His patriotism received its impress from the Holy Scriptures, and constituted a part of that system of ethics, in which he lived and moved and had his very being."

He persistently refused to receive any pecuniary reward for his services, either as chief of the army or head of the government. "As to pay, sir," said he, on receiving his military commission, "I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I ask." Actuated by the same disinterestedness, he said in his inaugural, on taking the presidential chair: "When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty, required, that I should renounce every pecuniary consideration. From this resolution I have in no instance departed, and being still under the impression which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments

which may be indispensably included in the permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimate for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenses, as the public good may be thought to require." Although, after he had retired to the shades of Mount Vernon, his country more than once offered to bestow upon him a gratuity for his great and noble services, he persistently refused to receive it, except on the condition of devoting it wholly to public and beneficent uses.

Furthermore, this patriotism was characterized by unaffected diffidence and modesty. He was remarkably free from ambition. He neither sought office, nor coveted honors. In answer to his appointment as Commander in Chief by Congress, he declared with the utmost sincerity, "that he did not deem himself equal to the demand with which he was honored," and on resigning his commission at the end of the war, he refers again "to the diffidence in his abilities with which he accepted it, and ascribed the success of their arms to the rectitude of the cause and the patronage of heaven, in favor of the efforts of the union." Bishop White, who was often in his company, testifies that "he never knew a man who so carefully guarded against speaking of himself or of his acts." And his adopted daughter corroborates his testimony by saying, "that he spoke little generally, never of himself, and that she never heard him relate a single act of his life during the war." "Deeds, not words," was his motto, and he illustrated it practically in his life.

His patriotism was characterized by unreserved consecration to the service of his country. With him self was nothing—country everything; when his country called he listened, and what it asked of him he granted. He sacrificed ease, domestic happiness, home and fortune for his country, and if need be, he was ready to offer his life upon its altar. In 1798, when war with France was imminent, John Adams, then President, nominated and the Senate confirmed him as Lieutenant General. In reply to this appointment, after mentioning the extreme reluctance with which he would again leave Mount Vernon, and en-

gage in the conflict of arms, he says: "In case of actual invasion by a formidable force, I certainly should not entrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, (being then 67) if my services should be required by my country, to assist in repelling it. As my whole life has been dedicated to my country in one shape or another, for the poor remains of it, it is not an object to contend for ease and quiet, when all that is valuable in it is at stake, further than to be satisfied, that the sacrifice I should make of these, is acceptable and desired by my country."

His patriotism was characterized by true humanity. This manifests itself in sympathy with the unfortunate, kindness to the distressed, and tenderness to the helpless. His humanity drew from him the tear of sympathy, when he signed the death warrant of Major Andrè, and induced him to resist the law of retaliation towards prisoners of war. The British, under various pretexts, frequently violated the dictates of humanity towards the Americans, who fell into their hands. General Lee was treated by them with great severity. Contrary to the laws of war, Congress resolved, under this provocation, to retaliate, by treating British officers falling into their hands, in a similar manner. But Washington disapproved of it, and strongly remonstrated against it.

Washington was a Christian philanthropist as well as a philanthropic patriot. He had approved the Declaration of Independence, which announced as a self-evident truth, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He had fought the battles of the Revolution, under the inspiration of that philanthropy which holds that these rights belong to man, as such, and not to classes, castes conditions or races. He saw and felt that human bondage stood in direct opposition to the great principle of freedom for which they had fought, and that it was inconsistent with the foundations on which the government they had inaugurated was based. He believed that slavery was a social, political, and moral evil, whose eradication was indispensable to the peace and harmony, the happiness and prosperity, the perpetuity and glory

of the nation. Under this conviction, he said, in a letter to Mr. Morris, "There is no man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see some plan adopted for the abolition of slavery." As early as 1786, he formed the deliberate purpose, never to possess another slave." And in his last will and testament, he performed what many regard as the crowning act of his life, the emancipation of his slaves. After giving specific directions concerning them, he adds: "And I do moreover most pointedly and solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereinafter named, or the survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch when it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect or delay." Yes,—Washington was, beyond all question, a Scriptural Abolitionist, and a practical Emancipationist, and he was both, because he was a Christian philanthropist.

His patriotism was characterized by unwavering confidence in the justice of the cause of Independence. He believed that man had the right, and when actuated by intelligence and virtue, the capacity for self-government. As England had violated her obligations to the Colonies, circumscribed their rights and threatened them with an intolerable despotism, Washington deemed it the duty of the Colonists to resist oppression and declare and maintain their Independence. He believed that England was wrong—America right. And this conviction never left him. It fired his heart, nerved his arm, supported his spirit and rendered him invincible. He did not credit the atheistic apothegm, that "the battle is always with the strong," nor agree with Napoleon, that "victory was always on the side of the heaviest artillery;" but he believed that Jehovah, the God of battles, was also the God of the right, and that in the end the right, under his guidance and blessing, must triumph.

His patriotism was characterized by indomitable courage. Courage is that quality in man, which enables him to brave dangers without fear. It is of two kinds, natural and moral. A bully may have the one, a Christian only can have the other. In him natural courage is elevated into moral bravery. And this Washington possessed in an eminent degree. His biogra-

pher says of him in this respect: "Courage, physical and moral, was a part of his very nature, and whether in battle or in the midst of popular excitement, he was fearless of danger and regardless of consequences to himself." Numerous instances might be cited, illustrating both these aspects of courage and fortitude, in his extraordinary and hazardous life.

His patriotism was characterized by unfaltering hope of ultimate success. The ground of his hope was the righteousness of the cause he espoused, and the aid of Divine Providence. In a great extremity he said, "Providence has so often taken us up, when bereft of every other hope, I trust we shall not fail even in this. It has at times been my only dependence, for all other sources seem to have failed us. Ours is a struggle designed by Providence to try the patience, fortitude and virtues of men. No one, therefore, who is engaged in it, will suffer himself, I trust, to sink under difficulties, or to be discouraged by hardships. To that good Providence, which has so remarkably aided us in all our difficulties, the rest is committed." This hope never left him. As a star it gave him light, as a compass it afforded him directions, and as an anchor it sustained him amid the upheavings of revolution and the vicissitudes of war.

Finally, his patriotism was characterized by an entire absence of personal ambition. He had no lust for power, did not covet its exercise, and when placed in his hands by his admiring countrymen, he never abused it. He was the idol of the nation. He lived in the heart of the army, and had concentrated upon him the unreserved confidence of the people. No man had ever placed before him a better opportunity to exalt and invest himself with regal power. Nor can it be said with truth, that the temptation was never presented to him. There was a time when such a degree of dissatisfaction and distrust existed in the army, that a distinguished officer was selected to communicate to Washington their desire that he should consent to inaugurate a constitutional monarchy, and permit himself to be placed at its head as King. He indignantly spurned the very thought, and after rebuking severely the originators, and condemning the whole plan, he said, "If I am not mistaken in the knowledge of

myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable." Such was the noble answer of Washington to the tempter, who held before him the crown of a kingdom. Under similar circumstances, Cromwell and Napoleon yielded to temptation and fell, while Washington sustained by the grace and example of Jesus Christ, when tempted of the devil, stood invincible in virtue, and true to the principles of constitutional liberty, to the establishment of which he had devoted his life.

V. CHRISTIANITY WAS HIS GUIDE AS A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER.

Philosophy in its general sense is the science which investigates phenomena, inquires into the causes whence they originate and determines the laws which govern them. Political philosophy examines the history of nations. It goes back to their origin, accompanies them in their onward progress and follows them down to their end. It collects the facts thus discovered, generalizes their principles and declares the law of national perpetuity, prosperity and honor, as well as that of national decline, adversity and ruin.

History has been defined as "Providence teaching by example." If this definition be correct, then it follows, that God has established certain laws, for the government of individuals and nations, which, if obeyed by them, will result in their physical, intellectual and moral well-being, and which if disobeyed by them, will eventuate in their bodily, mental and spiritual injury. This truth is readily conceded so far as regards individuals, but it is practically ignored, if not theoretically denied in respect to nations. But the study of history furnishes abundant proof, that God has no more left nations to their own guidance independent of his authority and laws, than he has done so with individuals. As he has called individuals into being, given them laws and enforced their sanctions upon them by disciplinary chastisements in this world, as a precursor of retribution in the next, so also has he planted nations, given them the laws of their development, executed their sanctions upon them through

his Providence, laying the rod of judgment upon them, when they transgressed his laws, and opening the hand of blessing over them, when they observed his statutes. What is thus confirmed by observation and history, is frequently declared in the Scriptures, and was practically illustrated in God's dealings with the Jewish nation.

All this Washington firmly believed. As a Christian he found this truth running through all the precepts, promises and threatenings of God's law, and exemplified in the entire course of human life as portrayed in the Bible. As a statesman he discovered its presence in all his political and historical studies, and witnessed its workings in the experience of all governments and states. As a philosopher, he connected the agitations of nations, with the unsound elements incorporated into their political systems, attributed their revolutions to the enactment of unjust and oppressive laws, their degeneracy and decline to their neglect of virtue and religion, and their chastisements and downfall to their vices and crimes. He also traced the connection existing between the adoption of righteous constitutions and the enactment of just laws, and the loyalty of the people prompted by intelligence and virtue, resulting in national stability and progress, perpetuity and glory. The lessons of political wisdom, which Washington thus learned, he treasured up in his mind, communicated in conversation, recorded in his writings, and urged them upon his countrymen for their future guidance. They are found scattered through his correspondence, his military orders, his public state papers, but more especially collected and more thoroughly digested in his memorable Farewell Address. No one can read this carefully without being impressed with the fact that Washington was deeply versed in political philosophy, as taught in the sacred Scriptures and illustrated in the history of nations. This is strikingly evident from his "Farewell Address" to the American people. The motives which prompted him to leave as a dying legacy the treasures of political wisdom, contained in the casket of his valedictory to the people of the United States, he declares in these words :

"A solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my

life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, and of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a free people." Guided by the philosophy of history, he saw ;

1st. That no confederation of separate and independent states would be adequate for the government of the Colonies. He says: "To the efficacy and permanency of your Union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced."

2nd. He maintained that the Union was indispensably necessary to their perpetuity and happiness. "The unity of government," said he, "which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, of your peace abroad ; of your safety, your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize."

3rd. He saw that attempts would be made to depreciate the Union in their estimation, and efforts put forth to destroy it. "It is easy to foresee," he continues, "that from various causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, and many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies, (though often covertly and insidiously,) will be directed."

4th. He saw that the consequences of disunion would be most disastrous. He tells them, that it would expose them to extraordinary dangers, interrupt their peace with foreign nations, involve them in those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not bound together by the same government, which their own rivalry would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter.

5th. He maintained that the experiment of the American form of popular government, having been put into operation, should have a fair trial. "Is there a doubt," asks he, "whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of a government for the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full trial."

6th. He believed that virtue and intelligence are indispensable to the success of the American experiments of self-government. "It is substantially true," he concludes, "that virtue or morality is a necessary spring to popular government. The rule extends, indeed, with equal force to every species of free government. Who that is a friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric. Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened."

7th. That submission to the Federal Government and the support of the Constitution are duties imposed upon every citizen. "The government of the United States has a just claim," continues he, "to your confidence and support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, and acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government, but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authoritative act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."

8th. That all factious opposition to the government while engaged in the exercise of its legitimate functions, is utterly unjustifiable and ruinous in its effects. Hence he says: "All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or overawe the regular delib-

eration and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of the fundamental principles of government and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, and to put into the place of the delegated will of the people, the will of a party."

9th. That sectional jealousy would disturb and endanger the Union, and hence ought to be avoided. "It is a matter of serious concern," he adds, "that parties have been characterized by geographical discrimination, as Northern, Southern, Atlantic, and Western, whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views, one of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, in order to misrepresent the views and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings, which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

10th. That party spirit would prove the worst enemy of the Union. "Let me warn you," says he, "in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party. It serves to distract the public counsels, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, and foment occasionally riot and insurrection. The alternate domination of one faction sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which in different ages has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume."

11th. That vigilance will be required to maintain the constitution in its integrity, and to guard against efforts to undermine its fundamental principles. "Resist with care," he continues, "the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the constitution, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in its forms, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be overthrown."

12th. That a proper balance of the different powers of the government must be established, and each department restricted to the exercise of the powers legitimately belonging to its sphere. "Those entrusted with the administration of the government," he says, "must confine themselves to their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon that of another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate into one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism."

13th. That a strong central government was indispensable to quell disturbances at home, and to prevent aggressions from abroad. "A government," says he, "of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, in a country as extensive as ours, is indispensable to the efficient management of your public concerns. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where a government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of factions, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to secure all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property."

14th. That the motives addressed to them to preserve the Union, transcend all other considerations which could possibly arise to induce them to abandon it. "For this"—*i. e.* the maintenance of the "Union,—says he, "you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name American which belong to You in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes. Cherish, therefore, a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to the Union, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching its preservation with jealous anxiety, indignantly frowning upon the first dawn-

ing of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts, and discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned."

These principles of action inculcated by Washington for the government of the American people are founded on the fitness of things. Have not his prognostications been verified in our national experience to the very letter? Have not his political prophecies become veritable history? Were not his counsels drawn from a profound intuition of the working of all the elements introduced into the American experiment of self-government? Do not his warnings prove that he had a philosophic insight into the consequences which self-interest, human policy, personal ambition, party spirit and sectional jealousy would produce in our land?

Verily, Washington was emphatically the Newton of the New World, who discovered the true law of political gravity, according to which the state planets might revolve around the central sun of the Union in harmony and order, without clashing or displacement during all time! He was the political Luther, raised up by Providence to overthrow despotism, to gather together the solid materials of self-government, and to become the architect of a new temple of freedom, whose foundations should be laid so deep, that it would resist the power of all ages, and prove the asylum of the nations. He was the modern Moses, whom God called to the top of the American Sinai, to whom he revealed the law of national right, with its promises and threatenings, and whom he commanded to communicate the same to the people of the United States. Yea—he was the American Joshua, destined to lead our fathers across the Jordan of the confederation, to measure off to each state its inheritance in the Canaan of the Union, and having accomplished his mission, deliver to them his parting counsels in the Farewell Address.

From the foregoing facts in the character and career of Washington, the following inferences may be appropriately drawn:

1. Christianity has the legitimate right to claim Washington

as the trophy of her transforming power. As a man, Washington received a Christian training, made a Christian profession, and lived a Christian life. As a soldier, he embraced the sentiments, recommended the virtues and enforced the duties of Christianity. As a ruler, he received the Bible as the higher law of nations, inculcated its political and moral principles upon the officers of the government, and governed as a just man, fearing God. As a patriot, he was unselfish and disinterested, and devoted the energies of his whole life to the service and welfare of his country. And as a philosophic statesman, he clearly understood the perils of the nation, and led it through the convulsions of war and revolution to victory and peace; established a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and left wise directions by which the permanent prosperity of the nation could be secured. Dr. Emmons presents Washington as an example worthy of universal imitation, in the following terse and appropriate words: "Let those," says he, "who manage the affairs of government imitate his wisdom, integrity, patriotism, and invincible firmness. Let those who command in the field, imitate his courage, fortitude, prudence, patience, secrecy and self-possession. Let those, who live in wealth and affluence, imitate his private charity and public beneficence. Let those who are fond of splendor and parade, admire his republican virtues, and imitate his sublime simplicity of manners. Let the wealthy and independent farmer follow his example of economy, industry and perseverance in business. Let the aged imitate his decent gravity and perfect equanimity. Let the young despise the vanities which he despised, avoid the vices which he avoided, and practice in the morning of their days, those sober and manly virtues which he practiced. In a word, let all classes and descriptions of men, imitate that moderation, that public spirit, and that tender concern for the good of all mankind, which he so eminently displayed in every part of his public and private life. Whoever wishes to be eminently useful in any private employment or public station, let him think, and act, and live like Washington."

The question now arises by what power were the traits of

character which distinguished Washington formed? Not by the unaided power of human nature, under either its barbaric or civilized development. If no character like that of Washington has ever appeared either among the savage tribes or the most enlightened nations of antiquity, then we must look elsewhere for the influence under which it was formed. And that this is the case, the history of their most renowned sages, moralists and heroes attests. Socrates was covetous and incontinent. Diogenes was a debaser of coin. Cato was unjust and cruel. Seneca was dishonest and a sycophant. Cicero was vain and ambitious. And Plato was guilty of practices, which forbid mention. Christianity on the contrary, condemns all these vices, inculcates an opposite class of virtues, and can point to innumerable examples among mankind who have avoided the one and practiced the other.

Among those most distinguished, and whose careers were in some respects analogous to that of Washington, we may cite Constantine, Cromwell and Gustavus Adolphus. As Washington was free from vices, and exhibited moral excellencies of so high an order that it could be truly said of him, "Vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand," Christianity has the indisputable right to claim him as the workmanship of her new-creative power.

Moral excellence is an indispensable characteristic of true greatness. Without it, neither genius, nor learning, nor wealth, nor power combined can form a character of true greatness. In Washington all the elements that constitute it were combined, and hence, he appears in this respect preëminent among men. This will become manifest by contrasting his character with that of Alexander, Napoleon or Cæsar.

Alexander always carried Homer's *Iliad* with him and formed his character after the model presented by the heroes of the *Iliad*, and after having become master of earth, sat down and wept that there were no more worlds to conquer. Washington inscribed the precepts of the Bible upon his heart, conformed his character to that of Jesus Christ, and when he had conquered

one of the largest empires on the globe, sheathed his sword and retired voluntarily to the peaceful scenes of private life. Napoleon's aspirations knew no bounds. He enrolled the youth of France, the hope of the nation, led them forth as food for cannon, and deluged Europe in blood, in order that the sun of his military glory might rise to the zenith, and eclipsing that of all rivals in its brightness, never again go down. Washington felt no ambitious cravings, was moved to tears when compelled by duty to sign the death warrant of an unfortunate youth, and never made an effort to acquire personal glory. Cæsar was so inflated with ambition that the liberty of Rome demanded his assassination at the hand of Brutus. Washington shrunk from the approach of power, turned a deaf ear to the voice of his country calling upon him to continue in office; he spurned with indignation the offer of a crown, and died, leaving a nation in tears and the world in mourning.

Concurrent history assigns to Washington preëminence among the great men of all ages. Rufus King in writing to General Hamilton from England said: "Washington is generally regarded not only as the most illustrious, but as the most meritorious character that has yet appeared." Charles J. Fox declared, that "a character of virtues so happily blended, and so wholly unalloyed by any vices, is hardly to be found on the page of history." Guizot considered him "of all great men, the most virtuous and the most fortunate." Frederick the Great, in presenting him a sword, gave his judgment concerning him, by having inscribed upon it: "From the oldest to the greatest general." Dr. Emmons testified that "he was unquestionably the most illustrious person of his age, and that America had produced no man who was so eminently useful to his country and the world as he." He has accordingly been canonized by the world as "first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Major General Lee, in delivering his funeral oration in the Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, said: "His fame survives, bounded only by the limits of earth and the extent of the human mind. And when, our monuments are done away — when nations now existing shall be no more—when even our

young and far spreading empire shall have perished—still will our Washington's glories unfaded shine, and die not, until the love of virtue ceases upon earth, and earth itself sinks into chaos." And Edward Everett, the Cicero of America, pronounced him "the greatest of good men, and the best of great men."

It is evident, therefore, from the character, principles and patriotic services of Washington, that the American people owe to Christianity, directly and indirectly, not only their individual and domestic, but also their national and political blessings. It was Christianity raised him up, moulded his character, qualified him for his work, directed his course, and crowned his efforts with success. They should, therefore, prize Christianity as a sacred national legacy entrusted to their safe keeping for the benefit of posterity, and indignantly frown down every attempt to undermine its principles, and to inaugurate the reign of infidelity in their national affairs. Let them embrace anew the Christian faith of Washington and give earnest heed to his wise counsels; let them inculcate his political and religious principles, imitate his noble example, and maintain and perpetuate, in their integrity, the free institutions which he and his coadjutors founded. Thus every department of our government would be administered in righteousness and justice, and all the benefit of government as an ordinance of God would be attained. Education and literature would be fostered; our industries, and commerce would flourish; morality and religion would become all pervading; liberty and union would be perpetuated and remain the glorious inheritance of our nation forever.

ARTICLE VII.

HARNACK ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.*

BY REV. G. W. FRITSCH.

Not long ago a controversy broke out in evangelical Germany that occasioned no little commotion in theological and non-theological circles. This controversy is especially connected with the name of Prof. Adolph Harnack, of Berlin, and concerns the authority of the Apostolic Confession. It is also characteristic of the present ecclesiastical situation of Germany, and makes an interesting episode in the history of that modern theology that would be known by the name Ritschlian.

We will briefly look into the origin of this controversy, in order, if possible, to arrive at a proper judgment as to its importance. Concerning the external occasion of it, it may be said that it was comparatively insignificant. A young Würtemberg pastor, Schrempf by name, had refused to use any longer the Apostolicum at regular church service and in connection with baptism, averring that its contents were no longer in harmony with his own conviction of faith. The Würtemberg Church authority found itself in consequence constrained to remove this man from office. "The fall of Schrempf," being much discussed in the various periodicals of Germany, became the occasion of a number of theological students (who were ready to take the same position) asking Harnack whether he could advise them to petition against the use of the Confession, especially at regular service and on occasions of ordination. Harnack gave his opinion verbally in school, and shortly afterward he published in the "Christlichen Welt," his written notes, which were the basis of his answer to the inquiring students. This published deliverance gave immediate offense and contained, indeed, not a little that was offensive. The deliverance of Harnack is briefly as follows: The so-called Apostolicum is in urgent need of revision, since

*Based upon an article in the *Litteratur-Blatt* of August and September.

it is no longer the full and immediate expression of evangelical faith. On the other hand it cannot be doubted that the Christian who is well informed in church history is obliged to take offense with regard to some statements contained therein. The use of the Apostolicum in the Evangelical Church is therefore a calamity, the removal of which has become a duty. For the present, he says, every effort that is made, should only be directed to the abolishing of its liturgical use, or, at all events, to the granting of liberty not to use it, or to substitute another evangelical form of faith. It is a matter of duty on the part of evangelical pastors to labor in this direction, while at the same time it is unnecessary that any one who knows himself in harmony with only the fundamental thoughts of the evangelical church, should sever his connection with the church on account of the Apostolicum.

With this declaration Harnack desired to allay the greatly agitated minds of the young. But the result was that a controversy was kindled whose significance and dimensions Harnack himself did not forecast. From all quarters protests and rejoinders came forth, so that finally the Evangelical High Consistory in Berlin felt constrained to issue a somewhat tame explanation of the matter. But those in sympathy with Harnack did not keep silent. They published the so-called Eisenach Declaration, which is dated October 5, 1892, and signed by sixteen professors and nine pastors in office, all of these being theologues who had gone through the school of Ritschl. Now this Eisenach Declaration is said to be in substantial agreement with some earlier tenets of Harnack, thus showing its origin—and contains three principal points: 1. It disputes the authority and importance of the apostolic symbol, yea, denies the authority and binding force of the symbol in general, and thus calls into question the validity of the Church itself. 2. It substitutes for the Confession of the Church, containing the treasures of Christian knowledge slowly gained in the way of dogmatic historical development, what they call "the labor of conscientious and true science," which, of course, means, of a particular school and its theology. 3. It declares the recognition of the eternal God-

sonship of Christ and his birth of the Virgin Mary as something irrelevant to faith, and thus sets in opposition to the Christ of history and the church, the Christ-figure of so-called modern theology.

Only in one point does this deliverance differ from Harnack's earlier article. Instead of speaking about efforts that should be made to abolish the liturgical use of the Apostolicum, it says: "We do not desire to take from the evangelical church the so-called Apostolic Confession."

This controversy now received a new impetus by a pamphlet that Harnack sent out, the title of which reads: "The Apostolic Confession, an historical account, besides an after-word." In this brochure he gives in brief the result of his historical investigation concerning the Apostolicum. The main points only can be briefly stated. Harnack holds that the Apostolic Confession in its present and enlarged form is the baptismal symbol of the South Gallican Church; that in the fifth century it was written down by Bishop Foustus in Regium, and that in the eighth or ninth century it was received in Rome under the influence of the Carolingians, and thus, gradually, through the influence of Rome became the common property of the entire Church. But this enlarged Gallic-Frankian symbol, in the form it is used to-day, rests upon a much older one, namely, the old Roman Confession, which was recorded by Rufin, between 390-400, but was already complete in the Roman Congregation in the year 250, and whose roots, that is, some standing sentences and forms, can be traced back to the second century.

From the historic origin of this symbol Harnack endeavors to show its need of revision. The following are his points of consideration:

1. The Apostolic Confession has no right to the name, because it is a Roman Catholic product, and bears the marks of its time very plainly.

2. We must therefore go back to the old Roman Confession. But this also must not be designated apostolic in its origin, since it was the Roman Congregation that first perfected the legend of its apostolic origin. Neither must it be called apostolic as to

its contents, for some statements therein are wanting in the original apostolic proclamation and betray the influence of Roman Catholic dogma. Here belong especially the words: "*conceived by the Holy Ghost*;" "*born of the Virgin Mary*;" and "*resurrection of the body*."

In order to make the uselessness of the Confession further clear to the evangelical congregation, Harnack demands that every statement be employed in its original and historical sense, regardless of the question whether it is possible, according to the measure of a later and a more perfect knowledge, to attach an evangelical sense to the several statements of the Confession. For example, according to Harnack, in the first article of the Creed, where it speaks of the Father, the Father of the *world* is meant. We have no right to twist this in such a way as to make it mean that he is the Father of Jesus Christ also. Similarly, in the third article, the Holy Ghost stands originally, he claims, as a gift and not as a person, consequently it is not allowable to import this sense into the symbol. But in spite of these criticisms, Harnack is not willing to diminish the value of the Creed to the ancient Church. He says: "If one reflects upon the strange and singular thoughts that were already at that time attached to the Gospel, how Chiliasm and Greek philosophy threatened to ensnare the Gospel, this ancient Roman symbol appears doubly great and venerable." But the most significant criticism Harnack has reserved for his conclusion. He misses in the symbol the directing of attention to Christ's preaching, the exhibition of him as the Saviour of the poor and sick, the publicans and sinners. He looks in vain for his personality as it shines forth in the Gospels. The symbol contains in reality only headings, the attractive picture of Christ is wanting. No confession is complete, he holds, that does not represent Christ before our eyes and impress him upon the heart.

Now it may be said that while Harnack has made learned investigations and shown no little shrewdness, he has nevertheless been found inconsistent with some of his own earlier teaching, has been corrected in some points, and made to appear unreasonable in his positions and criticisms.

If one takes a survey of Harnack's historical investigation, it must be stated that the view hitherto held by the Church, concerning the Apostolicum, has in no point been shaken. It is an incontrovertible fact that the symbol, in its briefest form, can be traced back to the first half of the second century. During this time the Church did chiefly two things: She collected the apostolic writings of the New Testament, and produced the first clear confession of apostolic faith. Both were called canon, *regula fidei*. This confession was afterward enlarged; but the additions are nearly all insignificant. They only show that the symbol has not been constructed of parts quite equal in importance and worth; that the individual members of the same demand that they be considered in their relation to the whole, and valued according to their position to the centre of faith.

The question concerning the origin of the symbol is not an important one. The evangelical Christian is not chiefly concerned as to *when* and *where* and *how* the Apostolicum originated. He is content to know that it is the clear and unequivocal expression of his own faith, and that he knows himself in harmony with the apostolic church. He is mainly concerned about its contents. His question is: Does God's word teach it? Is it true? But here Harnack is at hand again. He asserts that the Apostolicum is tainted with Roman Catholicism, and that is only by putting into it another sense that you can press out of it an evangelical sense. But this foreign sense he rejects as a miserable expedient, and demands a strict historical interpretation. Now it is indeed true that the statements of the Symbol are so put that a Catholic may find therein his own faith again. But who should feel disposed to offer an objection to the Symbol on this ground? It is further to be admitted that a few expressions are, at the present day, employed in a different sense from what the ancient church intended. But what should prevent us from conveying to the Apostolicum our better evangelical knowledge? Or who will compel us to reduce the knowledge, since then achieved, to the level of the understanding of that time? This objection of Harnack has plainly forfeited all claim to recognition.

Then, as we have seen, Harnack asserts that some statements of the symbol are in direct contradiction to the original apostolic announcement. To these, among others, belong the words: "Conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary." With this assertion of Harnack we properly enter the very center of the whole agitation, and the reasons which led modern theology to assail the symbol can, for the most part, be traced to this point. Here are found differences that directly concern the faith, and which can therefore never be adjusted. At this point we are face to face with the question of the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let it suffice in a few words to clear up the matter. For quite a time it has been no longer a secret that the school of Ritschl professes to hold to Christ, the incarnate Son of God, in a quite different sense from what the Church and Luther have held. To this school Christ is essentially a human personality in which the love of God has come nigh to us as in no other man ever before. For this reason also does this school decline to touch upon and settle any points with reference to the person of Christ, that belong to the supernatural sphere. To this may also be traced their aversion to metaphysics, also their distaste for the teaching of the preëxistence of Christ. "One sentence from the sermon on the Mount," says Harnack, "is worth more than all the theological reflections on the preëxistence." It is in reality the old rationalism, only in a somewhat altered form, that comes to light here. The Church, on the other hand, and we with her, confesses Christ as the incarnate Son of God in the true and real sense of the word. "It is indeed no unevangelical boasting respecting some doctrinal statements, which is here made, as our opponents allege, but it is the living faith in the person of the Redeemer that is forced upon our consideration. Now, since faith means trust in a person, one must know who this person is, in order to be able to repose full confidence in him. If Christ is not true God, but a mere man, then his work also is not the work of God, but that of man only. This is the vital point in question. But both statements, "conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary," declare incontestably that this man

Christ came from above, God of God, Light of Light. The Ritschlians desire to expunge these declarations from the symbol, because they have gone astray and become confused in their faith in the only begotten Son of God. It is therefore to be emphasized as strongly as possible, that in this dispute about the Apostolicum, the questions to be considered are fundamental questions, which can never be decided upon mere historical ground. The whole matter revolves around the question as to who and what Christ is."

We conclude with a word from Luther: "The devil attacks Christ with three vanguards. One of these will not allow him to be God; the other will not allow him to be man; the third will not let him do what he has done. Each one of these three is intent upon destroying Christ. Verily all three must be believed, namely, that he is God, and that he has become man for us, that is such as the first symbol says, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost.' If one part is wanting, all parts are wanting, for faith shall be and must be complete and round."

ARTICLE VIII.

SABBATH-DAY OR SUNDAY, WHICH?

BY M. G. BOYER, D. D.

The word Sabbath-day is frequently used for Sunday, and Sabbath-school for Sunday-school. This is done in such a manner as to convey the idea that there is no distinction to be made between them. They transfer the Jewish or Hebrew Sabbath-day, in its entirety, into the Lord's-day. From this great confusion has arisen and misunderstanding in the discussion of the Sabbath-day and Sunday questions, and much leverage has been given to the Seventh-day Adventists and to all Sabbatarians. That there is a distinction to be made between the Sabbath-day and Lord's day is evident (1) from the fact that the Sabbath-day is the seventh and Sunday the first day of the week.

Much has been said about the impossibility of ascertaining which is the seventh day and the variation of time in latitude

and longitude. But this does not matter in the least. When the Israelites were at the foot of Mount Sinai they knew what day was called the seventh. The Lord recognized that as the seventh whether it was in reality or not, and said it is the Sabbath of the Lord. "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." The Sabbath then is not the first but the seventh day of the week.

The Jews were very careful in the reckoning of time, so that the seventh day in the time of Christ without doubt corresponded exactly with the day that was designated from Mount Sinai as the Sabbath of the Lord. This seventh day is frequently called in the New Testament the Sabbath-day. This is the day that our Lord said was made for man, that is for man's benefit, and we may suppose that, if it were for his benefit that it should be abrogated or changed, it would be done.

The first day of the week is not the Sabbath of the Lord but the Lord's day. It is connected with the incarnate Lord and with the New Testament dispensation. When the Lord says in the Third Commandment that the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, no one has a right to say that the first day of the week is the Sabbath—especially when it is under divine direction called the Lord's day. These two days are therefore distinct and should each be called by its own name.

That there is a distinction to be made between them is evident (2) from the fact that the Hebrew Sabbath was abrogated or became obsolete by the establishment of Christianity, and the Lord's day took its place. There is that in the Sabbath that belongs alone to the Israelites as a nation and people, and there is that in it that belongs to all nations and people of all ages and can not be abrogated.

When God had finished his six days work he rested the seventh day from all his creative work, and blessed the seventh day and sanctified it because he had rested on that day, Gen. 2 : 1, 2.

It is true there is no evidence here that God commanded Adam and Eve to keep this day holy. But we may suppose that inasmuch as they were created in the image and likeness

of God, and with such a nature as to require rest, it was taken for granted that they would imitate their divine Creator and rest on the day that he had blest and sanctified. In case they should become alienated from God and rise up in rebellion against him, they would likely pay no attention to this day but would be obliged to pay the consequences. We may suppose that Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise, and all who, along down the ages, feared God and loved him, followed the example of the great Creator in keeping holy the day that he had blest. When God's peculiar people become numerous enough they are organized into a nation, the Church and State are united and God himself is the ruler. He comes down upon Mount Sinai, as such, and formulates this general law of work and rest, which hitherto had been observed if at all only by individuals and families who feared and loved God, into the Third Commandment—giving it a civil and typical form. God demands that his nation follow his example in keeping holy the seventh day. They must do no manner of work on that day because God blessed and hallowed it and because of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. That the Third Commandment has a form peculiar to the Israelites as a nation seems to be indicated by what Moses said forty years after its formulation (Deut. 5 : 2, 3–15) and by the severe punishment attending its violation. “Whosoever doeth work therein shall be put to death,” (Ex. 35 : 2). The man who was found picking up sticks on the Sabbath day was put to death. “The Lord said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death ; all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp,” (Num. 15 : 35). This code was certainly to be in force as long as the Israelites constituted a nation and God's peculiar people. But when Christ, whose right it is to rule, came to this people—“to his own and his own received him not ;” then he rejected them as his peculiar people, and their splendid ceremonial, together with everything that typified Christ and Christianity passed away, and that which is abiding in its nature remains, taking a form adapted to the new dispensation. That the Jewish or seventh-day Sabbath has passed away is taught by Paul in Col. 2 : 16, “Let no man judge you

therefore in meat or in drink or in respect of a holy day or of new moon or of the Sabbath days which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." Paul puts the Sabbath days along with new moons and meats as being shadows of things to come. This does not refer to the Lord's day, for Paul did not have it under consideration, but the conflict was with Judaism. See Rom. 14 : 5, 6 ; Gal. 4 : 10, 11.

The 28th Article of the Augsburg Confession says : "For the Holy Scriptures have abolished the Sabbath and teach that all the ceremonies of the law may be omitted since the publication of the Gospel." If the Jewish Sabbath-day has not been abrogated, then it is still in force and the seventh day Adventists are right in teaching that the seventh day must be observed, for "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt do no work." The Third Commandment demands work and rest. But this is not peculiar to the Jews. Adam and Eve had to work. We must work. Paul commands the Thessalonians to work, 1 Thess. 4 : 11 : "And that ye study to be quiet and to do your own business and to work with your own hands as we commanded you." 2 Thess. 3 : 10 and 12 : "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you that if any would not work, neither should he eat." "Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ that with quietness they work and eat their own bread." But under the New Testament we are not commanded to work because God worked six days in creating, but that we may have bread to eat, clothing to wear and something to give to the poor and to the cause of Christ. It is true we are not commanded to cease from secular work on the Lord's day in the New Testament, but it is taken for granted, as the disciples of Christ, we will. For this law of rest is as old as the race. It came down through the ages taking the form of the Third Commandment and being Christianized, it entered into the Lord's day. Cessation from secular work, then, is the first thing in time in the Lord's day, but activity in the kingdom of Christ is the most important thing. Luther in his explanation of the Third Commandment in his Smaller Catechism refers alone to the active part of this

day. We are commanded by our Lord to preach the gospel, administer the sacraments, not to neglect the assembling of ourselves together and to lay by in store on the first day of the week as God has prospered us. The first day of the week or the Lord's day is pointed to as the time when this is to be done. It became the sacred day because on it the Lord appeared to his disciples after his resurrection, and because on it he poured out the Holy Spirit and the Church gained her first great victory in the conversion of three thousand souls. Christ taught his disciples after his resurrection the things pertaining to his kingdom (this day may not have been overlooked), and promised to be with them always. They were filled with the Holy Ghost, who taught them, took of the things of Christ and showed them unto them, and led them into all truth. Certainly with such a leadership and such a union of the divine with the human, we can confidently believe that the apostles kept the first day of the week under divine direction and thereby designated it as the sacred day under the new dispensation.

We ought not to use the same name to designate these two days that are different in their character. That there is a distinction to be made between these days is evident (3) from the manner of their observance.

The Israelites were to keep holy the Sabbath day by entire cessation from work both by man and beast. The stranger who happened to be in a family as a servant or visitor or one who came to identify himself with the Israelites as a nation must obey this law. It was enacted for the physical, civil and religious good of the people and it must be observed by all.

The reason given for this is that their great King, who created all things rested the seventh day and blest and hallowed it.

The only direction given for the observance of the Lord's day is by Paul in 1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2. But the sacred historian tells us how our Lord and his disciples observed it in establishing Christianity. Early on the first day of the week our Lord took up his life, triumphed over the powers of darkness—appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the other women and to Peter, and gave them instruction and encouragement. He accompanied the two

disciples to Emmaus, showed them the necessity of his sufferings and death, caused their hearts to burn whilst he opened to them the Scriptures, became their guest and manifested himself unto them in the breaking of bread. He also met with the disciples at Jerusalem, spoke words of comfort and cheer, showed them his hands and feet. Ate with them, breathed upon them, gave them the Holy Spirit and the power of the keys. This was a day of great activity on the part of our Lord. He rested from the great work of redemption but worked hard in the interests of his kingdom. On the next Lord's day Jesus appeared to his disciples again for the special benefit of Thomas, and gave them further instruction and encouragement. "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book," John 20 : 30. These signs must have been done on the first day of the week, for up to this time our Lord appeared to the disciples on no other day. After his ascension to heaven our Lord greatly magnified this day by fulfilling his promise of the baptism of the Spirit and in wonderfully working with the disciples in the conversion of three thousand souls.

The disciples followed the example of their Lord in the observance of this day. They were so much edified and built up in meeting with their Lord and in the coming of the Holy Ghost on this day that it became to them the sacred day—a day especially adapted to the carrying out the great commission to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments to all nations. It is true they went into the synagogues on the Sabbath day, but that was the best time and place to reach the Jews, and besides they had been accustomed to do this as Jews. At first the work went on with such enthusiasm that they continued daily with one accord in the temple and in the breaking of bread from house to house, and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved. But it soon became an established custom of the disciples to assemble for divine worship for the edifying of the body of Christ, and for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week. Luther, in his explanation of the Third Commandment, does not refer to the manner in which the Israelites

were to keep the Sabbath day, but to the manner in which Christians are to observe the Lord's day. He says, "That we should so fear and love God as not despise his word and day and the preaching of the gospel; but deem it holy and willingly hear, learn and obey it."

In the keeping of the Sabbath day special emphasis was placed upon rest, and in the observance of the Lord's day special emphasis is placed upon Christian activity.

That there is a distinction to be made between these days is evident (4) from history. Look through the gospels and you will see that the seventh day is always called the Sabbath day and the day rendered sacred by the resurrection of Christ is always called the first day of the week. Pass over into the Acts and Epistles and you will find the same distinction is kept up. The first day of the week soon began to be known as the Lord's day, because of its close and intimate relation to the Lord and to the interests of his kingdom. The seventh day was known among the Gentiles as the day of Saturn and the first day as the day of the sun. On this account the Lord's day soon began to be known as Sunday and all laws enacted with reference to the Lord's day are called Sunday laws.

Whilst the early Church Fathers clearly discriminate between these two days and generally call our sacred day Sunday or Lord's day, they sometimes call it the Christian Sabbath and the Spiritual Sabbath. This discrimination is clearly made in the Twenty-eighth Article of the Augsburg Confession. Much of the recent literature on this subject does not make this distinction, because it is Puritanic. Just in proportion as the idea of rest enters into the Lord's day, it is right to call it the Christian Sabbath. The Puritan, looking at this day from the stand-point of the law, emphasizes rest. The Lutheran, looking at it from the stand-point of the gospel, emphasizes Christian activity. But is the idea or element of rest, found in the Lord's day, viewed alone from the stand-point of the New Testament Scriptures? Look at the example of Christ after his resurrection and of the disciples; listen to the great commission to go into all the world and disciple all nations; look at the large field ripe unto the harvest

and consider the wretched condition of the millions of earth and their possibilities for this world and the world to come through the gospel of Christ, and you see nothing but intense activity. The element of rest does not enter into this day from the side of Christianity but from the side of the law. Work and rest do not make Christians. The law of rest is older than Christianity. It is from the very beginning of the race and has to do especially with our physical, social and political interests and gives Christianity an opportunity to do its spiritual work.

Seeing that these two days are different days of the week, the one being the seventh, the other the first day of the week; that they differ in their character; that they differ in their manner of observance; and that history recognizes this difference, it follows that we should clearly discriminate between them.

Some additional light may be thrown on this subject when we consider,

1. That these two days have a common origin. The day that God blessed from the divine stand-point of creation, was the seventh, but from the human stand-point of man's creation, it was the first day. God ended his work on the seventh day, (Gen. 2 : 2) and he ended with man. That was man's first day. How appropriate was it that he should spend the first day of his being in the worship and praise of his divine creator and on the second day go forth to dress and keep the garden. But in the dreadful fall man lost his very being in the kingdom of God and this day became to him a very different one, he was cast out of the kingdom of God with the curse resting upon him. In the curse was the element of work. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." In mercy a day of rest was provided. It was work and rest. But through the seed of the woman man had the promise of again entering into the kingdom of God. This law of work and rest was made typical of the work of Christ and rest in him, and became a means to help man back again into the kingdom of God. This was done through the ceremonial which was developed in the time of Moses and then it took on also its political form; for Isreal as a nation must be

governed. The ceremonial led to Christ to be Christianized, and when the end is accomplished the means by which it is accomplished passes away. When the seed of the woman did come and brought man back again into the kingdom of God, the first day became the sacred day as it had been in man's primitive state reckoning from man's creation. Christ the second Adam came to repair the damage done by the first and changed man's relationship to this day. Under the old dispensation it was work—go through the forms and ceremonies—and then rest by faith in a coming Saviour. Under the new dispensation it is rest by faith in Christ and go forth to work. The Sabbath day has reference to Christ to come, the Lord's day to Christ having come. The moral in the Third Commandment abides forever, the ceremonial has passed away, and the civil will remain as long as there is a nation to govern—capable however of being changed to suit all times and nations.

2. That the law of rest, as well as work, belongs principally to civil government. When God was the ruler of Israel he enacted laws with reference to the sacred day and enforced them with severe penalties and has set an example to the state and all civil rulers. There is now no theocracy, but civil government is ordained of God. "The powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Christ says, "My kingdom is not of this world else would my servants fight." "Who made me a judge over you." Whilst the kingdom of Christ or the Church is not united with the state yet they are closely connected, but each has its own sphere in which to work and they should work in harmony. The Church should build herself up in the faith of the gospel and teach and Christianize the state. The state should protect the Church in her possessions and work and should enforce by suitable law entire cessation from secular work on the Lord's day, not only for the physical, social, and political good of the people, but that the Church may enjoy, undisturbed, her sacred day and have a good opportunity to exert her benign influence upon the state. The Church is not under the law but under the gospel. Sunday laws are not

to govern the Church but the state. "Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath but also for conscience sake," Rom. 13 : 5. The Church is governed by the higher law of love and is composed of those who are obedient subjects of divine grace and truth, and act as prompted from within. In this highly favored country every Christian citizen should cast his vote and use all the influence he can command, as a member of the state, to enact suitable Sunday laws and see that they are properly enforced. As a Christian and member of the Church he is to go and work—to teach and disciple—that all may become sons and daughters of the great King and rule and reign with him in his kingdom.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

An Outline of Systematic Theology By E. H. Johnson, D. D. Professor in Crozer Theological Seminary, [Second Edition] and of *Eccelesiology* by Henry G. Weston, D. D., President of Crozer Theological Seminary. 8vo. 383 pp. \$2.50.

It is the old faith, but in a new garb. It is, indeed, not the full faith as apprehended by Lutherans, but it is in general, as far as it goes, the evangelical historic faith of the Church, and as it is presented in crystalline forms of expression, with uncommon clearness of definitions and distinctions, and a sublime reserve alike of dogmatism and speculation, we hail this volume as a positive enrichment of theological science. However, Dr. Schaff's tribute to the Lutheran Church as "the Church of theologians" seldom fails of confirmation when one studies the theological systems and treatises which emanate from other communions, and the volume before us, which does not so much as name the word sacrament, and which does not mention the Lord's Supper at all and Baptism only to deny its power to regenerate infants, affords another proof of this distinction.

In many of the discussions here given a Lutheran finds himself at home. So far as our examination has gone there is not a trace of legalism. The way in which Dr. Johnson keeps his hold upon "the Reformers' doctrine of justification," "the very substance of the gospel," is refreshing, and he shows himself possessed of clearer vision than many contemporary religious writers, when he maintains that faith can

meet the modern demand for ethical results. "Justification is the divine declaration that, the claims of the law having been met for the believer, he is relieved from its condemnation; in other words, he who accepts Christ is himself accepted as though he had not sinned." The acceptance of justification is the office of faith, which, however, is "merely a condition, not a ground of justification. However imperative as a duty, excellent as a virtue, or energetic as a principle of conduct trust in God may be, it is not as a good work that faith justifies. To accept a gift, especially to accept a confessedly undeserved gift, is not to assert, but to disavow a claim."

While justification has a "Godward efficacy," in the sinner's release from condemnation, "the inseparable manward result is that the acquittal and acceptance of the believer go into effect in the renewal of his nature." Sanctification and justification are sharply distinguished. "The divine fiat of justification is one thing, and its moral effect in us is another; but neither aspect of the case must be dissociated from the other." They are not to be thought of "as separable in reality." "While no one is justified on account either of righteousness which precedes or which will follow justification, it is variously evident that justification takes effect in, and is inconceivable without, a new righteousness of the believer." Dr. Johnson has too complete a grasp of the subject and of the Scriptures to admit of a possible change of relation without a corresponding subjective change. "The fiat which pronounces a sinner just, like every other word of God, is creative, and goes into effect by making the sinner to be what God calls him." Faith is the conditioning cause of justification; but faith can no more arise in an unrenewed heart, than the heart can be renewed while its wickedness is yet unpardoned." Faith and regeneration mutually condition each other. And justification and regeneration are "not separable acts, but are two aspects of one application of the atonement."

The theory of "the stricter Calvinists" that the Holy Spirit regenerates "without the use of means," Prof. Johnson pronounces "at best but a bold speculation, not supported by any explicit statement of the Bible," and he prefers "the view that the Holy Spirit employs the truth as a means of changing the heart."

Concerning the *nature* of the change, he justly holds "the Bible affords but little knowledge" and that little is attended by virtual warnings against a fancied knowledge," a hint which certain Lutheran theologians may ponder with profit. "The names given to regeneration by Biblical writers are highly figurative and, if taken literally, are mutually incompatible." It is called a begetting, a new birth, a resurrection, a re-creation, a painful dying, an emancipation, an enlightenment, an engrafting. "It is a change so momentous that it may be figuratively designated by any of these names, and so mysterious that it cannot be

literally described by either of them." The known moral element is more momentous than "the unknown process of regeneration."

A similar reverential reserve in the treatment of inspiration must commend itself to all candid students of the subject. "Any attempted rationale of the action of the divine mind upon the human tempts its advocate to a violent treatment of the objections which it is certain to encounter." "An easy solution of difficulties involves even greater difficulties." "To claim too much is to risk even more."

The second part of the volume by Dr. Westcott, "the Constitution and Polity of the New Testament Church," we find less congenial, and less satisfactory. The excuse for the omission of "the ordinances" from Dr. Johnson's work becomes apparent now, since of the 68 pages devoted to this subject 20 are given to the ordinances. We do not feel called upon here to controvert the distinctive Baptist position which is maintained with clearness and force, and on the subject of polity we can in the main accept the views maintained. The statement that the nature of the work of the Evangelist, and its relation to the Apostolic office, "show that it must cease when the apostolic office ceases," expresses a truth which deserves a fuller and a more public discussion demanded by current practical and pernicious errors. E. J. W.

Christian Teaching and Life. By Alvah Hovey, D.D., LL.D. pp. 286. Price \$1.25.

It is gratifying to see the rapid multiplication of religious works by eminent men, in language free from technical terms and adapted to the educated lay mind of our day. Such is the book under review. It is an excellent hand-book of Christ's teaching and the development of his teaching by the apostles in respect to God the Father, the Holy Spirit, himself as to his nature, work and kingdom, and also in respect to man; and, further, of the later formulation of that teaching as found in the principal religious creeds. The latter part of the book is devoted to the relation and application of Christian teaching to life, and the improvement of Christian teaching in substance and manner. The master-hand is seen all through in the clearness and conciseness, and withal thoroughness of presentation. It cannot be read without realizing here and there that a Baptist wrote it, and yet there is such a spirit of fairness manifested towards other creeds that this denominational trend (natural and to be expected) is not objectionable. Better this than that it should be altogether without color, for if a man is in a denomination from conviction he is rather to be commended for commending his creed.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. By Henry M. Baird, author of *The History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, and of *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*. With Maps. Two volumes. pp. 566, 604.

The six large volumes, of which these two are the last, constitute what

may be called, without the least semblance of exaggeration, a mammoth historical work, and give to Professor Baird a first place among the great historians of our age. In the work as a whole he has treated of a struggle which, in heroic effort and endurance, and in stirring vicissitudes, constitutes one of the most thrilling dramas of the world's history. His conscientious and painstaking investigation, united with a skillful method of marshalling his facts and a clear and animated style of expressing them, will make his history a classic.

Although these two compact volumes make an independent history of a most important period, they give also the third stage and conclusion to the complete history of the Huguenots, of which their rise constitutes the first stage, and their toleration under Henry of Navarre the second. They conclude a labor of historical research that has covered about thirty years—a labor that merits sincerest praise and gratitude and that will secure to the author enduring fame.

He begins his history with the close of the reign of Henry the Fourth and continues it not simply to 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was formally repealed, but for more than a hundred years after, covering the time when the Huguenots were deprived of the right of worship as well as their civil rights, until the time of full restoration at the beginning of the present century. It thus covers nearly two centuries. It is a period of tragic interest, and its events, harrowing as many of them are, are portrayed in ample detail but in a spirit remarkably free from prejudice. The bare facts themselves need no coloring of partisan bias for their full dramatic effect, and Professor Baird, with fidelity to his office as historian, has given them none. No rhetorical aids, indeed, can add anything to the bitterness and unrelenting character of that persecution, even if the author had been disposed to use them. Through his former works Professor Baird gained an enviable and secure place among the world's historians, and this will add still more lustre to his name.

The Preacher and His Place. The Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching, delivered at Yale University, February, 1895. By Rev. David H. Greer, D. D., Rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City. pp. 263.

It must be a rare pleasure to the students of the Yale Divinity School to hear such lectures as these. They have such a direct bearing on their future life-work, are so clear and fresh in form of expression, and so much the outgrowth of the practices and experiences and observations of a preacher who has been eminently successful himself, that the student must have listened with intensest interest and gotten a stimulus and trend that must prove exceedingly helpful. The general subject was treated in eight lectures, as follows: The Preacher and the Past; The Preacher and the Present; The Preacher and his Message; The Preacher and other Messages; The Preacher preparing his Message:

General Preparation; The Preacher preparing his Message: Special Preparation; The Preacher and the Parish; The Preacher making the most of Himself. The method of treatment and presentation is judicious, pointed, practical, interesting, and withal pervaded by solid common sense. We have found little occasion to dissent from any of the lecturer's views, and we feel quite sure that our readers will have the same experience when they read the book.

Two Little Pilgrims' Progress. By Frances Hodgson Burnett.

This, in brief, is the story of two little, bright, orphaned children with vivid imaginations and refined tastes who, by unfortunate circumstances, live with an aunt who has no real sympathy with childhood. They make a cozy retreat in the straw loft of the barn and there they read their stories, dream their dreams and hoard their treasures. One of their favorite books is Pilgrim's Progress and they long for a glimpse of the city Beautiful. Finally they hear of the wonderful Fair at Chicago and resolve if possible to make a pilgrimage thither. They succeed, and the account of how they went, what they saw, how they were pleased and the sequel to it all is pleasantly told. It will interest all children but particularly those who made the pilgrimage to the White City. Older readers will admire the art that has ministered so much to the pleasure of children. The book is handsomely bound and illustrated.

Unc' Edinburg. By Thomas Nelson Page.

One of the inimitable dialect tales that have been winning laurels for Mr. Page. This one is a "be fo' de war" story and the luxurious plantation life in Virginia, with its high-bred men and women, depicted here, seems most fascinating. The tender sentiment of those by-gone days, and the wit of the "old-time darkey" are faithfully given and no one gives more truly the dialect which adds so much of vividness to the scenes than does Thomas Nelson Page. The book is handsomely bound and illustrated making it especially suitable for a holiday or other gift.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

Practical Exercises in English. By Huber Gray Buehler, Master in English in the Hotchkiss School. Arranged for use with Adams Sherman Hill's "Foundations of Rhetoric." pp. 152.

Our acquaintance with Mr. Buehler, not only as a fellow-townsmen, but as a student in our college class-room and afterwards a colleague in teaching, would lead us to expect a book of decided merit and practical value. After an examination of the one on our table we find our expectation fully realized. The masterful hand of the skillful and practical teacher appears throughout its pages, and Professor Hill's "Rhetoric," valuable before, is rendered still more helpful, in teaching the correct use of the English language, by the clear rules, concise definitions and, above all, the well-chosen illustrative examples with which this book

abounds. We congratulate Mr. Buehler on his success, and hope we shall see more books from his pen.

FLOOD AND VINCENT, MEADVILLE, PA.

The Growth of the American Nation. By H. P. Judson, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago.

The Industrial Evolution of the United States. By Colonel Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor.

Initial Studies in American Letters. With Portraits. By Henry A. Biers, Professor of English Literature, Yale University.

Some First Steps in Human Progress. By Frederick Starr, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Thinking, Feeling, Doing. By E. W. Scripture, Director of the Psychological Laboratory, Yale University.

These books, along with *The Chautauquan* (a monthly periodical by the same publishers), constitute the required literature in the Chautauqua course for 1895-96. The respective authors may fairly be classed as specialists in their own departments. For a course in English the subjects are happily chosen and the treatment is well adapted to the class of persons usually found pursuing the Chautauqua course of studies. The Americanism of the series is a marked feature, and a gratifying one. It will contribute both to love of country and intelligent citizenship. The authors are not only specialists but also have a way of putting things that is well adapted to exciting interest in the student and being comprehended by the average grade of mind among the young people using the books. They are attractively printed and bound, well illustrated, and are furnished at the very reasonable price of \$1.00 each. The eminently judicious selection of the course, on the part of those at the head of this popular educational movement, deserves hearty commendation.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Sketch Book. By Washington Irving. Edited by William Lyon Phelps, A. M., Ph. D. Instructor in English Literature at Yale College.

This belongs to the Students' Edition and is most admirably adapted for "meeting the requirements of the colleges for matriculation examinations in English Literature." A valuable sketch of the life and character of Washington Irving and a criticism of his style compose the introduction. Some foot-notes are given, a helpful appendix, and eleven pages of such notes as will greatly assist the student-reader in understanding and appreciating the text. The writings of Washington Irving have the proverbial old-wine flavor and as age only increases their charm it is fortunate to have them thus edited.

Yale Yarns. By John Seymour Wood.

Certainly a fortunate title, for all the world loves a good college joke

just as surely as it does a lover, and none more so than those who have had a hand in furnishing the material for them. By college-bred men this collection of jokes which have at one time and another been practised at Yale will be relished keenly, and for others they will have perhaps a certain original flavor which the student or graduate may fail to find in them for, as in the folk-lore of various lands we look for a certain similarity, so we are sure of finding it in college yarns. From what college or university the students hailed who first found pleasure in transferring a wagon from *terra firma* to the top story of a college building we know not, but not alone at Yale has the effort tested the success of her gymnasium training. And so, on through the list of jokes we are led to believe that when a new one is found the word is quickly passed around. We have found this book exceedingly bright and pleasant reading with one exception; there is manifest in it an effort, not to avoid, but to use as much slang as possible and much of it is objectionable. A certain amount of it, we know, is necessary to the correct expression of the students represented, but we think hardly all that is found here, and yet we are free to admit that perhaps this criticism is but another proof of our having outgrown and forgotten, and lest Mr. Wood should class us with the "old grad, who says it isn't as it was in his day," we shall say no more.

Harvard Stories. Sketches of the Undergraduate. By Waldron Kintzing Post. Paper cover. pp. 312.

These stories are so much like the "Yale Yarns," noticed above, that we will let the review of the one suffice for both.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON.

A Singular Life. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

A number of pleasing books have come from this writer's pen and, among these, there have been some, as *The Master of the Magicians*, which have particularly shown her strength. To that class belongs *A Singular Life*. Few can read it without finding much in it to admire. It is the story of the life of a young man who, in its opening chapter, is in a divinity school. He is carried through it and on through his short life to its pathetic, tragic close. There is much of beauty in that life. Emanuel Bayard is a man of refined nature, unselfish consecration to duty and a man who is the peer of any in his appreciation of woman. He wooed his wife as nobly as did David Copperfield, Agnes. But there is a feature of the story which we may not pass by. We have been won by the character of Bayard, by his love for humanity, his refined tastes and his almost unexampled unselfishness as much as has any one. We have thoroughly appreciated the literary ability and the graceful style which are manifest on every page of this book, but we cannot conscientiously refrain from saying that it is calculated to do

harm. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps has done in this story what only too many of the modern writers are doing. She has made her hero, a man not orthodox, to appear in the most attractive light possible, she has made his life shine out in strikingly favorable contrast to that of men who have subscribed heartily to every article of the creed they have been taught, and she has made his work appear more successful than theirs. We regard any book which in the slightest, most indirect way, questions the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures as dangerous, but it is infinitely more so when the truth is made to appear ridiculous. It is our impression that the trial of Dr. Briggs led to the writing of this story, and we trust that while it may continue to gratify those who appreciate a finely written story, it may never accomplish its evident purpose.

The Life of Nancy. By Sarah Orne Jewett.

What hours of delight are suggested by the announcement of a new book from the pen of Miss Jewett. She has certainly gained the peerage among the writers of short stories. On bleak New England hills and in humble homes she finds sweet, pure characters, and she writes of them as no other writer does. We sometimes wonder how, with such an absence of tragic plot or stirring scenes, she yet succeeds in holding the attention of her readers so closely, but it is in her perfect portrayal of humanity and her vivid descriptions of nature that her power lies. How perfectly she appreciates every feeling of "young men and maidens, old men and children."

It makes her readers sometimes think that she must all her life have received the confidences of her neighbors to so clearly reveal the human heart. And we know of no one, save Whittier's "Barefoot Boy," who is so conversant with Nature as is she. What healthy moral natures her young heroes and heroines have. Pure as the air on their native hills, transparent as their mountain streams, we find in them models for the youth of all this land. It is saying all that could possibly be said when we assure our readers that this collection of stories is equal to anything Miss Jewett has written, and gives assurance that in no sense is her hand losing its cunning.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, NEW YORK.

A Day's Time-Table. By E. S. Elliott.

The Swiss Guide. By C. H. Parkhurst.

My Little Boy Blue. By Rosa N. Carey.

Brother Lawrence. Translated from the French.

A Wastrel Redeemed. By David Lyall.

Comfort Pease. By Mary E. Wilkins.

These six small books make up a series called the Renaissance Booklets, all of which are very attractive in appearance. The purpose of these short stories is to show the power that one life may have upon

another by tender, loving helpfulness. We have found particularly good "A Wastrel Redeemed," the tale of a wayward son and a devoted mother. It is written very much after the style of Ian MacLaren, and its beautiful pathos will be found very touching. These booklets are certain to accomplish much good.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK.

The New Life in Christ. A Study in Personal Religion. By Joseph Agar Beet, D. D. pp. 347. \$1.50.

This is a strong book, packed full of thought. One of its chief merits is that it does not contain anything strikingly new. It follows along the old and well-tried lines of sin, grace, repentance, justification, adoption, holiness and eternal life. Its different topics are presented in the form of lectures, and every lecture shows original and careful study of the teaching of the New Testament on the particular subject in hand. The author does not seem to have any theory about *the new life in Christ*, which he seeks to support. Much rather is he intent upon knowing the mind of the Spirit as revealed in the divine word. Hence he has made good use of his Greek Testament and his Lexicon. We commend such thorough investigation. It tends to create confidence in the author, that he is not leading us so much by his own thoughts, as trying to exhibit to us the thoughts of God. Much emphasis is laid on the means of grace, as private prayer, the preaching of the Gospel, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, united prayer and spiritual conversation, "which have in all ages been means of untold blessing. They are the spiritual endowments of the Church of Christ, the company of his professed followers. Apart from them the spiritual life would lack its needful shelter and nourishment. The Church has been in all ages and by divine appointment, amid much imperfection and sometimes deep corruption, the earthly home of the family of God in which the spiritual life has been guarded and developed." The author, while insisting on entire consecration to God, and inculcating the possibility and duty of high attainment in spiritual life, declares that we "attain only a certain degree of completeness." * * "But though complete in its measure, this salvation is yet incomplete." With such sentiments it would be hard for an evangelical Christian to join issue. While not endorsing every case of exegesis, nor every position defined, we nevertheless regard the book as soundly evangelical, and as very able and thoughtful in all its discussions. It will be more really helpful to the preacher than many volumes of average commentaries, or of current sermons.

The author promises another volume in which he will treat the subject of the means of grace and the Church. We will hail gladly the fulfilment of this promise, for while the theology will be Arminian, we doubt not it will represent Arminianism at its best.

J. W. R.

The Way Out: A Solution of the Temperance Question. By Rev. Hugh Montgomery. With an Introduction by Daniel Dorchester, D. D.

We took up this book with strong prejudices against it. We lay it down with words of hearty commendation. The author is a witty and fertile Irishman, a Methodist preacher, a radical of radicals. The book exhibits the awful horrors of intemperance and the utter futility of the license system as a protection against drunkenness, vice and poverty. The author is an out-and-out prohibitionist, and believes that Prohibition is "the way out." In this we heartily agree with him. Neither the Church nor the state can consistently and safely license that which all experience shows destroys the souls and bodies of men by the millions. The author's style is not always classical, but it is vigorous and aggressive. He calls things by their right names. There is often a spark of wit or a happy repartee, which is more effective than pages of logic. Any person who hates the saloon will relish this book—all except the last chapter, entitled "Holiness," which insists on the doctrine of perfect sanctification in this life. Here we cannot agree with the author, and venture the opinion that this appendage ought not to have been added to a book otherwise so almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of the Temperance question.

J. W. R.

The Christless Nations. By Bishop J. M. Thoburn, D. D. pp. 214.

This book consists of a series of addresses delivered at the Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation. The author has an almost world-wide reputation as a wise, active, enthusiastic and successful missionary. He speaks in this book from the standpoint of wide observation and large experience. Hence he has made a most charming missionary book. He tells us those things which we most desire to know. The work of woman in the missionary field is graphically sketched. The medical work is described. But the most profitable part of the book is the long discussion on "Missionary Polity." Here, the Bishop thinks, is the great weakness, and the greatest need of improvement. A proper missionary constituency is wanting, and the home management often is sadly lacking in information. The foreign field must be supplied with a native ministry.

Such are the leading thoughts of the book, which are expanded in a glowing style full of practical and telling illustrations. The book is a valuable contribution to missionary literature. It should be read by pastors, by secretaries of Foreign Boards, and by all who are entrusted in any way with the responsible work of carrying the gospel to the destitute. Its sentiments are as broad and catholic as Christianity itself, hopeful and optimistic, as might be expected from every true believer in the power of the Gospel. We bespeak for the book a wide circulation.

J. W. R.

Literature of Theology. A Classified Bibliography of Theological and General Religious Literature. By John Fletcher Hurst. pp. 757. Price, \$4.00 net.

This extensive work is based on the author's "Bibliotheca Theologica," published in 1882, now out of print. Many new departments have been added, as well as the many hundreds of new books in its line that have appeared since 1882. The publications embrace those issued in Great Britain, the United States, and the Dominion of Canada.

In the field covered by it we find it comprehensive enough to satisfy the most exacting mind. The classification is most systematic and thorough. It gives not simply the title but the contents of the whole title-page of every book, thus revealing generally the ground covered in the treatment of the subject. It enables the reader to see what literature in English there is on any subject, and the fulness of the title enables him to see whether any special book is likely to prove serviceable in his particular line of investigation. About 140 pages at the close of the volume are given to two full indexes—the one an "Index of Authors, the other an "Index of Subjects." It thus serves as a key to the mammoth library of English works on theological and general religious literature.

We are gratified to see that our Lutheran authors find their proper place, and, so far as we have seen, all have been mentioned. It is so often the case that there is an oversight in this respect, that we deem it worthy of note that Dr. Hurst cannot be fairly charged with it.

Christianity in the United States. From the first settlement down to the present time. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D. Revised Edition. pp. 814.

To Dr. Dorchester is due a great debt of gratitude for his laborious work in gathering into one compact volume this great mass of historical and statistical matter. He has engaged in the work *con amore*, shown by his book published in 1881, and recently revised, on "The Problem of Religious Progress" as well as by this, which first appeared in 1887. If statistics are worth anything to show religious growth in the United States, the pessimistic mind will find it profitable to examine some of the last pages (especially 755) with a few of the diagrams which help to give the figures a deeper impression. Dr. D's enthusiasm and hopefulness are quickened by his study and comparison of the data he has gathered, and the reader will find his own kindled not a little by scrutinizing them as here presented.

These statistical exhibits may be taken with confidence in their reliability, as they are drawn from authoritative sources. Mere newspaper statistics have been studiously avoided as likely to contain errors. Recourse has been had to official publications, and the data have been so methodically and clearly arranged as to give most satisfactorily the information sought. It thus constitutes an excellent hand-book of reference.

The time covered is, as the title-page indicates, "from the first settlement down to the present time." This is divided into two eras, the colonial and national. The latter is then subdivided into three periods—from 1776 to 1800, from 1800 to 1850, and from 1850 to 1894. The religious forces are divided into the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Divergent Elements—the last showing drifts of sentiments only slightly organized and requiring a treatment differing from that of evangelical Protestantism as well as of Romanism. This division pervades the whole work in all the periods, the author regarding it no part of his task to give the history of the various religious denominations. And yet we find these denominations, even down to their minutest divisions, quite satisfactorily represented both in the text and statistical tables. Account is given of the different evangelizing agencies, such as home missions, city missions, foreign missions, societies for seamen, efforts among the Jews; of religious publication agencies, such as tract societies, Bible societies, denominational publishing houses, religious periodicals; of educational agencies, such as Sunday-schools, colleges, theological schools. Likewise, we find the different reforms well presented, especially the temperance and anti-slavery reforms and the efforts in favor of a better observance of the Lord's day. But where everything is given so much in detail, it is not in place to go into further particulars in our review of the book.

We commend the author for his scrupulous care in gathering the material, the excellent classification he has given it, and not the least for the cheerful, not to say enthusiastic, spirit pervading this volume from beginning to end. The publishers have given it an outfit in paper, letter-press and binding well suited to the contents.

The Christ Dream. By Louis Albert Banks, D. D. pp. 275. Price, \$1.20.

Though the word "Dream" in the title to this book does not impress us favorably, most of the sermons we have read in it do. They are characterized by such fervor and faith and such a fund of illustration that, instead of being "as dry as a sermon," they are as fascinating as a story. No baneful pessimism weighs down the author's heart, but a cheerful hopefulness that gives a delightful tone to everything he says. If any exception is to be taken, it is that his enthusiasm sometimes betrays him into statements that are not a little extreme. The sermons are comparatively short, having, as the railroad brakemen would state it, "good terminal facilities," hence as many as twenty-four are given in these few pages.

A. S. BARNES AND COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Lights and Shadows of Church Life. By John Stoughton, D. D. 8vo. 394 pp.

A better example of the true historic spirit than that presented by

the venerable author of this work it would not be easy to name. He does not investigate and write with a view of corroborating his own beliefs, nor pass by "what illustrates genuine principles and examples not adopted by ourselves," but he seeks to discover the rise and progress of religious beliefs and practice regardless of the bearings of the result on his own position or on the position of those from whom he differs. With the candor of the historian Dr. Stoughton blends the charity of the Christian. He distinguishes between the judgment of principles and that of persons. The former are not affected by times and circumstances, they remain unalterable age after age; but individual character is to a wonderful extent influenced by the age in which our lots are cast, and the Christians of the primitive centuries are not to be judged by the rules of the nineteenth century.

These "Lights and Shadows," Christian excellencies on the one hand, and religious defects on the other, are limited to the first six centuries. They present only certain salient points in the constitution and proceedings of early Christendom, but while they pass over much which belongs to a proper history of the Church, they also introduce subjects not usually noticed by ecclesiastical historians.

Moderation and conservatism mark every discussion. For the credibility of the Synoptic Gospels "we have the highest historical evidence." "The fourth Gospel is such a literary marvel, if produced without supernatural aid, that it is far easier even on Rationalistic grounds to accept it at once as a divine record of what took place."

The illusion of those "who have only sunny views of primitive Christendom" is effectually dispelled by a faithful delineation of the actual shadows which soon overcast the Church's sky. The guarded judgment of the seeker after truth shines through the statement: "It requires great effort in our time to realize the state of society in the first three centuries, as regards the use of the first day." The Christian slave was not free to attend church, but we never read of him undergoing martyrdom on that account. "Sunday habits could not be then what they are now. A state of civilization, in the first three centuries different from ours, must have affected many usages of Christian life."

The most vital doctrine of the Evangelical Confession, it is admitted, was not clearly apprehended by the Fathers. Cited words may seem to teach justification by faith, "but when the whole range of patristic teaching at the time is surveyed, citations fail." "Augustine defines justification as being made just, and speaks of it as perfect in martyrs, but not in ordinary believers." "Habits of thought in the fifth and in the sixteenth centuries considerably differ on this subject."

Several instances of obscurity or inaccuracy occur. Speaking of the "Estates of the Church," the author adds: "This gave Papal Rome its title of the Holy Roman Empire." "The Holy Roman Empire," to

which Napoleon put an end, was not Papal Rome, but the Empire of the German nation.

We have, however, found very little to criticize and much to commend in this readable volume, which will make a valuable addition to any student's library.

E. J. W.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Spiritual Life. Bible Lectures. By Geo. C. Needham. pp. 262. \$1.00. 1895.

The author of this book is widely known in England and America as an evangelist of the type of Messrs. Moody, Whittlesy and Pentecost, with whom he has labored much in evangelistic work. The treatment takes the form of lectures which have been delivered at Northfield and elsewhere. We are especially impressed with their fervor and soundness in the faith. The first lecture discusses "The Spirit of Revelation and of Unction." There is no uncertain sound. The Spirit is a person who operates through the truth. "The Holy Spirit is sole author of Holy Scripture;" "The ministry of the Spirit and of the Word is a coördinate ministry;" "The Holy Spirit alone can give us a right understanding of the word;" "The Holy Spirit invariably honors the Divine Word." These are some of the propositions discussed. The Lecture on "How to study the Bible" is most excellent. It urges that the bible student begin with the doctrine of justification by faith. "When you have a scriptural understanding of justification by faith, not only do you grasp the whole foundation doctrine of the believer's salvation, but you will at the same time grasp all related doctrine." The style of the lectures is very simple and direct. The language is emphatically that of the people, pure and chaste Anglo-Saxon. As a book of devotion it will do good wherever read. Even ministers of the Gospel may derive valuable hints from it both as to the matter and manner of successful preaching. For much of the preaching of the day is scholastic in form, stilted in style and wearisome in manner.

J. W. R.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Adventspredigten ueber Ausgewählte Texte nebst Anhang: Reden Zur Christfeier, Von H. Sieck, Pastor in Milwaukee. 12mo., pp. 108.

Four of these admirable Advent discourses are based upon texts referring to The Angel of the Covenant, three on the Messianic Promises granted to the holy Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and three on the Promise in Paradise, the prophecy of Daniel, and the Prophet like unto Moses, respectively, while four of them have for their theme the Manger, the Christ-child, Proof of God's Love, and our Duty to Love Him.

The evangelical spirit of these sermons, their popular form, and their fresh manner of presenting familiar and saving truth, merit the highest

commendation. Our only regret is that they are not in the English tongue, and that so few of our readers are sufficiently master of the German to appreciate such contributions to our best church literature.

E. J. W.

Erzählungen für die Jugend. 28. Bändchen. *Die Weisenkinder.* pp. 136.

The juveniles who are provided with such literature are to be congratulated indeed. Happy, too, the Church that need not go to the world's market for books of entertainment for the young. E. J. W.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

Townsend Harris, First American Envoy in Japan. By William Elliot Griffis. 1895.

The character of this book is such as scarcely to justify its receiving notice in a theological quarterly. Excepting a brief account of Mr. Harris' early life and of his declining years after leaving the service of his country, the book consists of the diary of the "envoy" written as things occurred from day to day without any "afterthought." Until past middle life Mr. Harris was a shrewd and successful man of business on land and on the high seas. But he husbanded and used his time so well as to acquire a facile use of several modern languages and a wide acquaintance with literature. He was a close and intelligent observer of men and things. As a diplomat he was patriotic and straightforward, and scorned the tricks and deceptions so often employed in diplomacy. He won the confidence of the Japanese, and was honored by them as their benefactor. There is inspiration in such a life for young men ambitious of an honorable career.

J. W. R.

T. AND T. CLARK, EDINBURG.

Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The Doctrine of Man, or The Anthropology and Psychology of Scripture. By John Laidlaw, M. A., D. D., Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburg, New Edition, Revised and Rearranged. pp. 363. \$3.00.

This strong and admirable discussion of one of the most attractive branches of Christian science has lost neither interest nor value in the lapse of sixteen years since its first publication. That a new edition of a work so thoroughly in accord with the traditional views of the Church should be called for is a sure sign alike of its excellence and of the drift of modern thought.

The present is an entire recast of the original form of the work, and many pages have been re-written. While retaining the substance and almost every detail of the first edition, which appeared as the "Seventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures," and while maintaining without exception the positions then taken, the author has exchanged the form

of six Lectures as orally delivered with a mass of Notes and Citations, for six Divisions of the Subject, further divided into sixteen Chapters, resulting in greater distinctness of topical treatment.

The importance which attaches to this discussion is well expressed by the author in his masterly treatment of the divine image in man. "The greatest of modern controversies turns upon it; for the battle of the supernatural has the key of its position in the nature of man. Whether there be anything in the universe above mere physical causation and succession is the vital question for the philosophy and theology of our day. But the denial of a divine supernatural is logically impossible, so long as man's own being cannot be explained without allowing to it something which transcends mere physical nature. The Bible by putting man in the rank of the *Elohim*, by coördinating the human and the divine so far as to make the one the image of the other, holds the citadel of this controversy, and shows us how great is its strength." The true conception of man, as contained in the Scriptures, illuminates and correlates the Bible idea of God.

Prof. Laidlaw shows an extensive familiarity with the great German writers on his theme, Von Hoffman, Julius Müller, Delitzsch, Oehler and Beck. He strongly maintains the unity of human nature, along with the dual conception of flesh and spirit, body and soul, yet finds also in the Scriptures "quite consistently a trichotomy depending on a distinction between soul and spirit." As Von Zeschwitz expresses it: Scripture speaks "*dichotomously* of the parts viewed in themselves, *trichotomously* of the living reality, but all through so as to guard the fact that human nature is built upon a plan of unity."

The author admits that "death is a law of organized matter," and protests that the Bible "makes no such assertion" as that "the sin of man first introduced physical death into the animated world." While organized matter has naturally in it the seeds of decay, man was endowed with "a conditional potentiality of not dying." Physical death was only "a possibility which could and ought to have been averted. The provision made for averting it lay symbolically and sacramentally in the use of the tree of life, though really and spiritually in man's being so formed in the image of God that perfect obedience was possible to him."

E. J. W.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK.

Creation: God in Time and Space. By Randolph S. Foster, D. D., LL. D. 8vo. pp. 365. \$3.00.

This is volume IV. of Bishop Foster's *Studies in Theology* and it is a vigorous discussion of problems which have commanded the profoundest study, and called forth the boldest speculations, of our age. It undertakes to present, from known scientific data and principles of philosophy, a view of the world-plan, or method and purposes of the infinite in creation, deduced from grounds largely outside of revelation—

“to present a rational view of the divine movement from the inception to the outcome of his work by a study of the works themselves.”

The author's methods and positions are on the whole such as to make the reader feel that he is treading on firm ground. The vastness of the field and the difficulties of satisfactory exploration are freely acknowledged. We can only see a small part, “over all a vast obscurity hangs.” “Necessarily much will be meaningless to faculties which cannot grasp the whole, and where obscurity is so profound some obscure facts will even be misleading.”

From the study of the earth's records “three things force themselves upon us as absolute certainties: (*a*) that the system had a beginning; (*b*) the lapse of almost immeasurable time since its origination; (*c*) the constantly advancing dignity and worthiness of its ends and uses.” While, however, the author accepts it as an “established fact beyond intelligent dispute” that “the beginning of the world must be dated back many, many millions of years,” he holds with equal decision that as the case now stands there are no proofs that man's advent dates further back than eight thousand years. “Geologist, archæologist, ethnologist, philologist, and critics in every department whose lore could be of any avail have searched *in vain* for proof.”

The devotees of the “dirt theory” are reminded that “its impotency is so great that any attempt to explain the facts of the universe from it alone is conceded to be a failure,” and the devotees of science in general are told that “science does not and cannot reach back of its ultimates.” When it reaches the ultimate components it comes to a halt and must admit it can go no farther.

“Evolutionism is an unproved theory.” “There is absolutely no proof that the principle exists at all; that in a single instance either in the vegetable or animal realm one genus or even one distinct species has ever passed into another or essentially changed its type.” But even if it were granted to its largest claim, it would still fail utterly to establish the derivative theory of man's origin. “It would or might conceivably account for his body, but this is not the problem, and makes no approach to its solution.” Sure enough, it is at this very point, when seeking to determine “what man is,” “what constitutes the essential man,” that the author flounders, and in our humble judgment, badly. The claim that man's “organism is no part of him, is simply the temporary home in which he begins his existence,” that the physical organism and the animal soul “are both and alike but temporary adjuncts to him, serving an end and then disappearing forever,” “may utterly destroy the foundation of both the development and the evolutionary theories,” but it also destroys the foundation of Christianity. If there be no resurrection of the body like Christ's, then is Christ not risen, and with the surrender of that historic and fundamental fact is shattered the rock of the Christian's faith.

Man is according to Scripture the unity of soul and body. Corpor-

eity is essential to human nature. Unlike the angels who are purely spiritual beings, and unlike the irrational creatures which have a purely physical organism, man is characteristically a union of the spiritual and the physical, and his bodily and psychical nature are not merely a "transient accident of his existence," destined to perish forever, but the perfection of the species, man's highest development, will be reached by the entire man as primordially created raised into the glorified state. The goal of man is not the unclothing of the spirit, but the renewal and perfection of the body with the spirit, the abolition of death itself and all its consequences, the transformation of the corporeal element into a higher and spiritual state. The body of our humiliation "shall be fashioned anew," "conformed to the body of his glory," and his body now glorified is the one which was pierced by the nails and by the spear on Calvary.

Bishop Foster does not maintain that man "henceforth exists without a body." "Probably" he is "not left without the need of a body for his use and service in his onward progress," and he that made the earthly organism, "now provides another tenement suited to the higher sphere." When however he claims this to be "the explicit teaching of revelation," we beg leave to say that to us "the explicit teaching of revelation" is that "we shall all be changed" just as the Lord, "the first fruits," was changed, and carried with him to the right hand of God the same body which was his tabernacle upon the earth. E. J. W.

PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS.

The Christmas number of *The Century* is fully up to the expectations of any of its admirers. It is filled with choice papers, stories, poems, and illustrations. Conspicuous among these are the articles on The Passion-Play at Vorder-Thiersee; Tissot's "Life of Christ" most beautifully illustrated; Napoleon the War Lord; a delightful story by Frank Stockton; one by F. Hopkinson Smith; another by Rudyard Kipling; One Way Out, by the author of How the Other Half Lives, and the second installment of Mrs. Ward's new serial. It is an ideal number of an ideal magazine. The cover is quite exceptional, the principal part of the design being holly leaves and berries.

Harper's Magazine for December is simply a superb number. Nothing has been left undone to make it a "thing of beauty." From the beautifully illuminated cover, which so well displays the artist's skill, to the last book review, high art is *en evidence*. The frontispiece is an initial effort in that line. By Land and Sea; On Snow Shoes to the Barren Grounds; a Comedy by W. D. Howells; From the Hebrid Isles; a bright story by Brander Matthews; The German Struggle for Liberty; the opening chapters of William Black's new serial, Briseis; The Paris of South America; Huldah the Prophetess, a story by Kate Douglas Wiggin; The last Sonnet of Prinzivalle di Cembino; and Joan of Arc

are among, but they are by no means all of the attractions of this number. It is the best example we know of what is possible in magazine making.

The Atlantic Monthly for December opens with two chapters of Gilbert Parker's strong story, *The Seats of the Mighty*. Following it is a beautiful poem, *The Song of a Shepherd-Boy at Bethlehem*, the one index of this number to Christmas-tide. Among the most valuable contributions to this number are, *A New England Woodpile*; *The Starving Time in Old Virginia*; *The End of the Terror*; *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*; *Some Reminiscences of Eastern Europe*; *An Idler on Missionary Ridge*; *Notes from a Traveling Diary*; *Being a Typewriter*; *To a Friend in Politics*, and *New Figures in Literature and Art*. There are, in addition to these, two very bright stories, some excellent book reviews and interesting letters in the Contributors' Club.

Christmas will be more complete to every child who can have the Christmas number of *St. Nicholas*. Its cover is the most suggestive of the merry festival of any magazine cover seen this year. On opening it a beautiful frontispiece greets the reader. Letters to Young Friends, by Robert Louis Stevenson; *How a Street-Car Came in a Stocking*; *Betty Leicester's English Christmas*; *A Christmas White Elephant*; *John Henry Jones*; *Dream March of the Children*; *The Happy Holiday of Master Merrivein*; *Our Secret Society*; *The Little Carltons Have their Say*; *Owney, the Post-Office Dog*; *Bombshell*; *an Artillery Dog*; and the continued stories are among the chief attractions of this number, but the beautiful illustrations, the pretty poems, the interesting letters, and the new puzzles will all help to make merry the happy Christmas time.

A brief paragraph can hardly do justice to the interesting announcements which *The Youth's Companion* makes for the coming year. Not only will some of the most delightful story-writers contribute to the paper, but many of the most eminent statesmen, jurists and scientists of the world. No fewer than three Cabinet Ministers are announced, among them being the Secretary of Agriculture, who chose for a subject "*Arbor Day*," the celebration of which he originated; Secretary Herbert writes on "*What the President of the United States Does*," and Secretary Hoke Smith on "*Our Indians*."

In a fascinating group of articles under the head of "*How I served my Apprenticeship*," Frank R. Stockton tells how he became an author, General Nelson A. Miles gives reminiscences of his army days, and Andrew Carnegie recalls his earliest struggles in getting a business footing.

The publishers of *The Youth's Companion* make the following liberal offer: New subscribers who will send at once their name and address and \$1.75 will receive free a handsome four-page calendar for 1896 (7x10 in.), lithographed in nine colors, the retail price of which is 50 cents, and *The Youth's Companion* fifty-two weeks, from the time of subscription. Address *The Youth's Companion*, 195 Columbus Avenue, Boston.

It will be easier work for every home-maker who has the December number of *Table-Talk* to prepare attractive surroundings and dainty dishes for her dear ones. So many housekeepers have written to Helen Louise Johnson for valuable hints in entertaining and for choice recipes, and she has fully given them in this number. Then the New Bill of Fare contains so many helpful suggestions while the menus for December are excellent ones. Then there are many hints as to dress, marketing, etc., which will be of interest. This is a most excellent and practical magazine and a year's subscription to it would prove an acceptable gift to many housekeepers.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

A new biography of GEORGE WASHINGTON, by Professor WOODROW WILSON, of Princeton, will be a feature of HARPER'S MAGAZINE during 1896. The first paper, which appears in the January Number, treats of the conditions of the colonies, with especial reference to Virginia at the time of Washington's birth. The paper is fully illustrated with the earliest known portrait of Washington, five drawings by HOWARD PYLE, and other pictures.

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

"The Gray Man," a new serial story by R. R. CROCKETT, will be published in HARPER'S WEEKLY, beginning in January. During the current month, or in the immediate future, the WEEKLY will contain illustrated articles describing the regions of the Venezuelan boundary dispute, of the troubles in Turkey, of the rebellion in Cuba, and of the Japanese acquisition of Formosa. There will also be noteworthy papers on domestic subjects—on the notable features of the Great West, by JULIAN RALPH; and "Debt and Valuation," an important paper of national interest by J. K. UPTON. The Christmas Number of the WEEKLY, containing thirty-two pages in an ornamental cover, is of uncommon beauty and value.

HARPER'S BAZAR.

The issues of the BAZAR for December and January will be extremely rich in elegant and distinguished fashions for the winter. Visiting and reception gowns and outdoor costumes in great variety will appear with full descriptive details. KATHARINE DE FOREST, in "Our Paris Letter," will give the earliest hints of coming changes, and keep the readers informed of what people are doing in Paris.

Among the literary features to be noted will be a series by Mrs. ELEANOR V. HUTTON, entitled "Farm Life in the Giudecca," the story of a Venetian holiday. Mrs. HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD will have a story entitled "A Christmas Revel," illustrated by IRVING WILES. In the Christmas Number of the BAZAR there will be one of the most beautiful of Miss WILKIN'S stories, entitled "Nanny and Martha Pepperill," illustrated by CLIFFORD CARLETON, who will also illustrate SARAH ORNE JEWETT'S beautiful story, "The New-Year Guest," to appear in the first number of volume 29, January 5th. In this number will be given the opening instalment of a very striking serial by MARIA LOUISE POOL. It is entitled "Mrs. Gerald," and will run through the first half of 1896.

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NEW YORK, December 10, 1895.

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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

APRIL, 1896.

ARTICLE I.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY JOHN J. YOUNG, D. D.

The term "fatherhood of God" contains, by logical inference, not only the "brotherhood of man," but, among other things, also the impartation of the Father's will to man; and man's obligation to know and do the same. Such an impartation, or revelation of God's holy will, implies a documentary record. This is especially so if the revelation contains God's gracious will concerning the salvation of fallen man. It is evident that something of the greatest importance for the whole human family, that contains an absolute and final authority respecting man's salvation—even unto the end—must of necessity be put on record and preserved with the utmost care. To record such a revelation and the history connected therewith, only specially qualified men can be employed. They must be holy men of God, and so moved and directed in their important work by the Holy Ghost, that the documentary record be nothing less than inspired.

Such a documentary record of God's holy and gracious will has been made, carefully preserved and handed down to us. It is known as the Sacred Scriptures, or Holy Bible. Paul, the

great Apostle to the Gentiles, who received the Gospel he preached not of man, neither was taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, (Gal. 1 : 12) tells us, that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," ("Every Scripture inspired of God," Rev. Ed.) 2 Tim. 3 : 16. And Peter says: "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," 2 Tim. 1 : 21. Since all Scripture—that is the documentary record of God's revealed will and history of the same—is given by inspiration, we have reason to believe that Peter's statement must include the documentary record of the revelation as well as the uttering of the same. As far as the writers of the New Testament are concerned they must also have been moved by the Holy Ghost, for Christ had promised them the same. He said unto them: "The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," Jno. 14 : 26. Again he said: "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come," Jno. 16 : 13.

The subject under consideration implies various views concerning Inspiration. That such is the case is evident to all who keep an eye upon what is going on within the Christian Church. The inspiration of the Bible has been often and fiercely assailed. Rev. Dr. Chas. S. Albert has truly said: "There are two possessions of Christianity which are perpetually attacked: the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son, and the Inspiration of the Scriptures. Both are pivotal doctrines and neither can exist without the other. Destroy inspiration and the doctrine of the incarnation becomes vague and shadowy. Destroy the divine Christ and there are no divine Scriptures," LUTH. QUAR., vol. XXII, p. 87. Since we do not intend to investigate the various views on inspiration but only the position of the Lutheran Church, we must naturally confine our research along that line. It is sincerely hoped that the effort may prove interesting, and throw some light on what is, according to many biblical scholars, the burning question of to-day.

To get a clear idea of this important subject we must go back to the beginning, or to *Luther himself*. We do this, not because Luther has set forth a special theory on the subject, but because his statements have of late years been used by writers on this subject. Many have availed themselves of Luther's expressions, not because they looked upon the Sacred Scriptures as he did, nor because they wanted to use the Holy Bible as a means of grace, but because they believed some of Luther's statements concerning God's word helpful in their efforts to shake the Church's faith in the Bible and to tear down what God through his faithful servant had built up.

A careful study of "Köstlin, Luther's Theology," especially under "Source of Religious Truth; the Holy Scriptures," found in vol. II, pp. 246-296, will give one an idea of his views on the subject. Of course there must be no one-sided quotations; for if quotations do not set forth his entire view they simply misrepresent him. In speaking of the Holy Scriptures he calls them, "The Book, given by God the Holy Ghost, unto his Church." "Without any distinction," says Köstlin, "he was accustomed to describe the rule of faith and life as 'the Scriptures,' and then again as 'the word of God;' placing them without any consideration on an equality." Hence Luther made no distinction between the word of God and the Scriptures. But such equality does, according to his conception, not exist between the Church and the word of God. Since the Church is begotten by the word it is therefore subordinate to the same. His reason for this he gives in the following words: "Ecclesia non facit verbum, sed fit verbo." Some critics seem to have overlooked Luther's distinction between the word of God and the Church.

In his study of the Sacred Scriptures Luther laid much stress upon the Christian's internal experience, or effect of the word upon the heart. Just as the Holy Spirit produces faith through the word of God, so does he also enable the believer to discover that the word of God is the truth. True divine faith believes the word, not for the sake of the minister who proclaims it, "but because it is felt to be certainly true." He says: "The word itself must satisfy the heart, must so encompass and lay hold upon

man, that he, even as captured therein, may feel how true and right it is." Here we have the doctrine of *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* and of *fides divina*. Luther's *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* and *fides divina* must, however, have been something quite different from that spoken of and experienced by some scholars at present; since they did neither make him a professed Christian in heart and leave him a heathen in head; nor lead him to desecrate and profane God's holy word. But whilst Luther laid much stress upon the internal experience of a Christian he did, however, not set that up—as some would have it—as *the test* by which he would ascertain the value of the books of the Bible, and find out whether they were the inspired word of God or not. His principal test, his chief touch-stone, was Christ. Everything else had to be subordinate to him. Luther looked upon Christ as "the center of the circle, since the entire circle proceeds from him and looks to him." Christ, the common center, makes the Old and New Testaments one book. He is to Luther the touch-stone by which all books must be tested to find out whether they set forth Christ or not; he is to him—and he alone—the *dominus et rex Scripturae*. Even when his opponents, who tried to defend their doctrine of justification by good works, would quote Scripture in their defense, he would use Christ against their scriptural quotations. He would show unto them that all Scripture must be in harmony with Christ, the center of truth; and since the verses quoted by them were not in harmony with Christ, therefore their interpretation and application of said Scripture must be false. And since Luther did not mistakingly assume some vague appearance in the dim background of the Bible, as the center of the same, but Christ, who stands in the very fore-front, who is, beyond all doubt, the center and dominant figure—the very heart and soul of the Bible—the Holy Scriptures need not be re-written to give Christ the place of prominence Luther gave him; neither need the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church be revised in order to make it Christo-centric.

Starting with the Pentateuch, which he ascribed to Moses, he considered it as superior to the other Scriptures. He says: "As

Homer has been called the father of all poets, so in truth is Moses the foundation and father of all prophets and sacred books. He was the greatest man and prophet before the birth of Christ—yea, from the beginning of the world. To him God has given his commandments and promise concerning Christ. From him have all the prophets received the same. In fact the New Testament has flowed from Moses, yea dropped from him like rain from a cloud, or dew from heaven.” Next to Moses came the prophets. Among the writings of the prophets Luther looked upon the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, as containing the highest, richest and most perfect testimony concerning Christ in the whole Bible—except Paul. The Psalms are also considered a very important part of the Old Testament. These were very precious unto to him. As to Solomon, whilst his writings do not treat of Christ and justification through him, they nevertheless treat of the moral life, which before God and man we ought to live. In Job he beheld an example of the greatest temptation, which Christ was afterwards to endure. As to the historical books Luther has very little to say. In a certain place he calls the two books of Kings a “Jewish Almanac.” The book of Esther caused him considerable difficulty. He did not like its spirit, but he entertained no doubt as to its historical contents. He looked upon it as a continuation of the history of God’s people, and allowed it to remain among the canonical books of the Old Testament, as such. Köstlin says: “According to the judgment he had passed upon the book of Esther, he could only allow it among the canonical books, as a continuation of the history of God’s people; only on account of this content and not on account of its spirit; for the history of its contents he did not doubt.” Hence, Luther left Esther among the books known as canonical, or the inspired word of God.

When we turn to the New Testament we will find that Luther placed the Gospel of John, Paul’s Epistles and the first Epistle of Peter at the head of the other books. Unto these he gave the same place in the New Testament that he gave the Pentateuch in the Old Testament. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans he considered as the truly principal part of the New Tes-

tament and the purest gospel. Of the Gospel of John, to which he wished the first Epistle of John to be joined, he speaks in the same terms. Hence, the Gospel of John stands at the head of Matthew, Mark and Luke. The Acts of the Apostles were very favorably spoken of. He seems to entertain doubts concerning Jude; but considered it afterwards as taken from the Epistle of Peter, and intended to bear witness against the pope. Concerning second and third John and second Peter he entertained no doubt. He doubted whether Hebrews was of Apostolic origin. As to Revelation he holds his judgment in suspense. The Epistle of James did not fare so well at Luther's hands. He did not only entertain doubt but also expressed a severe judgment against it. In his introduction to the New Testament, 1522, he calls the Epistle—in comparison with the best books of the New Testament, namely: The Gospel and first Epistle of John, Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, and the first Epistle of Peter—a real straw epistle, that in his judgment had no evangelical quality about it. "Ein recht strohern Epistel, denn sie doch kein evangelisch Art hat." Notwithstanding the fact that Luther did not place James—and other Epistles as we have seen—among the principal books of the New Testament he, nevertheless, did not reject it from the canonical books, and allowed others to place it and the other inferior epistles, as they pleased; for he saw many good sentences therein.

A number of books found in the Greek canon of the Old Testament, and placed among the Hebrew canonical books by Augustine and the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397), did not fare thus. Luther absolutely refused to recognize them as belonging to the inspired word of God. It is true that he allowed them a place at the end of the Old Testament canon, but he marked them with the title, "*Apocrypha* : that is books which although not contained in the Hebrew canon, are yet useful and good to read." Through the word "Apocryphal" Luther made a clear distinction between canonical and non-canonical books; between what is the inspired and what is not the inspired word

of God, without mentioning the number of books as the Reformed confessions do.

The question might be asked: Why did Luther allow the books, concerning which he entertained some doubts, to remain among the canonical Scriptures? Why did he not, at least, put the books of Esther and James among the Apocryphal books; instead of leaving them among the books which form the norm according to which all Christian doctrine must be judged? Although he doubted the genuineness of James, Jude, Hebrews and Revelation, doubting whether they were of apostolic origin and gave unto them, in comparison with others, only a second place, he, nevertheless, leaves them among the authentic Scriptures. This action of Luther teaches us, as his name-sake, Oberpastor F. Luther, has well said, "that he did not consider the experience of an individual Christian sufficient to grasp clearly the witness of the Holy Spirit, whether a certain portion of the Scriptures proclaims Christ or not, but that only the Church, the Communion of Saints, is, according to its unanimous experience, able to do so." That the Church since Luther's time has attained to an experience, concerning these Epistles, that Luther did not possess, is evident—for the Church no longer looks upon them as he did—and this acquirement, says his name-sake, is "a new evidence that neither authority alone, though it be apostolic authority, nor experience alone, though it be the experience of a man like Luther, is sufficient for the acquisition of a conviction concerning the truth of the divine revelation through the Apostles and Prophets." *Neue K. Z.*, vol. VI., p. 49.

Whilst this gives us valuable information in regard to Luther's general conception of the Holy Scriptures, it gives us very little direct evidence concerning his view on the subject of inspiration. The little we have thus gleaned is about all that can be gathered on the subject. It should be remembered that Luther, like the other Reformers, advanced no special theory on inspiration. After Luther's time the inspiration of the Bible began to receive special attention. The development belongs to the seventeenth century. Yet Luther looked upon the Sacred

Scriptures as a "book given by the Holy Ghost to the Church." He considered the Bible as originating from the Holy Ghost ; a book that differs altogether from the products of the most pious and saintly Christians after the Apostles. To him the Holy Scriptures are : "The Spirit's own Scriptures." By this we must not understand, however, that he looked upon the writers as merely passive, or unconscious instruments. Speaking of Moses, the first writer of the Holy Scriptures, Köstlin tells us that, whilst Luther speaks in one place that it is God, who through Moses gave the law and the external institutions, he says in another place : Moses took the ten commandments, which from the beginning were formed in the hearts of men, from the fathers. This, says he, is true in regard to circumcision, for Christ says, Jno. 7 : 22, it is not of Moses, but of the fathers. And yet he calls the books of Moses "*Scriptura Spiritus Sancti*," because the Holy Ghost is "*libri auctor*." In the Psalms he observes the activity of the Holy Spirit in the special ardor and power of their words. In the writings of Solomon Luther lays his principal stress upon the pious, human reflections of a king, who walked by faith and had a large experience in the general ways of God. The historical books were considered by him as belonging to those known as books "given to the Church by God the Holy Ghost." As to the books of the New Testament Luther recognized here, like in the Old Testament, the coöperation of a divine and human factor in the origin of the words of Scripture. The Holy Scriptures are to Luther the rule according to which all Christian doctrine must be judged. The Bible was to him superior to the Apocrypha, the tradition of the Church, the writings of the fathers and the Councils of the Church. That Luther looked upon single words as the inspired word of God, as well as whole chapters and books, is evident from his argument with Zwingli at Marburg. That he looked upon the words of the institution as the very words of God himself, is evident from his statement concerning his opponents. He said : "If they believed, that they were God's words, they would * * also consider a tittle and a letter greater than the

whole world, tremble and fear before them, as before God himself."

We will now turn to *the great Dogmaticians of the seventeenth century*, who were the first to grapple with the doctrine of Inspiration. Luther and his co-workers had settled definitely between what was inspired and what was not inspired. To the Reformers the Bible alone was inspired, and everything else had to be judged by it. It appears, however, that they made no effort to set forth *how* the Bible was inspired. Very likely the question never came up. In course of time the question, however, did come up. Special stress was gradually laid upon the doctrine. This stress led to a change of view upon the subject. John Gerhard, who has been declared "the most scholarly among the Lutheran heroes of orthodoxy, and the most amiable among the scholars on account of his religious character," is looked upon as the man through whom the change was brought about. Abraham Calov, who is described as "the chief champion of the defensive polemic theology of the seventeenth century," took also a very active part, and is known as the founder of the recognized doctrine of inspiration. In the controversy that ensued special stress was laid upon the divine part of inspiration. Even the vowel-points and punctuation were declared to be inspired. The writers were considered as mere "pens," the "hands," the "amanuenses" of the Holy Ghost. This view of the doctrine was especially advocated by the Reformed theologian, John Buxtorf, Jr.

The question arises now: What led the theologians of the seventeenth century to lay such stress upon the doctrine of inspiration, and advocate a view which ignores the human part of the Bible? From all accounts their Jesuitic opponents had much to do with the advancement of this view. The theologians felt that they must in some way meet the doctrine of the Jesuits, concerning the infallibility of the Church or the Pope. The Jesuits claimed an infallible authority in the Pope—the only infallible authority in Christian doctrine. The effort to meet this pretension led them to the theory mentioned above. This

gave them, beyond all doubt, an infallible authority with which they opposed, not only the Roman, but also the Socinian antagonists. Schmid, in his *Doctrinal Theol. of the Ev. Luth. Church*, Drs. Hay and Jacobs' translation, p. 68, has the following on this subject: "It was mainly the controversy with the Roman Catholics that gave occasion to detailed specifications; for these very well knew that they would rob the Protestant Church of all its weapons without thereby injuring themselves, if they could cast suspicion upon the true inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. And then such discriminations were also called forth in part by the fanatics, who treated the written word of God with little respect; partly by the Socinians and Arminians, who adhered to a merely partial inspiration of the Scriptures. In opposition to these, it became of great importance to the Lutheran theologians to defend the doctrine, not only of the real, but also of the verbal inspiration in the fullest extent."

Our theologians found great difficulty in defending this mechanical theory of inspiration. The main difficulty was the disagreement between the theory and the only infallible rule by which, according to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, known as the Formal Principle, all doctrines must be judged by the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments. The diversity of thought, style and dialect found in the prophetic and apostolic writings, was at variance with the theory. As extremes always beget extremes, an opposing theory, which finally ended in the other extreme, was the result. The man who began to oppose the entire passiveness of the writers of the Holy Scriptures was no other than Spener. (*Real Ency. f. Prot. Theol. & K.*, vol. 6, p. 755.) His object was not to run to the other extreme, but to call attention to the human side of the Scriptures, to show that the writers were not merely passive but also active instruments. From now on the human factor came more and more into the foreground. Next we have Supranaturalism, which ascribed only those truths to inspiration which human reason could not discover. This was followed by Rationalism which, through its grammatical and historical exegesis, lost sight of every thing

that is divine in the Holy Scriptures. Thus was the other extreme gradually reached. This tendency had a corresponding effect upon the Personal Word—Christ. As the Scriptures were now viewed by many as a *mere* human production—standing of course at the head of all literary efforts—so was Christ looked upon by those persons as a mere human being—standing of course at the head of created beings. Through it the Lord's Supper was also emptied of the real presence of Christ, and the Gospel was no longer what it had been in the days of Paul and Luther—a power of God unto salvation—but simply a mere human production of a high character; which could be torn to pieces at pleasure, without injuring any one in doing so. The effects of this extreme were almost similar to those of the Arian heresy in the primitive Church. Signs of this theory, and its natural consequences, are found in some localities even to-day.

This theory, which looks upon the Bible as a mere human production of a high character, and recognizes reason as the only source of knowledge, spread far and wide. It even reached our own shores; causing in the Lutheran Church of this country indifference, deterioration and desolation. The sad state of affairs produced thereby was referred to recently by Prof. J. W. Richard, D. D., of Gettysburg, Pa., in his article on "The Confessional History of the General Synod," published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, vol. xxv., p. 458. The Professor tells us that "in the constitution of the New York Ministerium of 1803 there is absolutely no mention made either of the word of God or of any symbolical writing of the Lutheran Church." The same is said of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The plan for a closer union of the different Lutheran synods in the United States sketched and adopted by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, at its meeting in Baltimore, Md., 1819, contained "not one word about the Bible or about any Lutheran Confession." From a criticism made by the Tennessee Synod, and quoted by Dr. R., the first constitution of the General Synod (1821) must have been a similar document. At the meeting of the General Synod in 1825 Rev. S. S. Schmucker was elected as Professor of the Theological Seminary about to be established at Gettysburg, Pa. The

Professor elect was requested to prepare a constitution for the proposed Seminary. In said constitution the Holy Scriptures are mentioned for the first time in such a document in this country. The Holy Scriptures are there described as "the inspired word of God and the only perfect rule of faith and practice." Surely this is a sad picture in the history of our beloved Church; one that we would gladly blot out if we could. But since this cannot be done, may it continually be to us a solemn warning. A careful study of "The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," published by the Lutheran Publication Society, 42 N. 9th St., Phila., Pa., will soon convince the reader that a great change has taken place in this direction; and that to-day the general bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country acknowledge the word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Even the "Luther League of America," organized Oct. 31, 1895, at Pittsburg, Pa., recognizes in her constitution "as a bond of union the word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exponent of that word."

This extreme theory is now almost completely abandoned and efforts are being made to reconcile the two extremes; so that both the divine and human elements may be retained and each receive its proper recognition and place. This is by some called the dynamical theory of plenary inspiration. This theory gives the ground for the entire human side everywhere found in the Bible, as well as the divine. It also agrees with Luther's center around which the Scriptures must circle, and with which they must, according to Luther, agree. When we look at Christ, the personal Word, we have there the divine and human. He is not only true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, but also true man, born of the Virgin Mary. The humanity of Christ is just as real and as true as his divinity. A study of his life from the manger to the cross will show us periods during which the humanity of Christ was so prominent that there was hardly anything divine visible. At times we seem to see nothing but a human being like ourselves—sin excepted. Then

again the humanity vanishes and the divine nature comes out so prominently, that we behold nothing but the divine—God himself. When we see him a babe, grow to manhood, hungry, tempted, fatigued, asleep, weeping, sorrowing, praying, suffering, bleeding, dying, carried to the tomb and buried, we observe his humanity—we see man. But when we see him heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, give sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, feed thousands with a few loaves and fishes, silence the howling tempest, quiet the roaring waves, raise the dead and rise as victor over death, the grave and Hades on the third day, then we behold more than man—we see God himself. And as Christ, the center of the Holy Scriptures, the Revealer of the Father, is both divine and human, so must also the circle that goes out, or the Revelation that proceeds from him, be both divine and human. Hence those portions of the Bible, which are so human that there seems to be nothing divine about them, are just as much the inspired word of God, as the babe in the manger, or the crucified one on Calvary, was the incarnate Son of God. The late Prof. Dr. J. A. Brown, of Gettysburg, Pa., in his lectures on this subject said: “Both these elements must be retained and are clearly exhibited in the inspired volume; and they should be maintained so that the Scriptures may be fitly called such. It may be said of the Scriptures that they are divine-human. We find something in them corresponding with Christ, the Author of Revelation. He was both human and divine, and perfect in both natures. As in Christ, the true *λογος*, two natures, the divine and human, are united, and as in every regenerated soul there is the coöperation of the divine and human, so in the word of God.” Prof. Dr. H. E. Jacobs, of Philadelphia, Pa., says, in his “Elements of Religion,” p. 29: “The human element in Scripture reminds us of the human nature in Christ during the state of humiliation.”

Whilst the present aim seeks to consider the Holy Scriptures according to the Chalcedonian doctrine of Christ, or in accordance with what is known as the dynamical theory of plenary inspiration, some have nevertheless, swung back to the doctrine of the seventeenth century; which is confessionally not Lutheran.

but Reformed. It is no more than proper to state, however, that they apply said doctrine only to the original Scriptures. Such original Scriptures are, however, not in the possession of the Church, and if they were it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Old Testament would have the present punctuation and vowel points; since the punctuation system dates no further back than the sixth century. (See Meusel Kirch. Hand., vol. iv., p. 493, and Neue Kirch. Z., vol. v., p. 949.) When we look into the present conflict it will soon be seen that the battle rages, not around the original copies of the Sacred Scriptures, which we do not now possess, but around the word of God we do possess; and which we have every reason to believe to be just as much the inspired word of God as the originals from which they were copied. It is not the original copy of the Sacred Scriptures, which we do not now possess, that the enemy is trying to cut to pieces, but the copy that we now possess. This, our present possession of God's word, it is our solemn duty to defend. How such a defence can be made by applying the seventeenth century theory of inspiration to the original Scriptures, which we do not possess, and how such an application can set forth their view concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures we do possess, is a mystery difficult to unravel.

Let us now proceed and see *what theory the Evangelical Lutheran Church has advanced in her Confession*. A careful examination of the Augsburg Confession will show that she has advanced no special theory of inspiration at all; but that she has simply and firmly maintained that the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are the inspired word of God. Whilst the Reformed Church, in the Formula Consensus Helvetica, (1675) defined its position concerning the inspiration of the Bible, regarding even the consonants, vowels and vowel points, or at least their force, as inspired, the Lutheran Church has made no such ex professo statement. This should not surprise us, neither should it be construed as indifference nor as a refusal to commit the Church on this important subject. Had the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures been a subject of dispute it would, beyond all doubt, have been referred to in the Augsburg Confession. But

such was not the case; and since the Reformers confined the Confession only to "the principal subject of dispute," we ought not look for an article on that subject. The reader of the Augsburg Confession will soon see that the Holy Scriptures were not overlooked, much less ignored by its noble confessors. In the introduction the confessors distinctly set forth the clear and pure fountain from which their doctrines are drawn, namely, from the Holy Scriptures and the pure word of God (*ex Scripturis sanctis et puro verbo Dei*). The word of God is mentioned in the Confession as "gospel," "word," "His commands," "Scriptures," "holy scriptures," "sacred scriptures," "holy volume," "divine word," "word of God," "law of God," "divine law," "New Testament," and the like. We find therein quotations from both the Old and New Testaments. These books are looked upon as of equal importance, and as the inspired word of God. Not the least hint can be found that one book is of greater authority than the other. Whilst there is a distinction made in the articles of faith, so that there is one cardinal article, no such distinction is found concerning the books of the Bible. The Confession looks upon the Bible as superior to any human production, as absolute and final authority in matters of faith and practice, and as a means of grace through which the Holy Spirit works faith in those who hear the Gospel. Prof. Dr. G. H. Schodde has well said: "It is somewhat surprising that the Augsburg Confession does not contain any *ex professo* announcement of the formal principle of evangelical truth, the sole authority of the word of God. Practically and by implication this standpoint is indeed taken throughout the Confession; for everywhere the method of argumentation is to establish by the word of God, and there can be no doubt as to the standpoint of the Confession on this subject." (*LUTH. QUAR.*, vol. XXI., pp. 469 and 470).

The introduction to the Form of Concord begins as follows: "We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and guide, according to which all teachers and doctrines should be directed and judged, are alone the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments." This is known as the *Formal Prin-*

ciple of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This article makes the Holy Scriptures "the only rule and guide, according to which all teachers and doctrines should be directed and judged." In it there is, however, no theory of inspiration referred to. The Constitution of the General Synod refers to the word of God, as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice." Nothing is said here about a theory of inspiration. The statement that the word of God is contained in the canonical Scriptures may be misconstrued as indirectly referring to inspiration. Such, however, is not the case. We do not think that any distinction is here meant between what is and what is not the inspired word of God, but that there is rather a reference here to a distinction between the wants of the Church and the individual. Prof. Dr. Volk, of Dorpat, says concerning the expression "as contained:" "It is false if you wish to distinguish thereby between what is and what is not God's word. But if you have the different wants of the Church and of the individual in your mind it is not, since the former makes an entirely different use of the same from the latter: for the individual the Scriptures contain the (saving) word of God; but for the Church they are the (guiding) word of God." (N. K. Z., vol. v., p. 954). Zöckler in vol. III., p. 159 of his *Handbuch der Theol. Wissenschaften*, tries to escape the danger of misconstruing this expression in the following way: "The revealed word is neither to be considered according to the analogy of the Monophysitical, nor the Nestorian, but rather according to the Chalcedonian doctrine concerning Christ. Therefore we ought neither to teach, 'The Bible is God's word' (in an unqualified sense), nor, 'The Bible contains God's word,' but, The Bible is God's word in an organic and mediated manner corresponding with the history of salvation."

As to *the discovered mistakes of Moses*, alleged contradictions, reported conflicts with history, science, matters of fact and the like, which seem to shake some peoples' faith in the inspiration of the Holy Bible, we have no reason under the sun to be alarmed or doubt the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures on their account. Since, according to the statements of those

who have made these wonderful discoveries, even a man like Moses is liable to make mistakes, how much more liable must those be who are very much his inferior? And then, we must not forget that this is not the first time that the writings of Moses have been doubted, and Moses himself has been withstood. According to Christ's own words, Dives and his five brethren entertained serious doubts concerning the contents of the books ascribed to Moses. And, by the way, Dives was, in his own eyes at least, no ignorant man, and had no little confidence in the correctness of his conclusions concerning Moses; else he would never have contradicted "father Abraham" as he did. His superior knowledge concerning the inferior value of Moses, manifested by him in Hades, had, no doubt, been acquired before he got there. For all we know, that peculiar knowledge may have aided him greatly to land where he did; and where his five brethren must also have landed unless a change took place within them concerning Moses and the prophets. Paul, in second Timothy, speaks of two men by the name of James and Jambres, who withstood Moses. Those were, by the way, also learned men, who through their superior wisdom tried to rival Moses, throw suspicion upon his divine mission and foil him in his efforts to deliver Israel from the cruel bondage of Egypt. But the kind of wisdom exhibited by them accomplished no more than that exhibited by Dives in Hades. Since we know of a certainty that the wrath of man shall praise God, and that he will restrain the remainder of wrath, we can afford to wait calmly until these scholars have completed their work and have definitely located the loudly proclaimed mistakes and contradictions of Moses. There is no reason, whatever, for looking upon the Sacred Scriptures, as we have them, with suspicion; no cause for beginning to doubt whether the Holy Bible can stand the present shaking up. The word of God is just as secure to-day as the Ark of God was on the threshing floor of Chidon, notwithstanding the fact that the oxen, not knowing what they were pulling at, stumbled. Rev. Dr. Adolph Zahn, pastor of the Reformed Church in Stuttgart, is at present making some

bold and able efforts in defence of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the integrity of the whole book of Isaiah. This anti-critical movement may rout the mistake-finders so badly that they will have considerable difficulty in re-combining; it may result in the complete destruction of the theories of those who have so eagerly sought the destruction of Moses and Isaiah. The movement is being watched with intense interest throughout the Church.

Finally, A careful summing up will show that the position of the Lutheran Church in relation to the inspiration of the Holy Scripture is, that, by practice and implication, she looks upon and receives the canonical books of Old and New Testaments as the inspired word of God. To her, like unto Luther, "the word of God is the holiest of holies, yea the only one that we Christians know and have." Since her loyalty to the Sacred Scriptures cannot be called in question, her silence on the mode of inspiration must, therefore, not be misconstrued as indifference, nor as an effort to avoid the doctrine, but must be considered an act of wisdom. Although she has confessionally advanced no theory, there is, nevertheless, no Christian communion that esteems the Scriptures higher, lays more stress upon the same as a means of grace, and appeals under all circumstances to it as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Her shibboleth is, as Dr. Polstorf said at the eighth general Lutheran Conference at Schwerin, "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible;" and this whole Bible—nothing less, nothing more—is to her the inspired word of God.

ARTICLE II.

THE TEACHING OF THE LUTHERAN SYMBOLS CONCERNING
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY PROFESSOR D. NÖSGEN, ROSTOCK, GERMANY.

Translated from the November, 1895, number of the well-known Lutheran monthly, the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, published in Leipsic.

Translated by FREDERICK H. KNUBEL, A. B.

The lively discussion several years ago concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures led the author of this treatise to the idea of presenting more exactly what the confessions of the Lutheran Church say and teach, directly and indirectly, concerning the Holy Scriptures, judging from their method of using them. Matters of a personal nature retarded the execution of the work, and finally led to its being abandoned entirely. Recently, however, the author's observation has been drawn in many different ways to the fact, that even those theologians who consider it of great importance to teach Lutheran truth, do not know or, at least, are not familiar with the real extent and content of the declarations of the Lutheran symbols concerning the Holy Scriptures. Furthermore, an exhaustive treatment and presentation of the symbolical teaching concerning this article of doctrine is really wanting. Since, therefore, the chair which the author occupies demands of him, in addition to the work of New Testament exegesis, also the fostering of symbolics, it became a matter of conscience with him to relieve the want, if possible.

This treatise has, however, the aim of all history of dogma only, viz.: to present as accurately as possible the facts in the case as they lie before us. It is desired to establish only what is clearly deposed and confessed, concerning the bibliological article of doctrine, in those records of its confession, which were

NOTE.—The translation of passages from the Lutheran Symbols is taken from Dr. Jacobs' edition of the Book of Concord. In the paging the first number refers to that edition; the second number, to Müllers "Die symbolischen Bücher;" the third number, to the paragraphing followed in both editions.

recognized as authentic by the entire Lutheran Church in the time of its origin. And this investigation is not undertaken with the idea that, after such an establishment, it dare or could be said that, for the Lutheran Church, concerning this point of doctrine: *res judicata est*. The symbols are not doctrinal regulations for the author, no more than they were so for a Sartorius or a Thomasius. Their purpose is rather, like buoys at the entrance of a harbor, to indicate to those, who sail out upon the sea of theological knowledge, whether or not, in the tacking of their thoughts, they still remain within the bounds of Lutheran faith; if not, to indicate also just where they passed beyond the limits. Any other statement of the object of the symbols would itself be in direct opposition to them, for the later ones refer to the earlier ones as *testes veritatis* only.

Especially in the present time, as the strife over the true source of theological knowledge and (which is inseparably connected therewith) over the true theory of theological knowledge is mightily waging hither and thither (nor will there be peace, until the various spirits within the Protestant church membership have clearly distinguished themselves from one another)—in the present time, it is of far reaching importance for every one to know exactly and clearly what the teaching of the Lutheran Church concerning the Holy Scriptures is, and wherein her peculiarity consists. Even he, who attributes to the symbols only an historical value, must nevertheless, for the sake of his position towards the Reformation, consider it of great value (1) to see clearly what they depose and teach concerning the Holy Scriptures, and therefore (2) to be convinced as to the right or wrong of the oft repeated claim nowadays, that the symbols establish nothing concerning the doctrine of the Scriptures and allow, so far as they are concerned, full liberty.

The occasion and also the invalidity of this superficial view will appear shortly. The real source of the aforementioned unclearness and uncertainty as to the testimony of the symbols concerning the nature, the origin and the value of the Holy Scriptures lies in insufficient study of these historical documents, which are so valuable for the knowledge of true Lutheran thought

and faith. Very many of those, who inscribe confessional-moderation upon their banners, are satisfied by taking some remark or other, which meets everybody's eye, in the symbols and giving it a meaning which fits the ideas of their school, which is perhaps a possible meaning when taken from the connection, but which is really in opposition to the line of thought in the Confessions. They consider themselves then entitled to rock themselves into the dream, that they are teaching, concerning the Scriptures, in accordance with the confessions of their Church. It need hardly be said that such a method of procedure is a suspicious one for the judgment of one's self, and that it also helps to spread the aforementioned unclearness concerning the teaching of the symbols. From the standpoint of mere science it is to be rejected.

The very fact of the absence in the Lutheran symbols of a special article concerning the Scriptures, and especially concerning their inspiration (until we reach the handling of a point in the introduction to both parts of the Formula of Concord)—this fact, on account of which some have dared to say openly that the symbols contain no such teaching, should all the more induce every one to inform himself carefully concerning their bibliology. Nobody, I suppose, would care to deny that the Lutheran symbols aim to reproduce only the teaching of the Scriptures, in everything that they bring forward. But, in doing this, they could not rely alone upon the positive recognition of the Holy Scriptures as such by all earlier and then existing church parties. The chief opponents of the Lutherans, the Papists and the Enthusiasts, placed other sources of knowledge alongside of the Holy Scriptures. Whenever, therefore, a distinction from them was put forward in the symbols, there must necessarily have been expression given to the special prizing of the Holy Scriptures, and its justification. In these manifold expressions of the symbols and in their real testimony (through the use of Scripture) to the meaning of the Holy Scriptures for them, as the source of doctrine used by them on all occasions and at all times—in this lies undeniably a symbolical testimony, just as powerful, fruitful and noteworthy as is contained in every

other article of the confessions. That a thorough exposition has been hitherto wanting should cause more surprise than the proposition to supply that want. What Köllner, Œehler, von Scheele and others adduce, in their works on symbolics, concerning the symbolical teaching of the Lutheran Church in respect to the Holy Scriptures, or what Rudelbach adduces concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures (*Zeitschrift für die Luther. Theol. und Kirche*, 1840, II, pp. 10–12) is far from being a sufficient presentation.

The symbolical activity of the Lutheran Church extended, as is well known, over the half century from 1530 to 1580, and, on account of the merely incidental references to this article of doctrine, the different authors of the single confessions were led to less than usual reference to one another concerning it. In order to make manifest the complete inner agreement of the various symbols on this matter, the greatest care will always be taken in this treatise to separate the symbols that flowed from the pens of Melanchthon, of Luther, and of their pupils, allowing each one to speak separately, if possible, upon each point of bibliography.

The peculiarity of the Lutheran doctrine will, however, only come to light by noticing that in the fundamental conceptions, even though there be no complete comparison with the corresponding references of the contemporary Reformed and Roman confessions, yet that enlightening side glances are thrown upon the peculiarities of the former.

Only through full objectivity can the exposition here aimed at attain its end of giving clearness concerning the symbolical teaching as regards the Holy Scriptures. Already might it be injured through prejudice, however, or at least seem so, if the points of view from which and the arrangement in which the various expressions of the symbolical writings, concerning the Holy Scriptures, are classed, should be given from the author's dogmatical line of thought. Therefore, the arrangement of the discussion is taken from the small *Compendium Locûm Theologorum* of Leonard Hutter. Concerning this compendium, Twisten gave his judgment, in the new edition of 1853, that, in

its whole plan, it restored in the simplest manner the principia ecclesiae Lutheranae dogmatica in their original, fundamental teaching, without historical development. Hutter arranges the doctrine of the Scriptures under nine questions. Of these the second, third, fifth and sixth do not demand attention here, since they deal with the difference between the canonical and apocryphal books only. The answer of the symbols to the five other questions is all that need be especially sought.

I.

“What is sacred Scripture?” Hutter asks in the first place, and thus leads us to establish the conception and the extent of Holy Scripture, according to the Lutheran Confessions. The question of extent is, of course, more a subject with which Introduction has to deal. But this point is not to be set aside, since a peculiarity of Lutheran doctrine becomes evident already in the manner of determining the extent.

As known, none of the Lutheran confessions sums up one by one the books of Holy Scripture. They simply speak of the “Holy Scriptures” (34, 35 : 8), or of the “prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament” (491, 517 : 1). The single testifying personalities, therefore, do not concern the Lutheran Church by far so much as does the character of the biblical authors as prophets and apostles, as mentioned above in the reference to the difference of the two Testaments. The authors of the confessions knew, of course, that David, Solomon, Ezra, Nehemiah, etc., were no more prophets than Mark, Luke and the author of the Hebrews were apostles. However, they reckon the writings of those men with prophetic and apostolic writings, because they had a corresponding endowment. The proportionately frequent use of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and even Ecclesiastes (546, 581 : 37), as well as of Mark, Luke, and Hebrews by all the symbols shows, that even of Luther and no less Chemnitz (*Examen Conc. Trid., de scr. s., vi, 12*) knew of the Eusebian distinction between homologoumena and antilegoumena, yet it is not taken notice of in the confessions. This argument in no way loses force from the fact that in the Apology

(135, 136 : 156–159 ; 236, 234 : 9) Tobias 4 : 6, 11 and 2 Maccabees 15 : 14 are quoted. They are used only for the sake of weakening those arguments of the opposing Papists which had been based on these passages. Fully decisive on this question is the heading placed over the apocrypha in Luther's translation of the Bible, the symbolical weight of which, for the Lutheran Church, I suppose nobody would be inclined to deny : "Apocrypha, that is : Books which are not considered equal to Holy Scripture, but which are nevertheless useful and good to read." By that statement the difference between the canonical and uncanonical books is most clearly expressed. Therefore, no sort of usefulness nor subjective taste, nor even origin from a positive, historical personality can settle the extent of Holy Scripture. The divine equipment granted to the authors of the single *litterae sacrae*, as prophets and apostles, is the only thing which gives value to their contents as *prophetica et apostolica doctrina* (726 : 7). That will appear yet more clearly in what follows.

The peculiarity of the Lutheran bibliology is shown already in this position of the Lutheran symbols, as concerns the extent of Holy Scripture. For, in distinction from them, it is significant that in all the Reformed symbols that cover all the main points of doctrine, from the Conf. Gallica, which rests upon Calvin's earlier work, up to the Westminster Confession of 1659, (and also in the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England) a catalogue of the sixty-six canonical books is found. Some of them go even further. The Conf. Belgica (Art. 4), not only reckons explicitly fourteen Pauline letters (thus stamping the Epistle to the Hebrews as a writing of St. Paul's), but also reckons in the Old Testament "three books of Solomon's, namely : Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs." Furthermore, the recognition of these books as canonical is derived "not only from the agreement of the whole Church, but also and by far more from the testimony and intrinsic persuasion of the Holy Spirit," (Gall. Art. 4 ; Belg. Art. 4 : "concerning which there is no controversy ; Anglic. 6). By such determinations the recognition of Holy Scripture is made dependent simply on resources

foreign to itself, and is not grounded, as in the Lutheran symbols, upon its own nature (see below). The Roman Church goes much further, since it not only gives value to the approbation of the early church for determining the extent of Scripture (Conc. Trid. Sess. 4; Conc. Vatic. III, 2), but also, for the same reason, reckons the Old Testament Apocrypha as books of Holy Scripture. It is willing to reckon them only "according as they were accustomed to be read in the Church catholic, and were contained in the old Latin vulgate version." Thus the extent of Holy Scripture is settled by human arbitrariness, its own inner quality being entirely set aside.

What Holy Scripture is for the Lutheran symbols may be seen at once in the preface to the Augustana, where it is said that the preachers, in the territories of those who were delivering the confession, had taught in the churches "the doctrine derived from the Holy Scriptures and the *pure word of God*," (34, 36 : 8). The Holy Scriptures are, for the Lutheran Confessions, the pure, clear word of God, in distinction from all other preaching of the word, to which the adjective "pure" does not apply. Thus also the doctrinal text concerning the word in the Eighteenth Article of the Augustana (43, 43 : 3) speaks thereof in such a way that only the Holy Scriptures can be meant. It says: "But it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. But this is wrought in the heart when men do receive the Spirit of God through the word." Yet clearer do we find it in Article Twenty-eighth, where we read (62, 63 : 8): "This power is put in execution only by *teaching* or *preaching the Gospel* (*verbum*), and administering the sacraments, either to many or to single individuals, in accordance with their call;" and a little further on: "These things cannot be got, but by the ministry of the word and of the sacraments." The combination with the sacraments in these passages teaches that the Gospel, which lies objectively before us in the Holy Scriptures, is meant. We find the same in many passages in the Apology, as in Art. II. (78,

80 : 13): "For this cannot *be judged except from the word of God*, of which the scholastics in their discussions, do not frequently treat." In this place the German text makes "from the word of God" evidently refer back to "the (whole) Scripture," twice mentioned, [in the Latin and English texts only once—Tr.]; Art. IV. (95, 98 : 67): "But God cannot be treated with, God cannot be apprehended, *except through the word*." In the German text this passage reads: "God will not let himself be recognized, sought nor apprehended excepting *in the word*, or *through the word*;" and Art. XXIII. (251, 241 : 28): "In the first place it is necessary for the adversaries to acknowledge this, viz., that in believers, marriage is pure because it has been *sanc-tified by word of God*, i. e. it is a matter that is permitted and *approved by the word of God*, as Scripture abundantly testifies." It is of little weight against the identity of the terms "Scriptures" and "Word" in the language of these symbols, that likewise a single passage taken from the Scriptures, in which the offered grace of the Gospel is briefly summarized (as is used, for instance, in the absolution), is briefly designated, according to its origin and character, as *verbum* (183, 172 : 40).

Luther uses the same method of speech in the Smalcald Articles. Right in the preface he boldly claims (309, 297 : 10): "For our churches are now, through God's grace, so illumined and cared for by the *pure word* and right use of the sacraments, by knowledge of the various callings and of right works, that we on our part ask for no council." In the article of the mass he establishes the principle, which will be still more weighty for us later on (315, 303 : 15): "We have, however, another rule, viz., that the *word of God should frame articles of faith*; otherwise no one, not even an angel;" and (316, 305 : 24): "All of which is not to be borne, because it is *without the word of God*, and without necessity, and is not commanded; but conflicts with the chief article" (cf. 316, 304 : 21, 22). It is true that in the Smalcald Articles Luther designates the Scriptures as *verbum vocale* or *externum*, just as had already been done in the V. Article of the Augustana, where the Anabaptist doctrine is condemned. But the prevailing polemics in the Smalcald Articles (332, 322 :

5, 6) against the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts shows that no depreciation of the Holy Scriptures lies in such a designation; neither is any distinction meant to be made between the *verbum scriptum* and the *verbum praedicatum* (vel *auditum*). The designation stands only in opposition to the immediate, inner enlightenment of the Holy Ghost (presupposed by the opponents), whose method of address was designated as *verbum internum* (not brought in *voces*), and the value of which was placed above that of the word of the prophets and apostles, coming outwardly to man. For Luther's conception of the Scriptures as the word of God the following sentences, found in the same place, are of great weight: "But they fill the world with their pratings and writings, as though indeed the Spirit were unable to come through the writings and spoken word of apostles; but he must come through their writings and words;" and, "since they boast that they have received the Spirit *without the preaching of the Scriptures*;" and the preceding words (§3): "We must firmly hold that God grants his Spirit or grace to no one, except *through or with the preceding outward word*. Thereby we are protected against enthusiasts, *i. e.* spirits who boast that they have the spirit *without and before the word*, and accordingly judge *Scripture or the spoken word*, and explain and stretch it at their pleasure." In full agreement therewith we find, in the treatise concerning the Power and Primacy of the Pope, the duty laid upon kings (348, 339 : 56): "to so act that the power of judging and decreeing *from the word of God* be not wrested from the Church." [The German text reads: "from the *Holy Scripture* and the *word of God*."—Tr.]. In the same sense, we find in Luther's preface to the Large Catechism (385, 377 : 10): "Besides, nothing is more effectual against the devil, the world and the flesh and all evil thoughts than to be occupied *with the word of God*, and to speak thereof, and meditate upon it; so that the first Psalm declares those blessed who meditate upon the law of God day and night. Undoubtedly, you will never offer any incense or other savor against Satan more efficacious than employment upon *God's commandments and words, and speaking, singing or thinking thereof, etc.*" In that passage, Luther must

mean only the Scriptures by the word of God, and cannot be thinking of a *verbum praedicatum*, existing apart from the Scriptures. That Luther has only the Holy Scriptures in mind, whenever he speaks of the word of God, is shown by what he says in the explanation of the Third Commandment (Cat. Maj. 403, 403 : 91, 92): “But *God’s word is the treasury* which sanctifies everything, whereby even all the saints themselves were sanctified; whatever be the hour when *God’s word is taught, preached, heard, read* or meditated upon, person day and work are then sanctified thereby, not because of the external work, but because of the word, which makes saints of us all.” Further, what he says in the explanation of the third article (447, 459 : 62): “Therefore we believe in him who *through the word daily brings us* into the fellowship of this Christian people, and through the same word and the forgiveness of sins bestows, increases and strengthens faith, in order that when he has accomplished it all and we abide therein, and die to the world and to all evil, he may finally make us perfectly and for ever holy; which now we *expect in faith through the word.*”

That the Holy Scriptures are, for the Lutheran symbols, not only *a* but *the* word of God is established by the Formula of Concord again and again. Let the following passages suffice. It is said concerning the corruption of human nature through sin (494, 520 : 9): “This unspeakable injury cannot be discerned by the reason, but *only from God’s word* ;” and then, after stating that the abolition of this corruption by God will take place in the resurrection, the proof thereof is shown by an “as it is written” and the quotation of Job 19 : 26. In the Solid Declaration we find the following two passages very close together (543, 578 : 25): “For the reason that *God’s word teaches* that the corrupt nature, of and by itself, has no power for anything good in spiritual things, not even for the least, as good thoughts.” (545, 580 : 34): “For first, in the article of Creation, *Scripture shows* that not only has God before the fall created human nature, but also that, since the fall, it is a creature and work of God.” Or we find remarks like (553, 589 : 8): “And that *articles of faith should be judged only from God’s word* ;” and (658,

715 : 52): "But with especial care the distinction must be observed between that which is *expressly revealed* concerning this *in God's word* and what is not revealed. * * Concerning this we should not investigate, nor indulge our thoughts, nor reach conclusions, nor inquire curiously, but should adhere *entirely to the revealed word of God*. This admonition is in the highest degree necessary." In conclusion, let the passage (so weighty in this connection) at the beginning of the chapter on "The Law and the Gospel" be noticed (589, 633 : 1): "As the distinction between the Law and the Gospel is a very brilliant light, which is of service in rightly dividing *God's word*, and properly explaining and understanding the *Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles*."

In ascertaining the valuation of the Holy Scriptures by the symbols, it is, further, very noteworthy that they are designated, not only as the word of God, but briefly as the Gospel. It is well known that this occurs in the Augustana; *e. g.* in the fifth and seventh articles. In the former of those two the interchange of gospel and word is especially noticeable: "For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel, and administering the sacraments was instituted. For by the word and sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given; who worketh faith where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the Gospel. * * They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who imagine that the Holy Spirit is given to men without the outward word, through their own preparations and works." We find the same interchange in the XXVIII. Article of the Apology (297, 287 : 11-13), where we read, first: "Since, however, the Gospel clearly testifies that traditions ought not to be imposed upon the Church;" and shortly after: "Besides, we have declared in the confession what power the Gospel ascribes to bishops. * * Therefore the bishop has the power of the order, *i. e.* the ministry of the word and sacraments." The treatise, "Of the Power and Primacy of Pope," now usually combined with the Smalcald Articles, begins an extensive series of Scripture quotations with the words (339, 329 : 7): "First, therefore, we will show *from the Gospel* that the Roman bishop is not by

divine right above other bishops and pastors." Likewise, we find in the Large Catechism (457, 473 : 65), in the German text: "For where *the word of God is preached*, accepted or believed, and produces fruit, there the holy cross cannot be wanting;" while, in the Latin translation we read: "For where *the Gospel is preached*, etc." The word *Gospel* is used in a general sense in all such passages, as the Formula of Concord itself mentions (634, 634 : 5): "Employed in a wide sense and without the peculiar distinction between the Law and the Gospel;" it means (589, 633 : 4): "The entire doctrine of Christ, our Lord, which he inculcated in his ministry upon earth and commanded to be inculcated in the New Testament, and thus comprised the explanation of the Law and the proclamation of the favor and grace of God, his heavenly Father, as it is written (Mark I : 1): The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, etc," (cf. Epit. 507, 534 : 6).

This appellation of the Holy Scriptures, a parte potiori of its contents, is all the more important, because in other respects all the Lutheran symbols are very exact in the comprehension of the term Gospel. Already in the Apology is found the defining explanation (84, 87 : 5): "All scripture ought to be distributed into these two topics, the law and the promises. For, in some places, it delivers the law, and, in others, the promise concerning Christ, viz. either when it promises that Christ will come, and offers, for his sake, the remission of sins, justification and life eternal, or when in the Gospel Christ himself, since he has appeared, promises the remission of sins, justification and life eternal. Moreover, in this discussion, by law we designate the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue, wherever they are read in the Scriptures. Of the ceremonies and judicial laws of Moses, we say nothing at present."* Luther seems to withdraw partly

*It is to be noticed here, as supplementary to our investigation, that the last two citations, one from the Formula of Concord and the other from the Apology, clearly show that the Lutheran confessions take no notice of that verbal testimony of the apostles, no doubt historical, proceeding alongside of the Holy Scriptures (the *verbum praedicatum*), nor of its progress in the Church. For the Formula of Concord says, in the passage used above, that Christ commanded the entire doctrine to be inculcated in the

from this conception, which is repeated in the quotation from the Formula of Concord before given (589, 633 : 1), and which, in fact, is noticed all through in chapter on "The Law and the Gospel." For in the Smalcald Articles he says (322, 311 : 1): "Here we hold that the law was given by God, first to restrain sin by threats and the dread of punishment, and by the promise and offer of grace and favor;" and a little later (324, 313 : 8): "On the contrary, the Gospel brings consolation and remission, not only in one way, but through the word and sacraments and the like." (cf. 330, 319 : IV.) But, in this passage, Luther is evidently considering the difference between the Old and New Testament economy only. The sentence (323, 312 : 1) shows this especially: "This office of the law the New Testament retains and exercises, as St. Paul (Rom. 1 : 18) does, saying." Already this sentence shows also that within the confessions, even as regards this point, no difference in belief comes to light. Luther also says in the Smalcald Articles themselves, shortly before (323, 312 : 4; 324, 312 : 4): "But the chief office or power of the law is that it reveal original sin with all its fruits, and show man how very low his nature has fallen, and that it has become utterly corrupted;" while, concerning the New Covenant, he says: "But to this office the New Testament immediately adds the consolatory promise of grace through the Gospel, which must be believed." The real agreement of Luther with the other confessions is, however, fully proved by the fact that the Formula of Concord, in its chapter on the subject, makes use of the following sentences from a sermon of Luther's, in order to show the real difference between Law and Gospel, which is to be observed in the use of the Scriptures (591, 635 : 12): "That is all a preaching of the law which holds forth our sins and God's wrath, let it be done how or when it will. Again, the Gospel is such a preaching as shows and gives nothing else than grace and forgiveness in Christ, although it is true and right that the apostles and preachers of the Gospel (as Christ himself New Testament, and the Apology speaks explicitly of "all scriptures" (*universa scripta*) and its two divisions. In both, therefore, only the *verbum scriptum* is considered.

also did) sanction the preaching of the law." The preceding has been noticed, only in order that the full meaning of the designation of the Holy Scriptures as Gospel in the symbols, may be recognized. For, from this emphasis laid upon the Gospel, as the essential part of the word of God, it is clear that the Gospel is the principal thing for the symbols, and that the law is conceived, and is and should be considered only as it is related to the Gospel. That, however, is a proof that, for the Lutheran conception in general (as also for Luther), Christ and his redeeming work form the centre of God's revelation, and also of the Scriptures; from that centre, even in the letter, everything is to be understood and explained. Thereby also every intellectual misunderstanding of any designation (to be found even in the symbols), equalizing the Law and the Gospel, is prevented from becoming a doctrine. Both are spoken of as a doctrine, only in so far as and because they serve for instruction concerning salvation.

Thus, in the designation of the Holy Scriptures as Gospel, so much used all through in the Lutheran symbols, there comes to the light an organic method of considering the Holy Scriptures, which has prevailed in the Lutheran Church from its beginning, and which demands that all understanding and interpretation of those Scriptures shall be gained from the view-point of the course of revelation, as culminating in Christ. The *universa scriptura* is thus not a multitude of atomic, divine promulgations, entirely homogeneous and proceeding alongside of one another. It forms, as it also reveals itself, when considered historically, a word of revelation, which is a complete whole, the articulated parts being God's acts of revelation. Just on that account, the limit of its extent can only be set, as formerly shown, by the condition that the human authors shall be bearers of divine revelation and their word a *verbum revelatum*. Furthermore, for the same reason, several of the symbols, in combating Roman errors, could refer to a disagreement with the *articulus primus*, the *pars praecipua*, instead of with the Scriptures (cf., *e. g.* 55, 56; 314, 303; 325, 314).

We learn how significant this is by a comparison with the method of quoting and valuing the Scriptures, used in the sym-

bols of other churches. It is true that the agreement of the Reformed with the Lutheran symbols, as concerns the use of Scripture, is far reaching. However, the much preferred use of the designations of the Holy Scriptures as *litterae sacrae* and *scriptura sacra*, in comparison with which the names *verbum Dei* and *evangelium* fall far behind, can hardly occur by accident entirely. For, in the Conf. Gall. c. 5, there is even a distinction made between the Holy Scriptures and the word of God; after the recognition of the canonical books in Art. 4, comes: "We believe that *the word, which prevails in these books*, has come from God." This distinction has its source in the recognition, by no means unknown in the Reformed Church, of an inner word, immediately connected with the Holy Spirit's exhortation, which exists alongside of the *verbum externum*. Thus the Heidelberg Catechism (2, 31 and 54) represents *spirit and word* as two equal means of grace, through which Christ gathers and leads his elect congregation unto eternal life. This is seen yet more clearly in Helv. post. c. 1, where in a reference to Rom. 10 : 17, it is expressly added: "We recognize that God is able to give men inner light, *even without external aid*." The distinction here made is not between illumination through the read word and the preached word; it is between the service of the word coming from without to men, and an inner activity of the Spirit without means or the help of the written word. Another noteworthy item in the Reformed consideration of the Holy Scriptures is that, although Law and Gospel are distinguished historically, yet there is no expression of a separation between the legal (prescribing) and evangelical (grace offering) parts. Thus we find Helv. post. Art. XII.: "And, indeed, this at one time was written by the finger of God in the hearts of men and called a law of nature, but again was carved by his finger on the two stones of Moses, and more fully explained in the books of Moses;" and Art. XIII.: "And, although in that manner our fathers had the Gospel in the writings of the prophets, through which also they obtained salvation in Christ through faith, yet properly that joyous and glad news is the Gospel, which was

preached to us first by John the Baptist, then by Christ our Lord himself, afterwards by his apostles and the successors of the apostles." That is only an historical distinction. By such a division there is no view-point given, that can regulate the interpretation and comprehension of the whole Scripture. The one-sidedness of this method of consideration appears very conspicuously in the answer of the Heidelberg Catechism to its nineteenth question: "Whence knowest thou this?" (That is, that Jesus Christ is the mediator between God and man), which runs thus: "From the Holy Gospel, which God himself in the beginning revealed in paradise; afterwards published by the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, and foreshadowed by the sacrifices and other ceremonies of the law; and lastly accomplished by his well-beloved Son." This answer brings to recognition in Christ only the perfecting conclusion of a revelation, which fully existed, as to content, before; but that itself falls far below the declaration of Hebrews 1 : 1, and yet the letter to the Hebrews itself declares that only one side of Christ is being presented. At the same time the tendency of the Reformed confessions is thereby made manifest, viz., to place the Old and the New Testaments on an equality, in such a way as not to correspond with the relation of all other acts of revelation to that revelation in Christ which first brought salvation itself. The application made of many Old-Testament texts by the Reformed shows their disregard of the inner, organic character of that revelation which is given us in the Scriptures.

The conception of the Scriptures, from which the Roman Church proceeds in its confessions, is entirely external. For her the *sacri libri* or *scripturae sacrae* are only a species of the *supranaturalis revelatio*—nothing but an outward manifestation of the divine will. That a divine power is active in the Scriptures and that in them alone, as the word of God, his revelation of grace comes to us—of all that Rome's doctrinal authorities know nothing. The Gospel is by no means contained in the Scriptures alone for them, as they confess that, along with all the books of the Old and New Testament, they acknowledge and venerate "traditions pertaining to faith and morals with

the same honor and reverence, as if spoken by Christ or dictated by the Holy Spirit," (conc. Trid. sess. IV. decr. de. can. Scriptures). As is also seen from that passage, the Gospel is by no means supreme for them. On the contrary, the Roman Church considers the Gospel itself as a divine commandment and law exclusively. The conc. Trid. speaks throughout (sess. XII. can. 1 and 2) of the "sacraments of the new law," and anathematizes everyone, who denies that "Jesus Christ was given to men by God * * as a legislator, to whom obedience should be yielded" (IV. can. 21). The Vaticanum and the Encyclical of Leo XIII. concerning the Scriptures (1893) proceed along the same line.

The more one considers the aforementioned confessional differences in the conception of the nature of the Scriptures, the more does the great importance of the fact, that the Lutheran symbols value the Holy Scriptures as being, above all, the word of God and the Gospel, become manifest.

II.

In I. we have in fact already answered the second question asked by Hutter in his *locus de scriptura sacra*: "Whence do the Holy Scriptures have this authority?"

In the main, the church parties of the Reformation time were a unit on this subject. They held the western idea, which was expressed in the Decree of Eugene IV. (concerning union with the Jacobites) of 1439: "One and the same God of the Old and of the New Testament, that is of the law, the prophets and the Gospel, is acknowledged as author; since they were uttered by the same inspiring Holy Spirit," (cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion* §600). Since the subjects treated in the symbols are those concerning which there was difference of opinion in the time of the Reformation, there was no occasion for a discussion of this point. Therefore, we can find only occasional references to it. This does not imply, however, a relative indifference to it. The occasional expressions are very definite, and are therefore so much the more important for knowing the view held by the Reformers.

Since right in the Augustana, Art. XXVIII, it is said (65,

66 : 49): "If bishops have authority to burden the churches with innumerable traditions, and to snare men's consciences, why doth *the Scripture* so oft *forbid* to make and to listen to traditions? Why doth it call them the doctrines of devils? 1 Tim 4 : 1. *Hath the Holy Ghost warned* us of them to no effect?" Surely the Holy Scriptures are there considered as the immediate organ and product of the Holy Ghost. The passage is all the weightier, because the Pauline text quoted deals, not with a central point of doctrine, but with one which, relatively, stands on the periphery. Thus the Augustana makes no distinction between the words of those who were called as apostles, and of those who through the Holy Ghost were made prophets. It gives the same source for the words of both. Thus also the apology, in its preface, accuses the adversaries of having condemned several articles of the Augustana "contrary to the manifest *Scripture of the Holy Ghost*," ("contrary to the manifest Holy Scriptures and the clear word of the Holy Ghost"—German text) (74, 74 : 9). The Apology shows clearly, also, that it does not consider only the main divisions of the Holy Scriptures, as wholes, "divinely revealed" (283, 273 : 14), but even their small fragments as proceeding from the Holy Ghost. For they establish their wonder that (102, 107 : 107) "the adversaries are in no way *moved by so many passages of Scripture*, which clearly ascribe justification to faith, and, likewise, deny it to works," by the question : "*Do they think that these words fell inconsiderately from the Holy Ghost?*" Here, unequivocally, the single "passages" on the subject are valued as ones which the Holy Ghost, with full consideration and not without notice of what was being written, allowed to be produced. Although, on the other hand, the single apostolical passages are introduced with : "Peter says," "teaches," "Paul commands," "speaks," "urges," "contends," etc. And thus the free human activity of the biblical authors, in writing the books of the Bible, is acknowledged, nevertheless the doctrine of their being filled with the Holy Ghost, when writing, and of their speaking by what he gave—the doctrine of inspiration—is expressed by the passages above quoted from the fundamental symbols of the Lutheran Church. Thus

it is explicitly deposed that every single passage of the Holy Scriptures partakes of this inspired character, and that it is not to be assumed that a single one was written by prophet or apostle, without the coöperation of the Holy Ghost.

The same teaching is attested by the Smalcald Articles. These emphasize in one place, on the basis of 2 Pet. 1 : 21 and Acts 28 : 25, that the prophets were moved to speak by the Holy Ghost ("They were holy when the Holy Ghost spake through them"—333, 323 : 12). In another place, where Ps. 51, Rom. 5, Exod. 33 and Gen. 3 are introduced (321, 310 : 3), original sin is described as so deep a corruption of nature, that no reason can understand it, but it must be learned and believed *from the revelation of Scriptures* (cf. 329, 319 : 41 "doctrine from heaven revealed through the Gospel"). There is, furthermore, in the confessional writings which flowed from Luther's pen, an oft-recurring term, already used in the Augustana, (see 60, 61 : 40, 48). He likes to designate the articles of faith, expounded by him from God's word, as (310, 298 : 14) "chief matters commanded of God," and always directs the view of the Romists to the fact that the things demanded and prescribed by them, as for instance the invocation of saints, are not "commanded," and have "no example or testimony in Scripture," (316, 305 : 25 ; cf. 24). As for the meaning and bearing of this method of speech, there can be so much the less doubt, because the treatise in the Smalcald Articles concerning "the Power and Primacy of the Pope" says at the same time (345, 336 : 40): "Secondly, the doctrine of the Pope conflicts in many ways with the Gospel, and the Pope assumes to himself divine authority in a three-fold manner: First, because he takes to himself the right to change the doctrine of Christ and services instituted by God, and wishes his own doctrine and his own services to be observed as divine." For this passage teaches that the designation of the Holy Scriptures as the word of God exhibits them as an immediate manifestation of God, and, further, demands for all said or announced in them the same consideration as for an immediate revelation of God to a man. It is further to be noticed that, alongside of what is commanded and advised in the Holy

Scriptures, also the examples of the Holy Scriptures, are especially brought forward (316, 305 : 25). Thereby it is said that even the circumstances and events recorded in the Holy Scriptures have divine authority.

Concerning this point in the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, the Formula of Concord accepts explicitly the testimony of the Smalcald Articles, that the enormity of original sin must be learned and believed "from the revelation contained in Scripture" (541, 576 : 8). In agreement therewith, it speaks of the *invicta verbi Dei auctoritas* (565 : 4) and distinguishes emphatically between that which is revealed in the Scriptures and that which is not. We find (658, 715 : 52): "But with especial care the distinction must be observed between that which is *expressly revealed* concerning this *in God's word* and what is not revealed;" cf. §43, 53, 59, 64. But the Formula of Concord also testifies directly and explicitly that its use of Scripture rests upon the recognition of the doctrine of inspiration. Thus it is said, in opposing the false doctrine concerning the election of believers, that by such an idea the "*Scriptures* are misunderstood and explained *contrary to the will and meaning of the Holy Ghost*," (666, 724 : 92); the Holy Ghost is given as the source of the Holy Scriptures, and according to his meaning they must be explained and understood. Yet more positively is this stated in the article on Christian Freedom, where it is said (646, 700 : 15): "to preserve which the *Holy Ghost* so earnestly *charged his Church through the mouth of the holy apostle*, as heard above."

What has just been adduced must convince every one that it is contrary to fact, and even to the wording of the symbols, to teach and to write: "Our Church's confession contains nothing on the question of inspiration." One should be careful lest, while claiming to stand for a confession, he place himself in such crying opposition to his symbol. One gives himself thus the appearance of measuring others and himself by different standards.

It is, however, entirely insufficient to prove that the Lutheran symbols value the Holy Scriptures as an organ of the Holy Ghost; it is also to be shown that, according to the symbols,

the Scriptures are a lasting instrument of the Holy Ghost, since they are always a divine means of grace. It is known that already the Augustana states (38, 39 : V.): "by the word and sacraments the Holy Spirit is given; who worketh faith;" and (43, 43 : 3): "receive the Spirit of God through the word." Such statements continue until we reach the negation (62, 63 : 10): "These things (eternal righteousness, the Holy Ghost, life everlasting) *cannot be got, but by the ministry of the word* and of the Sacraments." As the Apology draws attention to the meaning of the word as a means of grace, so also it condemns those "who dream that the Holy Spirit is not given by the word." In agreement therewith, Luther states in the Smalcald Articles that already in the beginning the Spirit was only received by the prophets, *praecedente verbo vocali*, and declares (332, 321 : 3 ; cf. 5 and 6): "We must firmly hold that *God grants his Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward word.*" Luther teaches the same in the Large Catechism (444, 455 : 38): "Therefore God has caused the word to go forth and be proclaimed, in which he gives the Holy Ghost." The Formula of Concord introduces the same assertions, particularly in the articles on Free Will and on Predestination. For the present investigation the following passages are important : (497, 524 : 5): "*With the word the Holy Ghost is present* and opens hearts;" (654, 710 : 29): "*For the word, whereby we are called, is a ministration of the Spirit, that gives the Spirit, or whereby the Spirit is given* (2 Cor. 3 : 8), and a power of God unto salvation (Rom. 1 : 16). And since the Holy Ghost wishes to be efficacious through the word, and to strengthen and give power and ability, it is God's will that we should receive the word, believe and obey it;" and (656, 712 : 39): "There would also be overthrown and taken from us the foundation that *the Holy Ghost* wishes to be certainly *present with the word* preached, heard, considered, and *thereby to be efficacious and to work.*" He who has considered what was shown concerning the idea of the Gospel, as the kernel of the divine word (in I.), will find no limitation in the remark (597, 642 : 11): "but the Holy Ghost, who is given and

received, not through the law, but through the preaching of the Gospel, renews the heart."

It must now be clear to every one that the Holy Scriptures, as such an instrument, minister and organ of the Holy Spirit, through which he is truly busy and efficacious in our hearts, cannot be the work of man alone, but a work of the Holy Ghost, who alone could prepare such an organ for himself. This double treasuring of the Holy Scriptures is most closely connected and cannot be separated. It is, further, easily seen how closely it is connected with the most essential articles of all doctrine. The Formula of Concord says explicitly (572, 613 : 16): "*This righteousness is offered us by the Holy Ghost through the Gospel and in the sacraments, and is applied, appropriated and received through faith.*"

From this estimate of the Holy Scriptures, as not only the work of the Holy Ghost, but also his constant instrument, it is evident that the doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures is a very necessary part of the whole Lutheran system, and not a merely outward moment connected with evangelical doctrine. We obtain here a new and surprising view of the close, inner connection existing between all the parts of the Lutheran conception of the Gospel. The Reformed show little knowledge of the intimate relation existing between the doctrine of inspiration and the very centre of the plan of salvation. Their symbols have special articles, it is true, *de scriptura sacra*. But most of them, especially those reaching back to Calvin (as the Gallica, Belgica and Scotica), but also the Thirty-nine Articles, emphasize only the divine authority (Belg. Art. V.: "The Holy Spirit testifies to our consciences that these—the sacred books—emanated from God") and the value of the Holy Scriptures as source of all truth (Scot. 19). Likewise those Reformed confessions that sprung from German soil speak differently on this subject. The first question pertaining to the sacraments (Qu. 65) in the Heidelberg Catechism reads: "Whence cometh such faith," and the answer: "The Holy Ghost worketh the same in our hearts by the preaching of the Holy Gospel, and confirmeth it by the use of the Holy Sacraments." Likewise the Helv.

post. says of God not only that he (Art. II.): "proclaims through the Holy Scriptures what is true, what is false, what should be followed and what should be avoided," but confesses also (Art. I.): "For although no one can come unto Christ, except he be drawn by the Father in heaven and entirely illuminated within by the Holy Spirit, yet we know that God fully wishes the word to be preached also from without." But thus the Holy Spirit is mentioned in such a way *alongside of the word* (as in questions 31, and 54 of the Heidelberg Catechism, previously mentioned), that it is clearly seen how much narrower a view of the word, as a means of grace, the Reformed accept. For them the establishment of the inspiration of the divine word has by far its greatest importance, in that it establishes an infallible source of doctrine.

Rome, again, conceives the Theopneustia in an entirely superficial way. Its fundamental confession points out, in the passage (sess. IV.) formerly quoted, "the author of both the Old and the New Testament," but likewise accepts the error, repeated both in the Vaticanum and also in the Encyclical of Leo XIII. before mentioned: "We acknowledge and venerate traditions, pertaining to faith and morals, with the same honor and reverence as if spoken by Christ or dictated by the Holy Spirit." When, therefore, the Conc. Trid. declares the holy books to be clothed with authority by the Church, not only "because they contain a revelation without error, but because, being inspired by the Holy Spirit, they have God as their author and as such have been handed down to the Church itself" —when this is done, it is *only* in order to establish the infallibility of the Scriptures acknowledged by them. Therefore the Encyclical of Leo XIII. argues against the claim that there can be mistakes in the Holy Scriptures on the following grounds: "For he so incited and impelled them to write by a supernatural power, and so assisted them in writing, that all those things and only those, which he commanded, their minds rightly conceived and faithfully desired to render and with infallible truth expressed; otherwise he would not be the author of the Holy Scriptures," (Freiburg, 1894, p.

61). Evidently it was desired to establish the Scriptures as a doctrinal and ethical code only, for the use of those who interpret them. On that account also, on the one hand, reading of the Scriptures is forbidden the laity, and, on the other hand, theological exegesis is surrounded with a mass of traditional cautions; those ideas were most carefully carried out in the Encyclical, the pretended object of which was to encourage the study of the Scriptures. But the Roman Church, whether as to its head, its clericals, or its members, needs no such means of grace, no such minister or organ of the Holy Ghost as the Lutheran Church confesses that it possesses in the Holy Scriptures. No real interest attaches, for them, to that which is the very essence of the Scriptures.

III.

The third point for us to consider is included in what Hutter in his Compendium further asks: "Are the Holy Scriptures clear and perspicuous?" And just because the word of God is a means of grace for all Christians, this third point is of so much greater importance. Within the confessions of our Church it could gain expression only through distinctions from the Romish opponents concerning it; consequently we can find but little.

We find the first mention of it in the preface to the Apology, where it is stated that the adversaries of the Augustana have (74, 74 : 9) condemned articles "contrary to the *manifest Scriptures of the Holy Ghost*." Likewise, we find it stated (75, 77 : 2), with reference to the anti-trinitarian currents of the Reformation time, that the article of the triune character of the Godhead has such firm, good and positive foundation in the Holy Scriptures that nobody could overthrow it. We find, further, in Art. IV. (88, 92 : 33), after passages of Scripture have been introduced which show the inability of man to obtain justification through his own efforts: "These testimonies are so manifest that they do not need an acute understanding, but only an attentive hearer." In other places (102, 107 : 107, 108 ; 170, 160 : 35 ; 183, 173 : 42), the apology states that the words of God quoted testify clearly to the matter, and (170, 161 : 40) it is incidentally stated: "Therefore the will and advice of the apostles ought to be derived from

their writings (clear writings—German text); it is not enough to mention their example.” In other forms also, the clearness and perspicuity of the testimony of the Scriptures is expressed, as (204, 193 : 45): “But Scripture *everywhere exclaims* that we are far distant from the perfection which the law requires;” and (265, 255 : 30): “But Scripture is full of such testimonies, which teach.” Similar expressions are found in the Formula of Concord, as (588, 631 : 35): “Since, therefore, from God’s word it is manifest,” (cf. 612, 659 : 59 ; 634, 686 : 58 ; 630, 681 : 34). Further, the Apology is specially praised, because it (536, 570 : 6) “confirmed by *clear, irrefutable testimonies of Holy Scripture*” the teaching of the Augustana. How thoroughly the authors were convinced of the clearness and perspicuity of the Holy Scriptures is most clearly proven by their method of constant and direct reference to the Holy Scriptures. By the simplicity of their use of Scripture they show that, in their judgment, the Holy Scriptures, in matters pertaining to salvation, are clear and perspicuous to everybody, in opposition to the Roman Church. That Church, since the days of Hieronymus (ad Paulinum de studio Script. ep. LXII, 4), has always claimed that the Holy Books are enveloped in a certain darkness, and that it pertains to the Church only “to judge concerning the true meaning and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.” (Trid. sess. IV, decret. de edit. et usu sacr. libr.)

IV.

In Hutter’s Compendium, the question concerning the perspicuity of the Holy Scriptures is followed by these two: “Are the canonical Scriptures full and sufficient, even for information concerning faith and morals?” and “Then will the canonical Scriptures be a norm and judge for ecclesiastical controversies?” The fact that Hutter affirms the former only through the testimony of 2 Tim. 3 : 15–17 indicates that he also had found no direct answer thereto in the Lutheran symbols. Manifestly, however, the answer to it stands in close connection with the answer to the latter question. This we shall easily obtain through the numberless expressions referring to it that may be found in

the Lutheran symbols. Therefore, both subjects are dealt with here at the same time.

Of this point both parts of the Formula of Concord treat in the treatise (preceding their twelve articles): "Of the Comprehensive Summary, Foundation, Rule and Standard," (491, 517 ; 535, 568). But the confessions contain, in addition, numerous remarks that relate to this point. On account of the fulness thereof in this division of our treatise, it will be necessary to limit more closely than hitherto the quotations used. Often it will be possible to refer to whole categories of expressions only, which recur again and again in the symbols, in order, by means of them, to explain the principal expressions and make their meaning clearer. It will also be attempted, as formerly, to show the inner agreement of the three groups of Lutheran confessions on this point.

The preface to the Augustana, addressed to Emperor Charles V, says at once and clearly that the faith they confess in the "Chief Articles" is to be nothing else than "the doctrine derived from the Holy Scriptures and *pure* word of God" (34, 36 : 8), a summarized statement of the Scripture content; and that they are prepared, if occasion arises, to present ampler information *in accordance with the Scriptures*" (68, 70). But, though the author and signers of the Augustana claim that in the doctrinal articles only the teaching of the Scriptures is expressed, yet, until we reach the XX. and XXI. Articles, we find no proofs stated from Scripture nor any justification of such a method of proof. It is entirely different in the seven articles concerning abuses. While the confessors claim for their doctrines that in them "there is nothing which is discrepant with the Scriptures" (Epilogue to the twenty-one articles, 47, 47 : 1), they constantly accuse their adversaries of holding to doctrines, practices and rites which are "*against* the Scripture" (48, 49 : 10), "*contrary to God's commandment*" (58, 59 : 23 ; 60, 61 : 49), and which contain things that "*depart* from the Holy Scriptures" (51, 52 : 24), or, "*obscured the commandments of God*" (54, 55 : 8 ; cf. 54, 55 : 4, and 61, 61 : 49). It could not be more clearly expressed that the Scriptures were considered, positively and negatively, as the

rule for the doctrines and usages of the Church. This exclusion of other standards is in no respect departed from, when the statement is made in the Epilogue to the twenty-one articles (47, 57 : 1) and in other places : "There is nothing (in our doctrine) which is discrepant * * with the Church catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from writers." For the word "discrepant" shows that no source or norm of doctrine is referred to, but only that an agreement is manifested, by which the claim, that the evangelical doctrine is on the whole heretical, is clearly shown to be untrue. How far the Augustana is from founding its statements on the earlier teaching of the Church is evident from the fact that, in the preface (34, 35 : 8), there is added to the words "from the Holy Scriptures" the further remark "and *pure* word," which disallows any mixture of human words and ideas. This explanation of the method of procedure in the Augustana receives an important confirmation from two other passages, which exclude all mixture of human thoughts and meanings from the doctrine of faith. The one does so, while speaking of the presumptively wholesome cultus, by saying (59, 60 : 37): "And Paul doth everywhere teach that righteousness *is not to be sought* of our own observances, and *services which are devised by men*; but it cometh by faith to those that believe that they are received into favor by God for Christ's sake" (cf. 60, 61 : 48). The other does so in reference to all doctrine, when it speaks of the duty of bishops as being (63, 64 : 21): "to take cognizance of doctrine, and to reject doctrine inconsistent with the Gospel."

The Apology constantly uses similar methods of expression in its complete overthrow of the papal confutation. Let it suffice to introduce a few passages, which recognize the Scriptures as both source and norm. It is said not only concerning the chief doctrine of the Gospel (218, 207 : 6): "It is certain that this is *the doctrine of the Gospel*, because Paul clearly teaches, (Eph. 2 : 8, 9);" but also concerning the Church (167, 157 : 26): "Moreover, Christ, the prophets and apostles define the Church of Christ far otherwise than as the papal kingdom." A little later it is said in a very general sense (170, 161 : 40): "There-

fore the will and advice of the apostles *ought to be derived from their writings*: it is not enough to mention their example," which surely implies that no authority dare be given to the *verbum praedicatum*, which existed in the Church. Likewise in reference to usages, the Apology says: "Judgment ought to be given concerning those rites, *as the apostles judge* in their writings." The Apology speaks most definitely concerning the Scriptures as the source of all doctrine in Chap. 2, of Justification. In the first place, it says (84, 87 : 4): "But, not only that we may strengthen the position of our confession, but also remove the charges which the adversaries advance against us, certain things are to be premised in the beginning, in order that the sources of both kinds of *doctrine, i. e.* both that of our adversaries and *our own, may be known*;" and then follows with the sentence, once before quoted: "*All Scripture* ought to be distributed into these two topics, the law and the promises," whereby *the whole Scripture* is given as the only *source* of their doctrine. The *normative* signification of the Holy Scripture is especially and frequently expressed in Art. XXVIII. There we find (298, 289 : 20): "Neither should the bishop *frame traditions contrary to the Gospel*, or *interpret* their traditions *contrary to the Gospel*; and §20 gives the following: "When therefore they teach wicked things (instead of 'wicked things' the German text has 'contrary to Christianity' and the 'Scriptures'), they are not to be heard." The German text continues: "So this passage (Acts 5 : 29) does not institute a power outside of the Gospel. Therefore they cannot prove their power, which they have instituted outside of the Gospel, from the Gospel. For the Gospel urges to teach, not *de traditionibus*, but from the word of God."

The symbolical books written by Luther agree with these in every respect and clearly teach that the Holy Scripture is the only rule, norm and source for doctrine and life. The parts of the Smalcald Articles, which deal with doctrines concerning which Luther and Rome contended take pains to show that the ideas of the papists are "without the word of God," and that their demands are "not commanded nor advised," and have "no example or testimony in Scriptures," (316, 304 : 22, 24 and 25).

Likewise we find, not only concerning the mass, that it is (313, 301 : 5) "a very dangerous thing, *fabricated and invented without the will and word of God*," but we also hear Luther saying very generally (Large Catechism, 403, 403 : 93): "On the contrary, any matter or work that is *without God's word is unholy before God no matter how brilliant it may appear*, even though it be covered with relics, such as the fictitious spiritual orders, which know nothing of God's word and seek holiness in their own works." Luther declares in the Smalcald Articles that it is pure enthusiasm for the Pope, and therefore also, by analogy, for anybody else, to claim that "whatever he decides and commands in his churches is spirit and law, even though it be above and contrary to Scripture and the spoken word," (332, 322 : 4). In complete opposition to the custom of the papists (making articles of faith from the works and words of the fathers), he declares (315, 303 : 15): "We have, however, another rule, viz., that *the word of God should frame articles of faith ; otherwise no one*, not even an angel." It is only a natural consequence that, in the treatise "Of the Power and Primacy of the Pope," it is made the duty of the kings and princes to see to it (348, 339 : 56) "that the *power of judging and decreeing from the word of God be not wrested from the Church*."

After these passages of the preceding symbols, concerning the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures even for information concerning faith and morals, the intentional treatises of the Formula of Concord on the invincible authority of the word of God, as found in the introduction to both parts (491, 517 ; 535, 568), can no longer be looked upon as new ideas of the Epigoni ; they have often so been called by those who desired to rob them of their authority. They are summaries and elaborations of things that had already been confessed by the Lutheran Church, and are of equal value with them. No less will the above proof of the teaching of the early symbols overthrow the custom of cleverly importing a meaning into the sentences of the Formula of Concord, that is foreign to it, a practice which is only in the interests of modern theories. The confessions are their own best interpreters.

The Formula of Concord was composed for the purpose of settling doctrinal strifes which had arisen in the Lutheran Church. It was, therefore, only natural that they should express clearly how a decision was to be reached between the different ideas—that is, should state what the norm and rule was, according to which the controverted points would be and should be esteemed and judged. Thus we find (492, 518 : 7 ; cf. 537, 571 : 9): “In this way the distinction between the Holy Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament and all other writings is preserved, and *the Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule and standard, according to which*, as the only test-stone, *all dogmas should and must be discerned and judged*, as to whether they be good or evil, right or wrong ;” then in §8 the œcumenical symbols and the former Lutheran confessions are judged as being “only a witness and declaration of the faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained” (“they owe their dignity to the Holy Scriptures only”—Latin text). For this distinction between the divine and human writings the Solid Declaration refers to Luther (§9), and calls those monuments of the Reformation (§13): “a witness of the truth,” in distinction from the word of God, which, it says : “*We lay as the foundation, the eternal truth.*”

But just by this explicit expression of the wish “to lay the word of God, the eternal truth, as the foundation,” something more is expressed. We see therefrom that the Formula of Concord both designates the œcumenical confessions as “founded upon God’s word” (535, 569 : 4), and declares that the Augustana was made the Confession of the Lutheran Church” not because it was composed by our theologians, but because it has been derived from God’s word, and is founded firmly and well therein,” (§5 ; cf. 667, 726 : 8). Therefore, the theologians of the Formula of Concord would never have recognized a doctrinal writing as confessional authority for the Lutheran Church, unless it had been compiled from and based on God’s word. Thereby we obtain a right understanding of the celebrated statement in the Solid Declaration (535, 568 : 3): “First, we receive and embrace the prophetic and apostolic Scrip-

tures of the Old and New Testaments *as the pure, clear fountains of Israel*, which are *the only true standard whereby to judge all teachers and doctrines*" (Primum igitur toto pectore prophetica et apostolica scripta veteris et novi testamenti, ut *limpidissimos purissimosque Israelis fontes recipimus et amplectimur* et sacras litteras *solas unicam et certissimam illam regulam esse credimus*, etc.—Latin text). The superlative *limpidissimos purissimosque* cannot be accepted in a comparative sense any more than *certissimum*, the meaning of which is determined by *solas* and *unicam*, immediately preceding. The absolute sense must be accepted. The Holy Scriptures are here declared to be not only the purest and clearest fountain in comparison with and beside other fountains (as, for instance, the *verbum praedicatum*, which had always existed in the Church; or the law of creation, as reflected in nature and in the condition of the world), but as *the single, fully clear and pure fountain of all doctrine*. The very tenor of the passage leads to such an understanding. The Holy Scriptures are specified as the spring or fountain of Israel in distinction from the doctrinal sources possessed by the heathen or the natural world. Their uniqueness is also made clear by the truth: a fountain cannot send forth both fresh and salt water else it would cease to be a fountain. That we have the right meaning is shown by what follows. There follow two sentences concerning the use of the Holy Scriptures as the one true standard. They are to be the only and most exact rule "whereby to examine all dogmas" (*ad quam omnia dogmata exigere oporteat*), and "whereby to judge all teachers and doctrines" (*secundum quam de omnibus tum doctrinis tum doctoribus judicare oporteat*). The former would not have been needed alongside of the latter, if the former, in distinction from the latter (which refers to teachers who have *already* declared themselves and doctrines which *already* exist), did not deal with the activity of conceiving, gaining and maturing dogmas, binding this activity also, in its whole course, to the Scriptures, (notice the difference between the prepositions *ad* and *secundum* in the two sentences). Thus the

former deals with the activity in making dogma; the latter with doctrines already existing. He who cannot find in that fundamental passage the meaning here given, must accuse it of great emptiness. If that be not the meaning, then the authors of the Formula of Concord do not express, in this fundamental passage on the authority of the word of God, that which they praise in the Augustana ("It has been derived from God's word and is founded firmly therein"); that which they claim for themselves ("to lay the word of God, the eternal truth, as the foundation") and which they again and again carry out in the course of the Formula.* For the meaning we have given, the shorter German text of the passage testifies most clearly: *Als erstlich zu den prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften Altes und Neues Testaments als zu dem reinen lauterem Brunnen Israels, welche allein die einzige wahrhaftige Richtschnur ist, nach der alle Lehrer und Lehre zu richten und zu urteilen ist,*" in which the word "richten" is not a synonym for "urteilen;" by "richten" is meant, to produce or arrange according to a pattern and model. This is equally clear in the corresponding passage of the Epitome (491, 517 : 1): "We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged are nothing else than the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testaments, *as it is written (Ps. 119 : 105): Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. And St. Paul (Gal. 1 : 8): Though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed.*" For the quoted passages of Scripture show that not only the exclusively *normative* character

*See such passages as (494, 520 : 9): "Cannot be discerned by the reason, but only from God's word;" (540, 575 : 4): "In order, therefore, to explain this controversy in the Christian way and according to God's word, and to maintain the correct, pure doctrine;" (649, 704 : 2): "Because the Holy Scriptures not only in one place and incidentally, but in many places, thoroughly discuss and explain the same;" a little later the exhortation is expressed: "The true meaning should and must be explained from the foundation of the Scriptures;" and finally (658, 715 : 52): "But with especial care the distinction must be observed, between that which is expressly revealed concerning this in God's word and what is not revealed."

of the Holy Scriptures is referred to. The passage from the Psalms shows that the way of those who would teach is a way through the darkness, leading past precipices, and that there is continual danger of falling or going astray; that, consequently, the goal can only be reached by the light of the word. Consequently, doctrines and dogmas of the right kind do not result from active thought and mental work; much rather, these doctrines and dogmas are presented to the active mind through the light and instruction of the divine word. The active mind is only the formal source, while the divine word is the material source of wholesome doctrine. Yet clearer is the passage from Gal. 1 : 8. For there the obtaining of a message or doctrine of salvation from any other source than from the apostle's witness is definitely condemned; unless some one can produce or name an independent source, aside from the Scriptures, offering the *same* Gospel that the Scriptures offer.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the practice of all the symbols and the Formula of Concord. Nowhere do they obtain an article of doctrine from any other source than from the Holy Scriptures. Even for the formation of churchly usages and for the determination of the nature of all church government, the existence of which they simply looked upon as natural, all the symbols turn at once to the mandata Dei contained in the Holy Scriptures. They thus show to what an absolute extent the principle introduced by the Formula of Concord as Luther's rule (537, 571 : 9), "God's word alone is and should remain the only standard rule," was understood and accepted by them. Any supposition, even though it were only implicitly made, of another source of wholesome doctrine besides the word of God, (such as some very far differing theological circles find in the passage from the Solid Declaration (535, 568), which we have very minutely investigated just on that account, would, in consequence of what has been presented, show that the authors of the Formula of Concord contradict themselves. However, clear sharp thought on their part has always been acknowledged, even by those opponents who differ most from them. A piece of theological, mental work, which has been filled from God's

word, which has allowed itself to be led and lit up by that word, and which turns to that word on all questions, is not contrary to the fundamental principles of the Formula of Concord. But, as soon as it behaves as though it were autonomic, rests upon itself, and makes itself a "pure and clear fountain" of doctrine alongside of the Scriptures, such a work dares no longer declare and consider itself related in spirit to the ideas of the authors of the Formula of Concord and the other symbols. The Holy Scriptures alone were source and load-star for their theology and sermons.

What the symbols of the Lutheran Church teach concerning the Holy Scriptures may be summarized for the Christian in Luther's words (403, 403 : 91): "For the word of God is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries, yea, the only one which we Christians know and have."



ARTICLE III.

PROFESSOR NITTI ON CATHOLIC SOCIALISM.

BY REV. FRANK P. MANHART, A. M.

The interest now taken in sociological problems is very great. Discussions by able specialists soon go around the world. Prof. Francesco S. Nitti, of the University of Naples, is well known to English students through review articles and an earlier book on *Population*. The work under review here is on *Catholic Socialism*. It has but recently appeared in a translation from the Italian by Mary Mackintosh, Prof. Nitti himself having read the English proof, and with an Introduction by Prof. David G. Ritchie of the University of St. Andrews.

It should be understood that all statements and opinions that make up the body of this article, whether directly quoted or otherwise, are Prof. Nitti's. It is hoped that though some persons and events may appear in strange guise, still the reader will be repaid for looking at them through the eyes of the Italian professor.

Prof. Nitti aimed to be "strictly objective," "neither Socialistic

nor Anti-Socialistic, neither Protestant nor Catholic," but strictly impartial. He holds that "Socialism is more alive, more feared, more powerful than ever." Political economy and anthropology have condemned it in vain. Even while we condemn it as "mere dreams of morbid imaginations or idealists," and censure the "brutal conceptions of life and its aims which form the ideal of social democracy, we feel that in this Niagara of contradictions, errors and uncertainties, which are the basis of Socialism, there is nevertheless a something which defies our criticism. Through the systems of Socialism may be false, contradictory or Utopian, the morality it teaches is by far superior to that of its adversaries."

Since it "daily assumes a more hostile attitude towards civilization and the future of society," and the failure hitherto to solve the "weighty problems, on which existing society depends," Socialism in all its varied aspects, religious, anarchical, collective, state, etc., should be studied with the "utmost calm and impartiality."

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Socialism has its ethical and economic sides. Like democracy it is essentially modern. It arose from the contrast of political liberty and economic slavery since this made the masses conscious of their misery. The promoters of the French Revolution were its true pioneers, since their ideal was political equality. The true ideal of Socialism was formulated by Montesquieu: "the State is bound to afford each citizen proper sustenance, decent clothing, and a mode of living not prejudicial to health." From the doctrines of the economic schools of Adam Smith and the Utilitarians, the masses drew conclusions that led to Socialism. Stuart Mill's teaching leads to the idea that "utilitarian and communistic morality are one thing." Hegel teaches that "man is an end in himself, to be respected as such by the individual, not in regard to the state, for the state is his substance." Socialism is a "protest against the capitalistic organization of contemporary society." It says to the masses with Laveleye: "You are the arbiters of the state." It holds that economic equality should follow civil and political; inequality is identi-

cal with social evil, Socialists, generally, hold that labor is the sole efficient cause of wealth.

"The Christian ideal is in no way opposed to the socialistic ideal, yet Socialism flourishes where religious sentiments are weak. Anarchistic socialism is the outcome of anti-religious tendencies diffused by the Liberal [secularistic] school. Religion is necessary to the toiling millions. Christianity being supplanted among some, a "very religion of Socialism" is developing. Yet we must "not suppose that there exists any substantial difference between Socialism and Christianity." Some apply Darwin's evolution to social progress, but "Socialism and Christianity revolt from the fundamental principle of his system:" the survival of the strongest. Many socialists are materialistic and atheistic, yet eminent churchmen and prelates, Protestant and Catholic, admit that the "socialistic ideal closely resembles the kingdom of God founded by Christ." Dr. Thompson, Archbishop of York, in Lambeth in 1889, in inaugurating a meeting of 145 Pan-Anglican bishops, "in the name of Christianity accepted the fundamental programme of Socialism."

ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Israel like other Semitic peoples were slow in ceasing to be nomads. Even after private property had been established they had many provisions for the poor. Wealth and luxury came but were looked upon as evils by the masses. The prophets preached social equality and are "fiery publicists of the description we should now call socialists or anarchists." Under the Seleucidæ the wealthy inhabitants of Jerusalem largely embraced Hellenism. "The code of Jahve," says Renan, "was one of the earliest and boldest attempts ever made in defense of the weak and helpless, for it contains a thorough programme of theocratic Socialism, based on solidarity, and absolutely contrary to individualism." Man is born to labor as the bird to fly.

"Born in similar surroundings, Jesus Christ could not have opposed himself to the current of ideas which already, for a considerable time, had dominated in Israel. Consequently, with-

out favoring any economic system, counseling even contempt of riches, he divided the views of the prophets."

"The Gospel is not a bill of rights, for the mission of Christ had no political character." Jesus was a "perfect Idealist." His doctrines "had a profound and substantial analogy with the Essenian doctrine." The parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the requirement of the rich young ruler, the statement,—“it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God,” the “terrible objurgations and menaces toward the rich” of St. James, the teaching of St. Paul and other apostles, all indicate that attachment to property is a capital sin, and poverty a requirement for salvation. Paul’s “ideal type of a true Christian is an honest, modest, laborious workman. The rich man is a parasite. He formulates the economic law, which was destined to become many centuries later, the fundamental principle of Socialism: “If any man will not work, neither let him eat.” “The early Christians practiced communism, or community of goods.” Christianity was originally a society of *Ebionites*. Pagan antiquity and the philosophers of Greece and Rome scorned the workman. The early Christians respected and honored the worker. “They sought to win heaven through poverty. Saving was condemned and interest prohibited.” “Christianity was a vast economic revolution more than anything else.

SOCIAL TRADITIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The fathers down to the seventh century share these socialistic principles. Justin Martyr, Clement, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Basil the Great, Gregory the Great and the other leaders held “doctrines on the nature of property that are perfectly uniform.” Their theories are communistic but are the result of evangelical doctrines. “According to St. Jerome, ‘opulence is always the result of theft, if not committed by the actual possessor, then by his predecessors.’” For St. Clement private property is the fruit of iniquity. St. Basil considers the rich man as a thief, and St. John Chrysostom insists on the necessity of restoring the community of goods at all

costs. According to St. Augustine private property originated in usurpation, etc.

When Christianity was adopted by the Empire and come to include many rich, the effort was made by some to "mitigate the evangelical doctrines on property." Then the idea that "worldly goods should be considered as materials and instruments to be used for pious purposes," was broached and became "the germ which was to become, many years later, the basis of Catholic social doctrines."

The Canon Law was profoundly affected by these teachings. "In the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, private property is considered an evil, since, according to divine law, all things are common to men as air and light."

"It was not until the thirteenth century, when the Church was immensely rich, that ecclesiastical writers appeared openly maintaining the right of property. Thus we find St. Thomas Aquinas endeavoring to conciliate Aristotle's conservative doctrines on property with the communistic teachings of the Gospel and the fathers of the Church."

"The mendicant orders, who denied the right of property, Christ and his apostles having never possessed any, Wickliffe, Huss, Jean Petit, the Anabaptists, etc., did nothing beyond making vain efforts to restore the theories of the Gospel regarding property." Their disputes invariably had an economic as well as a religious character.

"We may confidently and without any fear of exaggeration affirm that most of the great schisms and conflicts by which the Catholic Church has been torn, were simply economic conflicts."

ATTITUDE OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC.

"The Lutheran Reformation was a religious reform in the interests of the wealthy classes of Germany. Luther, that bourgeois pontiff, not only held views which were as the antipodes of all the communistic theories of the fathers of the Church, who considered property an evil, become necessary in consequence of the fall of man, but he also professed the most restrictive ideas on property."

"Luther did not consider the claims of the peasants as the least unjust—'or contrary to natural law or to equity,'—but, unconscious apostle of bourgeois interests, he added, 'No one is judge in his own cause, and the faults committed by authority cannot excuse rebellion.' "

"Luther, the enemy of all economic assertion of rights on the part of the laboring classes, strove to despoil the clergy for the benefit of the lay middle class element."

"Melanchthon held ideas no less restrictive, economically speaking, than those of Luther; indeed, he rose to a greater degree of violence than Luther ever did against the communistic theories of the Anabaptists. According to Melanchthon, property exists by divine right, and cannot be modified, *jure imperatoris*, as St. Augustine had taught. To deny or limit the right of individual property would be contrary to the morality and teachings of Jesus Christ and of the apostles;" Luther would have the poor cared for entirely by the state. "Up to a certain point, less by intention than as a result of his theories, he was the real precursor of State Socialism." Each city should care for its own poor. "In 1523, he dictated regulations for the *Common Fund of Leissing*, establishing the following principles: Poor relief is within the competence of the lay community, with which the Church has got no business; no one must be allowed to beg; the poor who are fit to work must be forced to work, the unfit should be aided; workmen who cannot carry on their trades through deficiency of means ought to be assisted with loans; finally, if the capital forming the fund be exhausted or become insufficient, the members ought to collect the sum wanting among themselves."

"Difference of tendencies between the Catholic Church and the Lutheran Reformation," about pauperism has increased steadily. "Catholic socialists would have the Church become the absolute arbiter in the cruel struggle between capital and labor, while the evangelical churches are imbued with Individualism;" the Reformed Churches being as individualistic and conservative, economically, as the Lutheran. Socialism is always

opposed to Individualism. The origins of Protestantism, were too individualistic to allow of its embracing the socialist programme with full faith."

"The Lutheran Reformation was the triumph of middle-class Individualism, and Luther himself held the most restrictive economic and social theories. The Lutheran Church has continued ever since in the direction given to it by its founder. Catholicism is communistic by its origin and traditions." To Catholicism the care of the poor is *debitum legale* upon the Church, hence it is "naturally predisposed to take an interest in the labor question, and has done so with large and impartial judgment." Catholicism has a direct head, and a "powerful organization which dating back many centuries has accustomed her peoples to a passive renunciation of the greater part of their individualistic tendencies." Protestant ministers act individually, and their connection with the state weakens them with the masses, so their socialistic movements are weaker than those of the Catholics. The Catholic socialistic movement commenced earlier and, under the patronage of the higher functionaries of the Church, it has naturally met with the sanction of the *Curia*, which is a token of the attitude which the Church intends to assume in regard to the social question.

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

The leading Catholic Socialist thus far in Germany has been Baron William Emanuel von Ketteler, Archbishop of Mayence. He learned his socialism in part of Döllinger but chiefly of Lassalle in whose "bold and ardent socialist propaganda he believed it his duty to interest himself as a man and a bishop." He was Archbishop from 1850 to 1877 and had a large experience as a member of German legislative bodies and as a Christian Socialist. His leading socialistic principles were: (1) Christ sought not only to save souls but to render life less hard, (2) the labor question is chiefly the "stomach question," (3) the "stomach question" is more important than the politics of modern parliaments, (4) the great mass of working people live on wages that must provide only the strictest necessities, (5) labor is a ware,

and by competition is kept down to the "iron law," (6) the causes of these evils are the suppression of corporative organization of labor and the use of machinery, (7) the remedies of the Laissez-Faire party rest on a false principle, (8) the *self-help* and *human dignity* of the Laissez-Faire party, and the atheistic education by the state with the ridicule of the Church and clericals do not help but only embitter the masses, (9) the wealthy infidel is satisfied with the good things of life but seeking to rob the workman of his faith drives him to desperation, (10) coöperative workmen's associations can give but poor results, (11) democratic socialists are gravely wrong in denying the right of property, (12) private property is founded on natural law, (13) Materialism taught in the universities obliges the state to admit that the right of property, and its regulative laws, are simply positive rights, (14) according to the university and Laissez-Faire teaching Lassalle's idea that the proletariat may regulate the right of property is legitimate, (15) believers in God recognize an authority for property above that of the majority, (16) still the right to property has its limit, all Catholic theology and religion say it cannot be invoked against a starving fellow creature, (17) the Church may do what the state may not, (18) Lassalle's productive associations are the surest and most equitable means of easing the workman's condition, (19) their required means cannot be furnished by the workmen's savings and should not be by the state but by the Church,

"Throughout his book, Ketteler employs the same phrases the same ideas and often the same words as Lassalle, whose demolishing criticism of our present industrial system he fully accepts."

No other Catholic Socialists in Germany has equaled Ketteler in importance, though the movement has had able advocates among professors, clericals, nobility and Centrist members of the *Reichstag*. These have represented various types as moderate, collectivist, agrarian and radical. Some, too, call for the betterment of the condition of the masses by the direct aid of the state through legislation of the most advanced philanthropic type, as well as by individualistic effort guided by the Church for the elevation of the home, the intellectual and religious life. About

three-eighths of the people of the Empire are Catholics, but how many Catholics are included in the more than 2,000,000 of Socialist voters does not appear. An active Catholic Socialist propaganda is maintained in Germany. There are many newspapers and some reviews. The *Gesellenverein* founded by Father Kalping, in 1865, numbered four hundred in the Rhine country. Each had its own club, a hospice and an inn for traveling members and strangers. There are many Catholic clubs and even organizations of factory girls. The Catholic Industrials, an organization of masters, "forms one of the great forces of the Catholics in Germany." There are many *Bauern-vereine*.

German Catholic Socialists believe that most of the evils suffered by the masses are due to the Roman law introduced into Germany in the Middle Ages.

The higher classes have been specially active in initiating and developing Socialism. The clergy have generally been very active, taking the field "as soon as they became persuaded that infidel Liberalism was equally dangerous for the prosperity of the laboring classes and the prospects of the Church."

AUSTRIA.

"In a congress held in 1890, twenty-three bishops and six hundred priests took part. Nowhere else do the theories of the Catholic Socialists present greater affinities with those of the State Socialists than in Austria. Baron von Fogelsang, Prince von Leichtenstein, Count Belcredi, etc., derive more or less from the State Socialists of Germany, while a German State Socialist, Prof. Rudolph Meyer, who so greatly influenced them by his powerful speech, for a long time swayed the congresses of the *Statts-Socialisten* in Germany." "German Socialism is more scientific and has greater width of view, but in no other country have socialistic doctrines so profoundly taken root among the people as in Austria." Much of Austrian Socialism is allied with Anti-Semitism which is very strong and aggressive.

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM IN SWITZERLAND.

Mermillod, bishop, and later cardinal, in 1868, laid the foundation of Swiss Catholic Socialism. He was an outspoken ad-

vocate of advanced State Socialism. Gaspard Decurtius, is the most eminent of Swiss Catholic Socialists, and is influential throughout Europe. He joins daring purpose to rare economic culture and remarkable mental elevation. Through him the *Secretariat Ouvrier* was established as an "office of statistics intermediary between the government and the laboring masses." It also supplies information to workmen and presents their complaints. Decurtius led in the establishment of the Catholic University of Freiburg with a socialist in the chair of Economics. Under Decurtius there has been an alliance of Catholics, including the bishops, the radicals and workingmen in socialistic work. Their Socialism is of the state type and received the approval of Cardinal Manning and the *Curia*. "Hunger," said Decurtius, "is neither Catholic nor Protestant." Under such leadership Socialism is a great power in Switzerland.

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM.

In France socialistic ideas were first widely diffused. In an earlier period they were often atheistic, and radical in the extreme. To-day there is far more moderation. Catholic clergymen are less favorable to the state and to Socialism than in some other countries. Still since Socialism is less radical some are interested. However, "the economic doctrines, the aspirations and conclusions of the various schools of French Catholics are anything but in harmony." "Between Count de Mun, who is full of sympathy for a system really the most advanced form of state Socialism, with a touch of Catholic and Legitimist varnish, and the odious and bourgeois egoism of the Catholic jurisconsults, whose conclusions are, for the most part, not even in accord with Christian morality, there is as much difference as between a Socialist and a Conservative." Count de Mun's Socialism has had three periods: (1) it demanded a return to the guild system; (2) it sought the development of mixed syndicates; and, (3) it supported the necessity for profound economic reforms on the part of the state, thus accentuating its tendency to State Socialism. Generally, Catholic Socialism in France is mild State Socialism with a large recognition of the

Church. Leon Harmal, the large industrialist at Val-des-Bois, has boldly and successfully applied his socialistic principles among his workmen since 1867.

Under the leadership of Dontcloux, bishop of Liege, the Catholics in Belgium have given some attention to Socialism. "They now have a powerful labor federation: coöperative societies, societies of employers, a St. Raphael society," etc. All Catholic towns and villages have associations. These are linked together in a vast federation under De Woeste. Belgium Catholics are "inexpert" in social economics, and are, "generally speaking, much less venturesome than other Catholics in Central Europe."

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND, AMERICA, SPAIN AND ITALY.

Many eminent Protestants in England have been Socialists. "Cardinal Manning was, in the main, a true Socialist." He held labor to be the source of all wealth; that if the state protects property it must protect labor; that all men have a right to get work and be supported; that theft, if necessary to existence, is right; that the state should maintain protective laws for women, children and laborers; and that the state should continually intervene between capital and labor, limit the hours of labor and fix a minimum wage. Manning was upheld vigorously by Archbishops Lynch of Toronto, McHale and Capececiatro (Cardinal) of Capua. "Manning dared to point out the true social mission of Catholicism and dedicated his life to the sole ideal—the Catholic Church as leader of Socialism and Democracy." Some moderate Catholics in other countries protested against Manning's socialism.

Bagshawe, the eminent Bishop of Nottingham, has accepted Manning's theories and going further "has formulated a thorough programme of state Socialism." The English Jesuits, like those of France, exclude all state intervention in the conflict of capital and labor. Monsignor Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin and all of the Irish Catholic clergy were, in their defence of the Irish peasants, "led to adopt a programme which is simply Agrarian Socialism."

The "Pope, yielding to prejudiced representations, excom-

municated the order" of Knights of Labor in the United States in 1885. Seventy out of the seventy-five American Catholic bishops "were of the opinion that the excommunication was prejudicial to the interests of the Church." Cardinal Gibbons "came in person to Rome, and presented a memorial to the Pope in which he defended with great energy the socialistic principles of the Knights" and succeeded with some difficulty "in persuading the Pope to revoke the excommunication."

Manning defended the Knights, saying: "Henceforth the Holy See must treat with the people. * * The Church is the mother, friend and protectress of the people. As the divine Saviour lived among persons of the people, so lives his Church."

"In spite of pressure upon the Holy See, from various quarters, Henry George's book has not been put on the *Index*." The Church found nothing contrary to her teachings or the Gospel in his Agrarian collectivism. In democratic countries like Switzerland, England and the United States, Catholic Socialists are frequently sincere democrats as well. Archbishop Ireland, too, proclaims in Europe and America "the social future of democracy."

In Spain most Socialists are revolutionary, still "not a few Catholics accept a great part of the doctrines of Socialism." The guild movement has some support, State Socialism has very little.

In Italy there are few Catholic Socialists. Some prelates have made undecided advances to Socialism, but Father Curci's socialistic programme had little support. Catholics in Italy cannot be State Socialists like Manning and Bagshawe in England, Le Mun in France, Decurtius in Switzerland, Abbe Hitze (and Ketteler at the last) in Germany, and Vogelsang in Austria, because of the conflict between the Church and the government. Then, too, the nearness of the papacy prevents all initiative by individuals.

THE PAPACY AND SOCIALISM.

"What are the personal views of Leo XIII.? If the Sovereign Pontiff permitted Manning to support the necessity of the legal determination of the minimum wage and the maximum working day; if he has encouraged the *Œuvre des Cercles* in

France, and has given his approval to the State Socialists, Ratzinger, Hitze and Vogelsang; if he allows Catholics, as in the case of Decurtius, to make common cause in matters of social reform with the most advanced radicals; if, on the intercession of Gibbons, he recalls the excommunication of the Knights of Labor and refrained from putting Henry George's books in the *Index*, it evidently means that between the principles of the Church and of pacific, evolutionary Socialism, there is no absolutely open contradiction." "There is nothing contrary to the economic programme of modern Socialists in the origins, traditions and principles of the Catholic Church."

In 1878 Leo XIII. called Socialism a "deadly pestilence," but then he was "irritated" by the revolutionary Socialism of many Italians and by the nihilistic Socialism of the Russian Bakunin and his school. Since then Socialism has everywhere moderated, and the Pope has assumed a favorable attitude towards it, though considerably behind men like Manning, Decurtius, Vogelsang and Lichtenstein. In his Encyclical of 1891, the ills of the masses are fully recognized, "in terms almost as severe as those of the Socialists," the right of property is insisted upon, and the aid of the state is not to be considered essential, though there should be protective laws for all weak persons. "At bottom" the Pope desires Sunday rest, a minimum wage, a maximum day of labor, the removal of the privileges of capitalism, provision for the masses, the restoration of the guild system and the establishment of equitable relations between capital and labor. The Pope believes, that social reform is almost exclusively a moral question and that the spiritual forces of Catholicism alone can stay "the precipitous torrent of Socialism."

The Catholic Church has rarely "opposed the action of Catholic Socialism, neither can it do so in the future." The Pope is more cautious than many high dignitaries of the Church because he is Pope, has been declared infallible, and gives law to 230,000,000 of Christians. Still, "the Church feels more and more the urgency of accepting whatever there is of good and sound in the doctrines of Socialism, and of winning the love and attachment of the popular classes by taking up their defence and protecting their interests."

ARTICLE IV.

EVANGELICAL AGNOSTICISM.

BY DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

God is the great philosopher of the universe. He always plans and achieves as a philosopher, which means that all the divine schemes and movements are in accordance with laws and fundamental principles. All genuine human philosophy is simply an effort to apprehend the divine philosophy, which is confessedly, in some of its aspects, inscrutable. "Life," says the intelligent author of "Culture and Religion," "is full of inscrutable facts which cannot be made by us to fit into any moral standard of ours." When a man cognizes the principles of God's movements, humbly and reverently taking into the account that which is incomprehensible, he is truly a philosopher, even though he may show no diploma from the halls of learning. It is a self-evident truth that the infinite reason can never do anything contrary to reason. Accordingly while there can be nothing contrary to human reason in the plans and principles of the divine government, there may be things above the present scope and comprehension of finite reason. If finite thought could comprehend all God's thought it would degrade him to finiteness. That theorem of geometry that is so demonstrably true, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, is contrary to the reason of no human being, but is as unquestionably above the reason of the little child and of vast numbers of untutored adults. So likewise the fundamental law of gravitation which holds every particle of matter in its penetrating grasp, the law which has operated ever since the creation of Adam, and which waited five thousand years for a man to apprehend that gravity varies inversely as the square of the distance, that law is not contrary to any human reason but is vastly above the reason of children and multitudes of mankind.

That a man weighing four hundred pounds on this planet, when raised to the height of the moon, would weigh only two ounces, is a diminution in avoirdupois not contrary to reason but above the comprehension of the unsophisticated. Examples might be increased indefinitely of things demonstrably true but things nevertheless undiscerned and undiscernible by multitudes whose ignorance alone circumscribes their reason.

It should not therefore be thought a thing incredible, that there are truths in the divine philosophy, not contrary to but simply above reason. What is true of thousands of great truths in science, philosophy and art should not be regarded as a singular phenomenon in the higher thoughts of God, religion, the soul and immortality. If life is to be so treated as to get rid of all hard subjects, all difficult questions and all mysterious problems, then very much that is distinctive of a high civilization will have to go, and men will soon settle down into the simplicity and ignorance of barbarism. Bildad the Shuhite may have been guilty of teaching poor theology but his science was correct when he said, "We are of yesterday, and know nothing."

We must accept mystery, therefore, as we accept consciousness and finiteness, as being a part of our existence, but not because of its acceptance must we cease to think of the mighty problems of life and the soul. That sort of mental stagnation would forever doom us to intellectual childhood, and could be of no utility either for the life that now is or that which is to come. To the child's mind everything is novel but nothing is mysterious. It accepts facts and things as it finds them, or as they seem to it to be. It has not yet learned to question appearances nor to look for the reason beyond. As far as the tot of the nursery discerns or cares to discern, the tree falls, the grass grows, the sun shines; it is dark or cold, it rains or snows, it is summer or winter. It discerns the bare fact; that is all, and asks no perplexing and mystifying questions. It is even so with all of us until we begin to ask questions and to look for the underlying meaning of things. After these undiscerned meanings we must seek, and with an eagerness, only equaled by the greatness of the problems upon which it is expended, or be content to

never leave our childhood. I know that as soon as we take the first step we find ourselves surrounded by mystery, and though we knock at many doors, and are bidden to enter in at each, our entrance only leads to larger rooms and deeper mysteries beyond.

To some, such a view of life, and such barriers as are constantly confronted in seeking for its definitions and forces, may bring discouragement. It should not be so. Not being infinite we should be glad to be finite. Not being God who knoweth all things, we should be glad to be men endowed with the power of discerning some of the secrets of the Almighty in his marvelous and stupendous manifestations. Not knowing everything we should be glad to know a little of something. In the very fact of the mystery of life there lies the promise and possibility of perpetual growth and happiness—that which gives enchantment to being and inspiration to effort. No thoughtful man will ever tire of the companionship of things and studies and great themes which involve as a factor that which is incomprehensible, because they will always have more to give than he will be able to take.

As an outgrowth of that which is thus confessedly inscrutable, we have one of the most widely used and expressive words of modern scientific and religious discussion. That word is *agnosticism*, a term often vaguely and loosely employed. Doubtless it is only accurately and appropriately employed when regarded as an equivalent for what has been variously called philosophical, or theoretical or metaphysical skepticism. The limitation of the word to the sphere of religion is most objectionable and should be resisted. Contemplated on its philosophic side agnosticism is always a professed exposition of the limits of human knowledge and thought, maintaining the impossibility of knowledge of the infinite. Contemplated on its religious side it is the theory that God is unknown or unknowable, maintaining either that finite mind cannot know the Infinite and absolute Being, or that God being infinite and absolute, cannot come into relation to finite beings and therefore cannot be known by man. But under whatever aspect contemplated agnosticism alleges that the human mind is inherently and constitutionally

incapable of ascertaining everything pertaining to various realms of truth and investigation. It is a solemn affirmation that the human mind has limitations that disqualify it from knowing all things; that there are secrets of nature, depths of truth and aspects of religious faith and hope, not ascertainable by our faculties in their present stage of advancement. Taken in this wider and, possibly, less scientific sense, as expressive of that which is inscrutable and incomprehensible, and as a confession of human limitations and restrictions, agnosticism has a truly evangelical aspect, for, whether human research is expended upon an investigation of the subtle properties of matter, or an analysis of the mysterious forces whose movements are masked behind the perplexing phenomena of physical nature, or to noting the vast constellations set in the flaming walks of space, or in meditation upon the transcendent themes of religion, man is constantly confronted and baffled by that which is deeply mysterious. "The genuine and sincere agnosticism," says the author of "God in his World," "is the meekness of those content with the unfoldings of a real life." The Scriptures insist on the comparatively narrow range of man's intellectual powers and declare that there are questions utterly dense and impenetrable to his understanding; that there are regions of knowledge whose frontiers he may inspect but never pass. As Nicodemus marveled at a hard saying of the Lord, so man has marveled ever since his day.

In accordance with these thoughts there is a side to our religion which is "unknowable." There are certain phases or aspects of religious truth which in the very nature of the case are "unsearchable." Certain doctrines there are, which while most certainly revealed at once in the divine word and in the believers consciousness, and as precious as they are undeniable, nevertheless do not admit of strict definition or of intellectual analysis and expression. Indeed it would be the greatest of all mysteries were religion without its mysteries. And from the nature of the subject we should not be surprised to find that the mysteries of religion are even greater than those which may be encountered in any other range of thought or experience. Not

that religious truth alone is found by men so difficult of apprehension, for all truth of value has been received at first with stubborn incredulity. The scholar who would not look through Galileo's telescope lest he should see the satellites of Jupiter and feel compelled to believe in their existence, is not an exceptional but a common instance of the human intellect confronted with unexpected truth; with truth which differs with our preconceptions regarding it, truth which shrivels our supposed knowledge into ignorance and which runs counter to old habits and old modes of speech and thought. But the difficulties of apprehension we should naturally suppose to be greater in the case of religion. It has to do with questions of the infinite, and the relations of the finite to the infinite, and with questions of the future state, all of which, in the nature of the case, transcend the ordinary plane of thinking and take hold of the highest and most difficult problems with which the human mind is capable of dealing.

Religion surpasses other themes in proportion as the Bible which is its text-book excels other books. It treats of the gravest and deepest problems which can challenge the attention of the mind of man. The great wealth of God's revelation, of God's word, of God's plan of salvation, the spiritual experiences of God's people in all ages, creation, sin, redemption, life, death, eternity, things past, things present and things to come—these are the great and endlessly interesting themes of religion. Something about these deeper mysteries of life and grace the Scriptures undertake to reveal, but never to explain. They are made clear to faith but not comprehensible to reason. The honored succession of great teachers who have thought upon these great themes—Paul and John, Augustine, Anselm and Aquinas, Luther and Calvin, and Schleiermacher, after all, have circled in an orbit of ideas from which they have never been able permanently to depart. "We now see through a glass darkly;" we "cannot find out God to perfection" and neither can we grasp the glory that awaits us, for what is written is true, "it doth not yet appear what we shall be." In Christianity as on other subjects we are met on every side with facts and mysteries—things

knowable and unknowable.* The Bible gives a revelation of facts. The fatherhood of God and the divinity of Christ are as truly facts as the law of gravitation or the law of heredity. The gospel is a message of facts. But no philosophy of these facts has been revealed or yet discovered by the wisdom of man. The "mystery of the gospel" is no less mysterious to-day than when St. Paul declared it to be foolishness to the gainsaying and philosophizing Greeks of his day. Jesus never let men behind the curtain, or suffered himself to fall to answering such as were merely curious. To such as sought the inducements of a visitation from the shadowy realms of the departed, to lead their friends into the kingdom, this was his message: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

Under Pagan forms of religion, wonder, or rather mystery,—the superlative degree of wonder,—seemed to have its very throne in the region of religion. The gods were mysterious beings, half-human, half-divine, who wielded mysterious powers were worshiped by mysterious rites, approached by mysterious charms, and propitiated by mysterious sacrifices. They were always doing things in their own way, were seldom reasonable and usually unnatural and fantastic. And both in dogma and in devotion not a little of this leaven of the old paganism has

*"Let it [Christianity] remain as God himself has framed it,—a mystery ; some parts visible, some lying hid ; some obviously connected, others seemingly separate ; here passages opening into depths which the human eye shrinks from exploring, there steps and doorways tempting us to ascend and wander through its unseen labyrinths. Attempt, with a profane curiosity, to lay the whole fabric open, to trace the chart and outline of every portion, to number every stone and interpret every sculpture, and the mystery is vanished. And with the mystery will vanish its deep and salutary influence, not only on the practice of the heart, but on the studies of the understanding. Be assured that whatever is intended to rule men's minds as a supreme authority and last standard of appeal must be a mystery,—something which we do not understand, of which we see only a part."—REV. WM. JEWELL in "*Christian Morals*."

Coleridge, in his "Aids to Reflection," quotes Spinoza approvingly, that "where the alternative lies between the absurd and the incomprehensible, no wise man can be at a loss which of the two to prefer."

been transferred over into the Church of Rome. Transubstantiation is not much below the old Pagan ideas of the fantastic upturning of the laws of nature and of the lawless interference with cause and effect. So too are not a few of the legendary tales of the saints which are still presented to the faithful and expected to be believed, and with belief in which are connected numberless superstitions, unworthy penances and fantastic services, none of which are according to the word of God and helpful in promoting the true life of the soul. The legitimate mysteries of the kingdom of heaven are always to be distinguished from the so-called mysteries of other faiths and the perversions of the true faith, which have only served to exercise the curiosity and awe the imagination of man. The marvels of divine grace and love, are not merely esoteric truths reserved only for a favored few. It is the glory of the gospel that there are in it no arcana save "the deep things of God," as St. Paul calls them, and these are open to the contemplation of all men without exception and their devout investigation has uniformly begotten faith and hope and called out the emotion of gratitude, and the conviction that the God, whose ways are inscrutable, is worthy of our trust, coupled with the obligation to honor and obey him.

The catalogue of mysterious things in our faith, is a long one, surpassed only in length by the long list of physical and metaphysical facts equally inscrutable. The words of the psalmist, uttered first most likely when standing on the shore of the Mediterranean, listening to its moaning music, come back to utter for the devout man his attitude at the end of protracted and close contemplation of a thousand themes—"Thy judgments are a great deep." Reveal himself as he may, what unrevealable depths remain in the nature of God! Are we much in advance to-day of the position so powerfully described in the days of Job, "Canst thou by searching find out God, canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? Deeper than hell, what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea!" What philosophy has ever fully explained the Trinity. It is a truth with regard to which we know

that it is, also to a certain extent *what* it is, but not *how* it is, and after all that is good and wise that has been said and written on the great theme, who could explain to some questioning Nicodemus who asks just "how can these things be?" What speculation can perfectly clear up the mystery that envelopes the dual nature of our Lord, and just how that in him as a centre, communion between God and man was restored? The problem of the incarnation never has been solved and never will be, and in that respect it is in line with the most vital and dominant facts of the universe. Concerning the relation of the death of Christ to the Deity and the moral order, speculation has been common and useless. Salvation is as mysterious as the elemental forces. Just why the atonement is necessary to the believer's justification; just how the sacrifice involved in the death of Christ satisfies the demands of justice"—that no man can fathom in its mysterious entirety. Where is the man who would undertake to enter that old arena of theological strife where the foreknowledge of God and man's freedom were fought over with such heat, with any hope of satisfactorily settling the disputants? The stubbornness of the human will, and God's clear resolve not to abrogate its liberty; the mysterious interaction of the human will and the divine which from the beginning has been the standing problem of human thought, and which is perhaps insoluble; who has settled these questions? The fact of sin is always with us, but who has solved its origin or made its presence in the world less terrible. As a chapter of cosmical history the alleged introduction of evil into our world by a fallen angel is of unspeakable significance, but it in no way explains how evil could begin among the creatures of a perfect Creator. What a cloud of unintelligible words hang over and what sterile and blighting controversies have been associated with such mysterious themes as are suggested by the expressions "eternal generation," "kenosis" and "hypostatic union?"

On the side of our holy religion this is the conclusion of the whole matter—the very unsearchableness connected with these great truths is to be esteemed no unimportant part of the divine signature upon them. The very greatness of such truths, their

absorbing and perpetual charm for the great intellects and hearts of the race, depend not a little upon their mysterious and inscrutable nature. God reveals but also hides himself. Could we comprehend the Almighty and at once understand the marvels of his revelations, we should soon cease to be interested in him and should be generically his equal. These great truths which transcend our powers are accepted, not because they are mysteries, and we evangelical agnostics, but because it is unreasonable to refuse to believe in them even though they cannot be explained. We believe that the Son of God came down from heaven and was incarnate, not because we can explain his genesis, but because we have felt the thrills of his life, and because a redeemed humanity is rising in response to the love of God as revealed in the face and life of his Son. All truths in proportion to their greatness are mysterious. We accept them because we see what they do, and not because we understand their nature or their workings in their entirety. "Mystery," says Rev. Dr. Bradford, "is the appropriate garment of divinity. Like Saint Sixtus and Santa Barbara in Raphael's picture, we adore and are silent before the ineffable glory." And all this, too, is in accordance with the divine word. When the Almighty in the book of Job is represented as answering the saintly patriarch out of the whirlwind, he affirms that his relation to the universe is unexplorable by man, that the mystery of the seas is unfathomable, that the dwelling place of the light is impenetrable and the gates of the shadow of death impassable. The answer to the deep and unappeasable questions of God's revelation might be made most properly in the language of God's inspired servant. "Such knowledge is too great for me; it is high I cannot attain unto it." What the Almighty said to the sea, "Hitherto shalt thou come but no further," is applicable also to the human mind, for thought, and especially thought upon the great themes indicated above, is constantly checked by an invisible borderland which it cannot pass, and before which it must always pause. The very greatness of the subjects it is, that makes them march in garments of enchantment and mystery before our wondering eyes.

Regarding these mysteries of religion two tendencies have been manifest; the one an unwarranted effort to define that which is confessedly mysterious, and the other an effort to eliminate that which is demonstrably inscrutable from all definitions and discussions of the subject. "The plague of Christendom," says a bright writer, Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Jr., "has been the passion of theology to define what God has not defined, and to discover what he has kept secret." If the writer may indulge in a little criticism of the theologians of his own church—and Lutheran theology and theologians make no claims of infallibility and accordingly are not faultless—it would be this, that there has been too much effort made sometimes to define that which, according to their own writings, is supernatural and undefinable in the terminology of the world. This has in former periods, caused some sterile and blighting controversies, and led some teachers of our great Church into what, to an ordinary man, seems to be a labyrinth of dialectics and metaphysical distinctions that count but little for the purposes of either definition or righteousness. Especially has this disposition to define been applied to the subject of the presence of the Lord in his divine-human nature in the sacrament of the supper. The effort has produced more of uncharitable rancor sometimes than it has conduced to the elucidating of a great and precious doctrine. There is accordingly much wisdom in these words of one of our most accomplished writers: "It is enough for us to know that Christ is present in his humanity, as well as in his divinity wherever he has promised to be. The mode in which this can occur we leave, if we be wise, to the divine omniscience," (Prof. H. E. Jacobs, "Elements of Religion," pp. 114).

The other tendency referred to is that which seeks to eliminate or reduce to the minimum, that which is mysterious in religious definition and discussion. It is a rationalizing method, if it be not open and unconcealed rationalism. It is a part of that conception of religion which declares that men are indeed sinful, but that they are capable, in the exercise of their own moral powers of forsaking sin and obeying the law of conscience. This tendency too proceeds upon a mistaken idea of the mys-

terious factor in religion. The true meaning of the word "mystery" is that which cannot be known through the processes of discovery or invention, or of speculation but which can be made known only by revelation. Christianity involves divine factors and its great truths are not all ascertainable by purely intellectual processes. "There is a latent rationalism lurking in the minds of Christians which makes them timid about confessing the reality of their faith as a living faith that lays hold upon the divine realities and leads them in preference to talk and act as if it were a mere intellectual faith," (*Stearn's "Evidence of Christian Experience,"* p. 291). The Church should purge out the leaven of this old rationalism. Certainly one of the most advanced examples of this tendency is to be found in the late Dean Stanley's dissertation on the Lord's Supper, in which the learned and genial writer is careful to avoid any reference to Christ's death as a sacrifice for sin and insists only upon his example and teaching as inculcating human charity. In the holy sacrament he could see nothing higher and deeper than the festive dinner of "a Greek club where each brought as to a common meal, his own contribution in a basket, and each helped himself from a common table." As the ripe fruit of his rationalizing method in discussing one of the most sacred ordinances of the Church, the good Dean, adopting the ideas of Renan, has only this to offer: "The last Supper a continuation of those earlier feasts in which Christ had blessed and broken the bread and distributed the fishes on the hills of Galilee," (vide, "Christian Institutions," chapter ii.) It is a confutation of this tendency also which is given by one of the strongest writers of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, in this definition of a view of the same sacrament which has wide acceptance: "Zwinglianism is essentially *rationalistic* in the evil sense of the word. Its chief effort is to explain away or reduce to a minimum the mystery of the Lord's Supper. It assumes that the theory which is most level to our comprehension, which brings the Holy Supper nearest to a common meal, where Christians have sweet fellowship together, and makes it agree most with ordinary human exper-

ience, is for that reason nearest to the truth." ("The Church, Her Ministry and Sacraments," p. 174).

This is the conclusion of the whole matter—there are these two separate revelations, the natural and the supernatural. Any attempt to minimize the latter is connected with that rationalistic tendency which denies the distinction between the natural and Christian revelations, reduces Christian experience to natural religion, and makes natural religion itself a matter of merely intellectual belief, of notions rather than realities. If supernatural interposition can do the many things that modern science is obliged to confess are done by a power not of men, then it can give to the world an inspired revelation and furnish the world with a superhuman Lord and Saviour. Deprive the Lord for example of his supernatural nature and his life and death lose both their mystery and efficaciousness. On the contrary one of the very best proofs of his divinity is that certain infinitude or mystery, that like a garment wraps him round about. This mystic, unsearchable feature connected with his unique personality, it is, that in all the future, as in the past, is unmistakably to constitute the secret of his undiminished personal power over men. His person, his life, utterly human and open as they were, always keep in advance of men because of their unapproachable glory. He is as Goethe has so well said, "Unapproached and unapproachable forever," which constitutes the highest attestation of his greatness and divineness.

But to pass now to another phase of our subject, it is a matter of no little surprise, that men who take but little account of mystery in other departments of thought and activity, make it a great obstacle in the way when they come to consider religion. They are sometimes constrained to turn their backs upon the Church, which is the place as they think of mysteries and difficulties supreme, and settle down to things that are real and knowable, things practical, plain and simple. By neglecting or getting rid of religious problems they shall get down from things metaphysical, transcendental and super-celestial to a plane where everything is simple, easy and understood by the most unsophisticated amateur. Men talk of the mystery of a second

birth, but do not deny the first birth because they cannot tell why the eyes see and the ears hear. Every wind that blows is laden with mystery and every sunbeam quivers with it, but men do not deny the presence of skies and sunshine and winds because they cannot trace them to their primal source. If there be mystery about the second birth there is not less about the first. If there is mystery in God there is none the less in nature. If there be mystery about the processes of the spiritual life there is not less about those of the sentient. At every side we are encompassed by mystery. The telescope discovers the star dust to be worlds of fire, but finds another star dust beyond; it solves one mystery only to introduce other mysteries. We study the early origin of the globe, or the early origin of man; we run back our minds a little way but presently come to a great blank beyond which we cannot go. How gravitation operates no one knows; how the energy in a sunbeam is communicated to a flower no one understands; how electricity can be manipulated, so that a man may hold a pen in Chicago and write his signature in New York, baffles imagination. In fact what the electricity itself is no man can tell us. We do not even know whether it is matter or whether it is force. The essence of life, the constitution of the atom, the mysteries of light, the subtle connections or correspondences between thought, emotion, will and certain molecular activities of the brain—these baffle intelligence and remain unknown to man. But not on account of these baffling mysteries do men cease investigating these subjects. If then we are environed in nature by mysteries, is it strange that we should encounter the same in the moral and spiritual worlds? And until such facts, as the above noted, are explained, need any man be deterred or appalled by mystery in the higher spheres of religious thought and life? Why should it be thought incredible to man, who is dependent for his sentient life upon the interweaving of subtle agencies whose secrets defy his knowledge, that the living God should open gate-ways for him, other than those of sense and space?

To science is usually accorded the merit of speaking a definite language and dealing with facts. In its varied and endless as-

pects its revelations are as wonderful and interesting as a fairy tale. Where the untutored eye will see nothing but mire and dirt, science will often reveal exquisite possibilities and unfold marvels of the rarest beauty. But has science no unanswered questions? Is there nothing which yet defies the persistent labors of its trained and skilled exponents? Have men touched bottom with their geology and reached the outposts of creation with their astronomy? Let it be understood that science as well as religion has a language of its own. It has its solemn heights and deep waters and dark places inaccessible to men. Religion has no harder propositions and more difficult doctrines, than confront the man of science for whom the commonest pathway and the meanest hedgerow teem with mysteries and analogies all unsuspected by untutored minds. The glow-worm knows how to produce a light that will not burn. Faraday or Tyndall could not do it. The aurora streams against the sky of a northern midnight, and men say it is magnetic—a word which is yet largely a synonym for ignorance, for we know nothing really about it or its cause. The apple falls to the earth just as it did in Newton's day; but why it is pulled down instead of pushed up no man has ever exactly defined. We know that bodies attract each other in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance. We know that a result takes place, but not in the least how it takes place, for "attraction" is largely a figure of speech. So of the connection of soul and body, and of a thousand other things. So true is it that *omne exit in mysterium*.

You may bring all philosophies and philosophers about the simplest thought of a child, and they can never fully explain the origin or the end of that one thought. You may bring too all the men of science in our world to the mystery of one single drop of water, and it will defy them all. They will tell you it is composed of oxygen and hydrogen, and that its atoms are so numerous that if each one were expanded to the size of an orange, the drop would be as large as our earth. But what is oxygen? What is hydrogen, and what is an atom? Only this—the names of certain substances that we denominate gases, but of whose essence we know nothing, for the whole atomic

theory in its last analysis rests upon a hypothesis. Though the hope of establishing the hypothesis of spontaneous generation has for years been a vanishing one, and is now altogether extinguished in the minds of most scientific men, it serves to illustrate the uncertainties of science, for, as one noted writer on scientific matters lately has reasoned—“*may be* science will yet discover a way of producing life by spontaneous generation.” “*May be*” is his word.” Or, as Professor Huxley said, “perhaps” there were conditions thousands of years ago not now existing, which then allowed spontaneous generation. “*Perhaps*” is the learned professor’s word. Thus the alleged accuracy of science, or rather philosophy, and that falsely so-called, in their renunciation of revealed religion are reduced to a hypotheticalal “*may be*” and “*perhaps*.”

Let us take another illustration drawn from one of the most familiar sources. Men can hear the blowing of the wind because they have senses. For the same reason they can see the floating clouds and rejoice in the light which floods the sky. They can track the storms to their hiding places but at the last they come face to face with an inscrutable power whose hiding place they cannot find. Who has traced the winds that blow across the earth to their sources in the distant sun? Scientists tell us that the winds that we hear blowing are as nothing to the unheard storms that sweep over the face of the sun, upon whose tremendous circlings our life and comfort depend. They tell us that in all probability, the stellar globes that shine with such apparent peace upon our little earth are the homes of movements equally tremendous and inexplicable. But at the last the man of science is compelled to say as said the Lord to Nicodemus, “The wind bloweth where it listeth, thou canst hear the sound thereof but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth.” Thus the whole stupendous frame of things made and upheld, and the overwhelming energy of nature have been confronted for generations by the unwearied and unappalled investigators. His investigations have developed discoveries of untold value, but have ended in mystery intensified.

Or take again the attempts to formulate a satisfactory defini-

tion of life. They bear but little more relation to a settlement of the real problem, than Sir Wm. Thomson's imaginary meteoric stone bears to the same great mystery. Unable to account for the first transition from non-living to living matter on our globe, Sir William suggested that possibly some living germs were brought to our planet on the broken fragment of a perished world. His theory was ingenious, to say the least, but it makes no contribution towards an understanding of how life really began. It simply concedes that the mystery is unanswerable from earthly data, and throws the inquirer back into abysmal space and time to ask among imaginary worlds for information which is denied him upon the earth where phenomena can be observed and investigation made.

The terminology of the learned biologists who attempt to define life, would not lead an unsophisticated man to admire primarily their lucidity; as for instance this from the renowned Professor Huxley: "There is a criterion of morphological truth and a sure test of all homologies;" or this from the luminous Professor Tyndall: "When a body is raised to incandescence by hydrogen, the vibrating periods of its atoms must be shorter than those to which the radiation of the flame itself is due." What St. George Mivart says of English mental life is true of the attempts of the biologists to get at the real mystery of life: it is "an intellectual chaos."

And all this is saying nothing derogatory to the value and importance and utility of science, nor affirming that there is any conflict between science and religion, which there is not, for all true science is religious and all true religion is scientific. It is simply a re-affirmation of what leaders in science have themselves confessed. In proof of this Professor Tyndall has written: "The mind of man may be compared to a musical implement with a certain range of notes, beyond which in both directions we have an infinitude of silence." "Behind and around and above all the real mystery of this universe remains unsolved, and, as far as we are concerned, is incapable of solution." That he does not take God into the account does not invalidate the confession of his limitations as a scientific investigator. His

confession of a boarder-line beyond which human capacity may not pass, does not prove the unattainableness of religious knowledge, but rather indicates that an inspired revelation is indispensable. Lord Salisbury, the present English Premier, is a man of such recognized attainments in science, especially in chemistry, as to be regarded worthy to be the President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In the last annual address delivered before that association, and published in August last, he summed up the advancement of science and gave a resumé of Darwin's theories and their limitations. This statesman and scientist finds that the mysteries of creation cannot be solved "by muttering the comfortable word evolution." The "great central mystery of life," he says, remains to be solved, and there are physical difficulties, some of them apparently insurmountable, in the way of the acceptance of evolution as an explanation of the phenomena of life. "The great danger," says he, "scientific research is running at the present time is the acceptance of mere conjecture in the name and place of knowledge, in preference to frankly making the admission that no certain knowledge can be attained."

This learned chemist and statesman did well accordingly to select as his topic for a scientific association rather the limitations of our knowledge and to offer a survey not of our science but of our ignorance. These sober and dignified words are therefore worthy of a great man treating the greatest of all subjects that can engage human contemplation and research. "To the riddles which nature propounds to us the profession of ignorance must constantly be our only reasonable answer. The cloud of impenetrable mystery hangs over the development, and still more over the origin of life. If we strain our eyes to pierce it, with the foregone conclusion that some solution is and must be attainable, we shall only mistake for discoveries the figments of our own imagination." We may conclude therefore that the scientists have come to know their own unaided limitations, and to realize as one has said, that in their field,

"At the end of every road there stands a wall,

Not built by hands—impenetrable, bare,
Behind it lies an unknown land."

The question therefore may recur, is it sensible, or is it scientific, for men to whom, according to their own confessions an atom is as a trackless continent and a water drop as an unnavigable sea, to hesitate and question about the great themes of religion, because perchance they involve some questions which man cannot find out unto perfection?

It is even a good thing for every man, now and then, to hear things which he cannot fully comprehend, so that he may learn his own ignorance and be lifted above himself and be led to renounce his fancied worldly wisdom. There are things we are taught, which God hides from the wise and prudent, and which he yet revealeth unto babes. That we become as little children is a condition of entering into the kingdom of heaven. All the the unevangelical agnostics in the world cannot invalidate the experience of one evangelical agnostic. All the negations of the former are worthless by the side of the "I do know" of the latter who has learned Christ. "Great is the mystery of godliness"—not "which" but "who was manifested in flesh." The change from the Authorized to the Revised Version is pregnant here with suggestions. There are many who say that the Gospel is a good thing, a pious thing, a moral and even a rational thing, a thing which would make us better men if we walked in its precepts. There are many that say more even than this. The Gospel is a revelation, a revelation of truth and doctrine telling us of God manifest in flesh with many great inferences and momentous consequences embodied in creeds, formularies and catechisms. But the "mystery of godliness"—"the revealed secret"—is a Person, incarnate, attested, heralded, believed, glorified. The human soul may know God in the face of Jesus Christ, who was "the mystery of Godliness." It can thus learn of God though it has no terms by which to explain him; it can think of him as Absolute, as Infinite, as Personal, while it may never in this life be able to fathom the full meaning of these sublime ideas.* "The ideas of God and of salvation and of im-

*Canon Liddon, in his Bampton Lectures on "Our Lord's Divinity," as-

mortality were not taught for the first time by Jesus Christ," says another, "but it was he who gave them sufficient sanction for the credence of thoughtful men, and made them truths rather than theories in the world; and it is his teaching regarding them which is now, as it has been for eighteen centuries, the surest antidote to the depression which must be felt when we face the awful mysteries by which we are surrounded," (Dr. Amory H. Bradford in "Heredity and Christian Problems," p. 241.)

It is not pretended that any effort of thought on our part, or any word of revelation even, can at once lift our minds out of all obscurity along the lines we have traversed. Clouds and darkness are about us, and the strongest and most truthful faith cannot prematurely disperse them. But the doctrines of Christ are as a great light shining in the darkness, and they say to all who receive them gladly that the great mysteries that we encounter are like the thick cloud into which Moses entered on Mount Sinai—a darkness where God is and a darkness from which the man of faith and trust and hope will most certainly emerge with the light of the divine glory striking upon his face. There is a verse in the old law of Israel that appeals to our religious instinct and our spiritual common-sense. It is this, "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law."

serts that the majestic simplicity of St. John's Gospel "is understood by the religious insight of the unlettered and the poor, while the learned can sometimes see in him only the weary repetition of metaphysical abstractions. The poor understand this sublime revelation of God, the creator of the world, as pure light and truth. They understand the picture of a moral darkness which commits and excuses sin, and which hates the light. They receive gratefully and believingly the Son of God, made man, and conquering evil by the laying down his life. They follow, with the experience of their own temptations, or sins, or hopes, or fears, those heart-searching conversations with Nicodemus, with the Samaritan woman, with the Jews. In truth, St. John's language, and, above all, the words of Christ in St. John, are as simple as they are profound. They still speak peace and joy to little children."

ARTICLE V.

LUTHER'S INCOME AND POSSESSIONS.

BY REV. GEORGE F. BEHRINGER, A. M.

No charge of a mercenary character can ever be brought against Martin Luther. Whatever accusations his enemies have lodged against him—and they have not been backward in indulging their vindictive animosity—they have never charged him with advancing his financial interests by the advocacy of his reformatory ideas. It might have been to his material and ecclesiastical advantage, at the very outset of his career, had he stifled his conscientious convictions and compounded a religious felony, by preserving a discreet silence over against the hawking of venal indulgences and the huckstering of papal favors. One of his bitter enemies said: "Give him several hundred gulden," (*i. e.* to silence him). To this, another replied: "That will have no effect upon him. The German beast esteems money of no value, and will not accept any, even if it should be offered to him."

But such was not Luther's character. He was great also in this, that he wrought out his divine mission without expectation or realization of mercenary reward. His entire life's record is a magnificent illustration of personal unselfishness, a precious testimony of supreme confidence in God in material as well as in spiritual things.

Luther's struggles for an education are too well known to need detailed repetition. At Mansfeld, his parents, being in straitened circumstances, toiled as with their life's blood for themselves and their children. This unfavorable condition of home affairs necessitated Luther's dependence upon his relatives and others during his preparatory schooling at Magdeburg and Eisenach.

NOTE.—The facts contained in this article have been gleaned from "*Lehre und Wehre*," Vol. XLI, pp. 76–79; from Köstlin, Meurer, Kolde, De Wette, and other authorities.

Later on, his father's circumstances improved to such an extent that he was able to say: "My dear father lovingly and faithfully supported me at the University of Erfurt, and through his arduous labors I was enabled to go there."

Yet it would be a mistake to infer that his parents, at that or at any other time, were in affluent circumstances. On one occasion when Hans Luther was dangerously ill, his priestly confessor reminded him of the benefit of making a bequest to the Church. The aged father replied: "I have many children; I will bequeath it (his estate) to them; they have more need of it." There were at one time seven living children in the family of Hans Luther. The extent of his possessions, so far as is known, consisted of the family residence and the life-interest in two smelting furnaces. At the death of his father, May 29th, 1530, Martin Luther received as his share of the paternal estate the sum of *250 gulden*, paid to him in installments, by one of his younger brothers. Köstlin estimates the value of a *gulden* at that time, making due allowance for its greater purchasing power, to be *16 mark*, or about four dollars in our currency. So that Martin Luther's inheritance did not exceed the sum of one thousand dollars.

It was with these meager material advantages and with this limited financial outlook that Luther prosecuted his studies at Erfurt, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in 1502, and of Master of Philosophy in 1505. On the 17th day of July, 1505, he entered the Augustinian cloister, at Erfurt, as a poor monk. In November, 1508, he began his academic career as university instructor by delivering philosophical lectures, receiving no remuneration whatsoever. It is the commonly received opinion that Luther was called as Professor of Philosophy, to the newly founded University of Wittenberg, with a stated salary and other emoluments. But such was not the case. At a meeting of a chapter of his order, held in Munich, October 18th, 1508, Luther was transferred from Erfurt to Wittenberg, as a monk, in company with six brother monks. He was directed to continue his studies, that is to say, by instructing oth-

ers, so as to secure all the academical degrees necessary to attain unto the highest university honors and position.

Staupitz, the paternal friend of Luther, was at that time (1508–1509), dean of the theological faculty, for the second term. And the eminent Trutvetter, formerly at Erfurt, was also a member of the Wittenberg theological faculty. Luther, anxious to exchange philosophy for theology, prepared himself for the examinations and disputations required to obtain the several theological degrees.

The first degree, "Bachelor of Theology," entitled the receiver to deliver lectures on the Holy Scriptures, what might be termed Biblical Science. The second, "Sentenziarius," empowered one to lecture upon the "Sentences" of Petrus Lombardus (died in 1160) a famous theologian of the Middle Ages. These "Sentences" constituted an authoritative collection of utterances of church writers upon the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He who excelled in this received the third theological degree, "Licentiate of Theology," with the right of instructing in all the theological branches. These three intermediate steps led to the reception of the highest title, "Doctor of Sacred Theology."

On the 9th of March, 1509, Luther obtained the degree of Bachelor of Theology. But the Dean's book of record declares that the recipient did not pay the faculty the customary fees. To this record Luther afterwards added: "because he did not have anything." In the fall of 1509, for some unknown reason, he was obliged to return to Erfurt for a season. There he continued his studies and lectures, and there he received the title of "Sentenziarius," which secured to him further academic privileges as university instructor. Then followed his journey to Rome, for the most part on foot, on a mission of business connected with his order.

In the spring of 1512, Luther was sent back to Wittenberg to resume his university duties as lecturer, and to continue his studies. On the 4th of October, 1512, he became a "Licentiate of Theology," and shortly thereafter, Oct. 18th and 19th, having passed the final examinations, and having held a public disputation, he received the degree of "Doctor of Sacred Theology,"

an honor which signified merit and ability and which was highly esteemed. It is also a matter of record that the expenses incurred, fees, &c., of this final promotion, were defrayed by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. They amounted to 50 gulden, about two hundred dollars.

From this time on, Luther lectured upon theological subjects exclusively. But, from his hearers he would not accept any fees, as was customary then and is until this day; so that with a large student attendance a professor's income from fees forms a very considerable part of his compensation. There seems to be some doubt whether Luther received a stated salary as university professor previous to his marriage in 1525. If he did, it did not exceed 100 gulden, (four hundred dollars).

For his services as preacher in the parish church of Wittenberg, to which position he was called in 1515, Luther received no regular income, neither from the congregation nor from the city authorities—unless the occasional gift of wine for household use, and the present of stone and lime for building repairs and improvements, from the latter, compensated him in place of a fixed salary.

His publishers offered to pay him 400 thalers annually as a royalty on his publications. Luther declined the offer, saying, that he would not sell his gifts. Now and then he would ask for and receive an extra copy of his printed works, which he would present to a friend or to some poor student.

For many years the income from the endowments of the monastery at Wittenberg barely sufficed to defray the expenses of Luther's support. The main building of the Augustinian cloister had been assigned by the elector as the Reformer's permanent residence. But it was neither completely finished nor furnished, and occasioned no little expense to render and maintain it in a habitable condition.

On one occasion, in 1517, Luther invited Spalatin, court-preacher of Frederick the Wise, to dinner, requesting him to bring wine along with him, since he (Spalatin) knew very well that he was going from the palace to the cloister, and not from the cloister to the palace.

For some reason the income from the cloister's funds grew gradually less, until it seemed, at one time, that Luther would be compelled to leave Wittenberg for want of means. He complained of the non-payment of interest and of his great need, which continued for more than two years. As early as 1522, many monks had left the monastery; and, later on, in 1524, when Luther and his prior, Eberhard Brisger, were alone in the cloister, they were in want of the very necessities of life. About the year 1520, he received several bequests from persons who had espoused his cause, and who, dying in the gospel faith, had remembered him in gratitude. But, one-half of what he received, he gave to his prior.

At the time of their marriage, June 13th, 1525, neither Martin Luther nor Catharine Von Bora possessed any inheritance. At the beginning of their housekeeping, Luther received from the elector, John the Constant, a present of 100 gulden (four hundred dollars), and from the Magistracy of Wittenberg 20 gulden (eighty dollars). About the same time, Bishop Albrecht of Mainz sent him 20 gulden, which he gave to his wife, refusing to accept them for himself. It is somewhat uncertain whether the gift of the elector John was annually repeated, supplying a stated salary, as some maintain. For a long while after the marriage an economic stringency prevailed in the Luther family.

About Christmas, 1526, Luther wrote to Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg that he should send him tools used in wood-carving and joiner work, since he (Luther) and his servant (Wolf Sieberger) had begun to labor with their hands, in order that they might earn their bread, "if the world should positively refuse to provide for them for the sake of the word," and that thus they would serve "the unworthy and the ungrateful after the example of our Father in heaven."

On February 1st, 1527, Luther was obliged to refuse a loan of 8 gulden (thirty-two dollars) to Prior Brisger, informing him that he (Luther) was in debt to the amount of more than 100 gulden (four hundred dollars), and that he had already pawned three silver tankards to the value of 50 gulden (two hundred dollars). In July, of the same year, he was taken seriously ill

and believed himself to be on the point of death. He committed his loved ones to the protecting care of God, and designated that the only earthly possessions which he could leave his wife were a few silver tankards. After this, we find no more serious complaints about poverty and straitened circumstances, which has led to the inference that, from this time on, he received an annual salary of 200 gulden (eight hundred dollars), which he frequently mentions in his Table Talk.

About the year 1531, or 1532, Luther says: "The generosity of the elder Elector John was wonderful, as may be seen in this, that he set aside annually 200 gulden (eight hundred dollars) for my use. Besides, he bestowed this as a free gift without reference to any work on my part. Hence what I do in lecturing, writing, and preaching, that I do gratuitously. Hence I am beholden to no man, save only to the elector." And, again he says: "God is the guardian and provider of the poor. This I certainly experience, since I use far more than I receive as salary; and, up to the present time, I have written, lectured and preached naught for money. For the 200 gulden which I receive from the elector, I take and receive from his good will and grace and favor. He who has Christ, has enough. Hence I have not wished to do anything for money; although, had I done so, I might have become rich."

It will be remembered, that Luther had a large family to provide for. Besides his wife and children (of whom five survived him), there were a number of relatives, cousins and nephews, several servants, and a constant flow of visitors from at home and abroad. To his domestic servants he was generous, and to the poor he gave with an unstinted hand, even though it had taken his last penny.

Gradually Luther's income and possessions increased. In 1536, the Elector John Frederick raised his salary from 200 to 300 gulden (twelve hundred dollars). To this was added an occasional gift of wine, venison, cloth, &c. In 1539, on his return from Copenhagen, Bugenhagen brought Luther a present of 100 gulden (four hundred dollars) from the King of Denmark, with

the promise of an annuity of 50 gulden (two hundred dollars) to himself and to his children. Luther insisted upon sharing the king's gift with Bugenhagen, notwithstanding that he had done a portion of the latter's work during his absence from home.

In the year 1542, the elector ordered a census to be taken with the view of levying a tax to defray the expenses of a war against the Turks; but he also ordered that Luther's property should not be assessed. The latter returned thanks for the favor, insisted upon presenting his report, and desired to contribute his share to so worthy a cause, if for no other reason than to show a good example unto others. He enumerated the following among his worldly possessions:

1. The Augustinian monastery which he had received from the Elector John the Constant in 1526. Luther did not include this in the bequest which he made to his wife, in his last will and testament. But the Elector, John Frederick, confirmed Luther's heirs in their possession of it. They sold it to the university, in 1564, for the sum of 3700 gulden (fourteen thousand eight hundred dollars).

2. The so-called Bruno house in Wittenberg, not far from the monastery, which Luther purchased in 1541 for 600 gulden (two thousand four hundred dollars), but which had not yet been paid for. He intended this house as a possible residence for his wife, after his death, fearing that the cloister would eventually be compelled to give way to the encroaching fortification walls. He bequeathed this property to his wife, on condition that she would pay off the indebtedness (remaining in 1542) amounting to 450 gulden (one thousand eight hundred dollars).

3. Three garden lots in town valued at 610 gulden (two thousand four hundred and forty dollars). These he had bought for his good wife Catharine, who supervised the raising of fruits and vegetables, for economic reasons, as well as on account of the limited market facilities of Wittenberg. Though Luther did not worry himself about the material cares of the family, he assisted his wife, being very fond of garden work.

In this census report he did not include a house and some land at Zulsdorf, between Leipzig and Borna, which he pur-

chased of his wife's brother, in 1540, for the sum of 610 gulden (two thousand four hundred and forty dollars). Nor did he report his trinkets, valued at 1000 gulden (four thousand dollars). These two possessions together with the Bruno house in Wittenberg, with its incumbrance, Luther bequeathed to his wife, by his will of 1542. Of cash money no mention is made in this will, or elsewhere.

From the above reliable historic statements we may now fairly conclude that, during the greater portion of his professional activity, Luther's income was practically nothing over and above his food and clothing and lodging. And that only for the last ten years of his life did he receive a salary at all commensurate with the labors he performed. And as to his possessions, at the close of his career, deducting his paternal inheritance, the estimated value of his personal estate, and the indebtedness remaining, there would be left the sum total of about fifteen thousand dollars—according to present money values—as the acquisition of a life-time, entirely unsought, by one of the worthiest men of the human race.

In this age of greed and gold, in which man's worth is estimated by the amount of wealth he has accumulated, and his services by the salary he commands, the unselfish, self-sacrificing life-work of Martin Luther speaks as in living condemnation of Mammon worship in Church and State.

ARTICLE VI.

EXPOSITION OF 1 JOHN 3 : 9.

BY REV. MARTIN L. CULLER, A. M.

"Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin ; for his seed remaineth in him ; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

This Scripture which the apostle uses to distinguish the regenerate from the unregenerate—the children of God from the children of the wicked one—has been made the cause of much harmful controversy, because it has often been interpreted, not according to the analogy of the faith—the only true law of interpretation, as see, 1 Cor. 2 : 12, 13 : "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God ; that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God, which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual." This verse of Scripture has, on the one hand, been made to foster Pharisaical conceit—the daring presumption of sinless perfection ; while on the other hand, by a strange perversion of its meaning, it has been strained to teach the soul-destroying heresy of antinomianism—that when any one is born of God, all his words and actions are of necessity holy, whether they are in accordance with the teachings of the Gospel or not—that what may be sin for others, cannot be sin for such a one. This is a horrible falsehood and delusion of the devil, and the source of a brood of damnable isms which have drowned many souls in perdition.

The scripture under consideration is the counterpart of verse 8 : "He that committeth sin is of the devil." The apostle John contrasts sin, in its inmost nature, with the children of God, in

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the possession of their highest gift of divine grace. He regards sin as devilish, and righteousness as divine.

To be born of God is to be inwardly renewed and restored to a holy integrity of nature, by the power of the Holy Spirit. Committing sin is contrary to the new nature.

Renewing grace is an abiding principle. Sin is therefore alien to such a nature. A child of God, though he may stumble and fall cannot continue in the practice of sin. He cannot sin, so as to be denominated a sinner. There is that light in his soul which shows the evil of sin, and its heinousness in the sight of God. There is a disposition of mind and heart, which leads him to hate sin. There is a constant disposition to feel the need of divine grace, which keeps him humble, and trustful, and if he should sin through infirmity, or the overwhelming power of a great temptation, leads him to humiliation and repentance.

The reason alleged by the apostle, that one born of God, cannot sin, is that "his seed," *i. e.* the seed of God, remaineth in him.

The seed of God of necessity denotes something which proceeds from God, is instinct with vital and divine power, and begets the divine nature in the human soul. The seed or *σπέρμα*, as it is in the Greek, is the word of God, according to 1 Peter 1 : 23, "Born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth forever," and James 1 : 18, "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth," &c.

What is the word of God, but the continually abiding and working seed of the new life in the child of God?

The Holy Spirit is the personal agent in regeneration; not the thing begotten, but that which intervenes between the word which is of God, and from God, and the soul of man, receiving the divine word. The word is the seed of God, and in this all Scripture symbolism is agreed, as is evident from the passages, quoted already, other Scriptures, and the words of Jesus, addressed to the unbelieving Jews, "And ye have not his word; *i. e.* God's word abiding in you; for whom he hath sent ye believe not."

Christ is the Son of God in whom all the fulness of the God-

head dwells, so "seed of God" does not denote the person of the Spirit of God, but that which proceeds from his being, and produces the new life in the soul of man.

But, in what sense are we to understand the last clause of the text, "And he cannot sin because he is born of God?" In what sense is it declared that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin?" The word for cannot in the Greek is *οὐ δύναται*, which means has not the natural faculty or disposition. We see what was in the mind of the apostle from the word which he uses, which is "commit." The Greek is *ποιεῖ*, and means "to do," "to make," "to effect," and is equivalent to our English word, to practice or do as a habit. Hence we get the thought from the apostle, that one born of God does not and cannot practice sin as a habit; it is a moral impossibility, for it is not according to his nature; "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." It certainly cannot be asserted in the absolute sense, that one born of God "doth not commit sin," or "cannot sin." For we are not God, though born of, and have the divine life in us.

If sinless perfection is asserted, then there is no use or meaning in the words, 1 John 1 : 8-10, "If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "If we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar and his word is not in us."

And also in Ephesians, "That ye put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man which is corrupt, according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your minds," "and put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."

These words were all addressed to believers by the writers, urging them to a continued renewal of mind, putting off the old and putting on the new.

And there is that significant text, 1 John 2 : 1, "And if any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous."

The word "sin," as used in this passage, in the Greek, is

ἁμαρτη which means "to miss one's aim," "to miss at aiming at anything," "to be in fault," "to err." We see then that for the sake of our advocate, at the throne of God, those who sin in the sense of the apostle, are freely forgiven, and are the children of God.

There are a few passages of Scripture like Matt. 5 : 48, "Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect," and 1 Peter 1 : 15, "Be ye holy for I am holy," which, torn from their connection, and not compared with other Scriptures, are strained to support the assumption of sinless perfection. But taken in their right relation to other Scriptures, they teach that the aim, and purpose of God's children must be and are to be perfect and holy, but which they can never attain in this life.

These and similar Scriptures are to be understood in the same manner, as, "Be ye merciful as your Father in heaven is merciful," "Love one another, as I have loved you," "Forgive as God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven you." But what mortal can be merciful, love or forgive like God? Nor can one be perfect or holy like God.

The test which our Saviour gives of human character, "The tree is known by its fruits," condemns the theory of sinless perfection. For, while a corrupt tree can never bear good, wholesome fruit, yet it is also true, you can never find *all* the fruit, on the very best tree, perfect. There are some defects from various causes. And yet it can with truth be said, the tree is good, because as a rule the fruit is good.

Luther says, "The child of God, in the conflict with sin, receives many wounds daily, but never throws away his arms, nor makes peace with his deadly foe." Sin is ever active, but no longer dominant. The normal direction of life's energies, in the believer, is against sin, is an absence of sin—a no-will to sin. He that is born of God, has become, from being a servant of sin, a servant of righteousness, according to the divine seed which remaineth in him, or as St. Paul says, according to the inner man, he will and can, with the consent of his will, work only that which is like God—righteousness; though the flesh, not yet fully mortified, rebels and sins; so that even in, and by

the power of the new life, sin must be confessed, forgiveness received, the temptation to evil avoided, and overcome, and self-purification and sanctification carried on continually. One born of God will, in the whole course and tenor of his life, perform good works, while the unregenerate man, in the uniform course of action, will do evil deeds.

The imperfections, faults, wrong actions through weakness or force of temptation, do not make a good man cease to be a good man. Nor do the few good deeds which an unregenerated man may perform, by force of circumstances or from unworthy motives, constitute him a good man. It must ever be remembered, that the Scriptures speak of doing righteousness in two senses: (1) In a legal sense which consists in exact obedience, and fulfilling of the law, and in this sense there is none that doeth good, no not one; (2) In an evangelical sense which means walking uprightly according to the precepts of the Gospel, conscientiously avoiding all sin, observing a constant course of holy actions, seeking divine help every day, divine mercy and forgiveness, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.

ARTICLE VII.

THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

BY REV. WILLIAM SHINDEL SIGMUND, A. M.

"It is a humiliating fact," says Dr. Schaff, "that the feast of union and communion of believers with Christ and with each other, wherein they engage in the highest act of worship, and make the nearest approach to heaven, should have become the innocent occasion of bitter contests among brethren professing the same faith and the same devotion to Christ and his Gospel. The person of Christ and the supper of Christ have stirred up the deepest passions of love and hatred.

"The eucharist was twice the subject of controversy in the

NOTE.—In this paper I have quoted verbatim without acknowledgment these Lutheran writers: Diehl, Dorner, Krauth, Martensen, Ort.

Middle Ages—first in the ninth and then in the eleventh century. The question in both cases turned on a grossly realistic and a spiritual conception of the sacramental presence and fruition of Christ's body and blood; and the result was the triumph of the Roman dogma of transubstantiation, as advocated by Paschasius Radbertus against Ratramnus, and by Lanfranc against Berengar, and as finally settled by the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and the Council of Trent, in 1551.

"The eucharistic controversies of the Protestants assumed a different form. Transubstantiation was discarded by both parties. The question was not, whether the elements as to their substance are miraculously transformed into the body and blood of Christ, but whether Christ was corporally or only spiritually (though no less really) present with the natural elements; and whether he was partaken of by all communicants through the mouth, or only by the worthy communicants through faith."

The position of the Lutheran Church in these Protestant controversies may be summarized in two propositions:

I. That there is in the Lord's Supper a true objective presence of the body and blood of Christ.

II. That there is a sacramental, but not a substantial, union between the bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ.

I.

Upon the first proposition, the Augsburg Confession, the only universally accepted Lutheran symbol, declares: "In regard to the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are dispensed to the communicants in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove those who teach otherwise." The Small Catechism of Luther thus teaches: "What is the Sacrament of the Altar? It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, given unto us Christians to eat and drink as it was instituted by Christ himself." The Large Catechism in answer to the same question says: "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under bread and wine, instituted and commanded by the word of Christ to be eaten and drank by us Christians."

It need scarcely be said to you who are here present,* that when the Lutheran Church speaks in her confession of the body and blood of Christ, she means not the fleshly, material body which he had in common with humanity while he dwelt among men, but that same body as it now exists risen, ascended and glorified. This body, the Lutheran Church teaches, because of its union with Deity, partakes of the attributes of the divine-human Saviour. Just as a man experiences pain in his body because it is part of him, even though apart from the mind the body has no sensation at all; so the body of Christ, though apart from his Deity certainly confined to one place, because of its union with his Deity is able to be present wherever Christ wills it to be. When the Lutheran Church teaches the objective presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, therefore, she simply means that the whole Christ, both Deity and humanity, is there present, as opposed to a merely spiritual or efficacious presence.

The Scriptural warrant to which the Lutheran Church appeals in support of her belief in this objective presence of the whole Christ is the language of the institution: "This is my body." "This is my blood." Upon the literal understanding of these words, in accordance with the canon that "a passage of Scripture is always to be taken in its plain, natural and literal sense, unless there is something in the text itself, or in the context, that clearly indicates that it is meant to be figurative," Luther planted himself at the Marburg Conference, and refused to allow any other than a literal interpretation. Upon the same words similarly interpreted, the great body of Lutheran theologians stand to-day, refusing to grant that they have any other meaning than that Christ actually offered and does still offer to those communing his actual (although now, of course, glorified) body and blood. They defend the literal interpretation upon three grounds:

(1) That the bread which was offered to the disciples was offered at a supper, when all laws of language lead us to expect

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that the thing so offered shall not be the sign, symbol, or memorial of that which is eaten, but shall be the very thing designated.

(2) That the words of the eucharist are also testamentary—they are the words of the will of our Lord who is about to die, and who invests his heirs with that whose possession gave them all that he desired to secure to them. In a will, if anywhere, we have a right to expect plain language, rid of all figures of speech.

(3) That the Lord's Supper is a covenanting institution. In a covenant, as in a testament, the things mutually conveyed and received are not the signs nor symbols of things but things themselves.

But while the great body of Lutherans plant themselves here, there are others who do not. Notably among these are Dorner, Martensen, Julius Müller, and Kahnis, though Kahnis, because of his surrender of the doctrine of the proper and supreme divinity of Jesus Christ in favor of the theory of subordination, scarcely deserves examination as an orthodox Lutheran. Martensen, who offers no statement of the way in which he interprets the words of the institution (that is, whether literally or not) says: "The Lord has associated with his Supper not only the promise of forgiveness of sins, and a display and explanation of grace, but under the sacred pledges of grace he gives to his own people a new aliment of life. 'This is my body.' 'This is my blood.' However variously these words may be explained, they clearly indicate an actual participation of life with the Lord. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood ye have no life in you.' Unless ye so appropriate me that not only my word and my promise, but I, myself, my whole undivided personality, become the aliment of your life, you have not life. Though these words are not spoken in immediate connection with the Lord's Supper, it is nevertheless plain that they must find their full and complete realization in this ordinance."

Dorner says: "Now that *ἐστίν* may mean 'signifies' is beyond question and ought never to have been denied. In proof it is enough to refer to the interpretation of the parables. The mean-

ing, then, certainly is: The bread is a figure of my body. But the question does not depend upon this point. * * The chief point must lie in this, of what the bread and wine are meant to be a figure to us. If of that which as an object of remembrance is merely past and absent, as of the breaking of his body and shedding of his blood, this would lead to Zwingli's theory, according to which the holy supper is a commemorative sign, associated with thanksgiving and confession. But in this case, * * the words, 'Take, eat,' would contain no meaning, or at least not a natural one, because believing, thankful commemoration is not a taking but presupposes a having taken, while in itself it would be better regarded as an act in response. Were it said that the words have reference to the fruit of his death, the atonement, and were the commemoration of his death—supposed also to be a receiving or 'taking' of this fruit—the forgiveness of sins, to this is opposed the consideration that before his atoning death Christ could not well say, 'Take, eat' the fruit of my death. Moreover the symbolism which thus results would be confused and indistinct. For the bread as broken would be a type of his death, his death again being a description of the forgiveness which is the fruit, and of which we are to partake. The elements also do not point with sufficient clearness to his dying, for, as already said, the wine is not poured out; and it is altogether an unusual phrase to say that Christ's atonement is to be eaten and drunk. Since, then, the elements in the sacred act exist to be partaken of, and are partaken of, denoting consequently a gift to be received, and since the words, 'Eat, drink,' cannot mean a past or future gift, all that is left to be said is: *The symbolism denotes a present gift offered to be partaken of*; the elements are aliments. But that which is offered under the symbolic veil of the elements is described by Christ in the words 'My body' and 'My blood,' by which, in opposition to anything merely ideal or merely material, is meant the entire reality of his personality, Christ himself with body and blood; and in order to understand the full meaning of the act instituted for all future time, we must go back to the import of Christ's person in general, and its relation to believers as their head, to

his parable of the vine and branches, to his words of promise, such as: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;' 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world;' further, to his exaltation to be the head of the Church and the glorification of his entire person; finally, in general to his loving purpose, which desires to give himself with princely generosity unreservedly to his people. When we consider further that in the discourse at Capernaum 'flesh and blood,' because synonymous with 'body and blood,' denotes his entire living real personality, it is clear that under the symbolic veil of the elements he desires to give himself to them in the full and entire reality of his person, and to invite them to partake of the same. Thus his loving purpose, expressed in the words of institution, is seen to be this: In true self-surrender to them he desires to be received by them and dwell in them as their potent principle of life."

This view of the objective presence of Christ offering himself in the entirety of his being to the communicant, separates the Lutheran teaching, as a matter of course, from all teaching of a merely subjective presence. It opposes the teaching both of Zwingli and of Calvin, though there are some correspondences between it and the latter.

The Zwinglian makes the sacrament merely a commemorative act, and takes from it its sacramental character. Its observance does not even strengthen faith, but is simply a sacred rite, in which, in thankful remembrance of Christ's death, faith is to be confessed and fellowship exhibited. The eating bread and drinking wine in the Supper is only a natural act by which we are reminded of Christ's suffering and death. This remembrance of what he endured on the cross will awaken pious meditation and stimulate us to devotion in his service. According to this view, Christ offers us nothing, but simply calls upon us to remember his agony. Such a theory as this the Lutheran Church condemns in the strongest terms. That Christ in his last words, in his last ordinance, in the very consummation of his glorious mediatorial work, in the very climax of redemption, when imparting the divinest consolation to his distressed follow-

ers and instituting a channel of the richest blessings for his people for all time, should give nothing more than a commemorative ceremony, such as exists among all nations, by two symbols to aid the mind in recalling an important event, making the Holy Supper in principle nothing more than a fourth of July celebration, is utterly inconceivable. It is the baldest rationalism, in the face of plain words spoken by the Saviour and by the inspired apostle. Even Zwingli himself, later in life, abandoned it. "In his last years," says Dorner, "he returned to his former standpoint, according to which the Holy Supper is not merely a sign of a past thing and commemoration thereof, but a means of grace and a present gift."

The Lutheran view of the objective presence of the whole Christ in the Holy Supper separates it also from the belief in a supernaturally subjective presence of Christ as taught by Calvin and partially indorsed by the Reformed Church as well as from the naturally subjective presence of which we have just spoken. We must distinguish between the view of Calvin himself, and the teaching of the Reformed Church, because the Reformed confessions do not commend all that Calvin said, any more than the Lutheran Church is bound by all that Luther said.

The main Reformed Symbols teach as follows. The First Helvetic Confession reads: "The bread and wine are holy, true symbols through which the Lord offers and presents the true communion of the body and blood of Christ for the feeding and nourishing of the spiritual and eternal life." The Heidelberg Catechism says: "What is it to eat of the crucified body and drink the shed blood of Christ? It is not only to embrace with a believing heart all the sufferings and death of Christ, and thereby to obtain the forgiveness of sins and life eternal, but moreover, also, to be so united more and more to his sacred body by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us, that although he is in heaven and we are upon earth, we are nevertheless flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and live and are governed forever by one spirit as members of the same body are by the one soul." The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England say: "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign

of the love Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the bread which we break is a (heavenly and spiritual) partaking of the blood of Christ." The Westminster Confession says: "The body and blood of Christ (are) not corporally or carnally in, with and under the bread or wine yet as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to the outward senses."

These declarations, as will be seen, are all in some measure influenced by Calvin's teaching, in distinction from the Lutheran, and for that reason it will be sufficient to point out the difference between the Lutheran and Calvinistic views. Where the Reformed Churches have not fully followed Calvin, of course, part of what I shall say will not apply.

The Calvinistic theory seems to be this: That Christ's body is in heaven only, and in no sense in the elements; that he can be apprehended by faith only. And yet that our communion with him by the power of the Holy Ghost involves a real participation "not in his doctrine merely—not in his promises merely—not in the sensible manifestations of his love merely—not in his righteousness and merit merely—not in the gifts and endowments of the spirit merely: but in his own true substantial life itself; and this not as comprehended in his divine nature merely, but most immediately and peculiarly as embodied in his humanity itself, for us men and our salvation," (Nevin).

To quote Calvin's own words: "In the mystery of the Supper, under the symbols of bread and wine, Christ is truly presented to us, and so his body and blood in which he fulfilled all obedience to procure our justification; in order that we may first coalesce with him in one body." "Such virtue as bread has in nourishing our bodies for the support of the present life, the same is in the body of the Lord for the spiritual nourishment of our soul; and as by wine the hearts of men are exhilarated, their strength refreshed, the whole man invigorated, so our souls receive like benefit from the Lord's blood." "Those whom I

oppose consider eating to be the same thing as believing, while I say that in believing we eat the flesh of Christ, because he is made ours actually by faith, and that this eating is the fruit and effect of faith. They consider the eating to be faith itself, while I consider it as a consequence of faith." From these passages it is seen that Calvin was in harmony with much that the Lutheran Church taught; but on many points he deviated widely. He taught that there was in the communion a feeding upon the body of Christ; that the body upon which the believer feeds was the same body which was crucified on the cross; and that although when he ascended everything mortal and earthly was put away, yet his body since his ascension is the same body which was crucified. But he was led into difficulty and confusion and a measure of self-contradiction by his theory that the body of Christ could have no presence anywhere except its local presence in heaven. His doctrine rests upon a dualism, distinguishing between heaven and earth, spirit and body. The glorified Saviour cannot be present upon earth, for upon the laws of corporeity and individuality he must be in a definite place in heaven. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper upon earth, therefore, there is nothing more than the distribution and partaking of bread and wine; but when these are partaken of in faith something occurs simultaneously in heaven, for the believing soul is as if transported into heaven, by the mystical working of the Spirit, and in a supernatural manner is united to the Saviour, and made partaker of his glorified body, as the true aliment of the Spirit. The Lord's Supper, according to the Calvinistic view, thus divides itself into two parts, or consists of two acts, one in heaven, the other on earth; one in spirit, the other in body.

But how can a believer by faith feed on food as far removed from him as heaven is from earth? Calvin says it is not by imagination or contemplation. How then can a believer, sitting at the Lord's table in a Church on earth feed on the substantial food of Christ's body and blood? Calvin felt the difficulty and here is his attempt to explain it: "It may seem incredible indeed that the flesh of Christ should reach us from such immense

local distance, as to become our food. But we must remember how far the secret power of the Holy Spirit transcends all our senses, and what folly it must ever be to think of reducing his immensity to our measures. Let faith embrace, then, what the understanding cannot grasp, namely, that the Spirit unites things which are locally separated. Now this sacred communication of his flesh and blood, by which Christ transfuses his life into us, just as if he penetrated our bones and marrow, he testifies and seals also in the Holy Supper; not by the exhibition of a vain and empty sign, but by putting forth there such an energy of his Spirit as fulfills what he promises." In other words, every instance of a believing communicant feeding on the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper involves the working of a miracle by the Holy Spirit.

But if the Holy Spirit be omnipotent, the Lutheran asks, is not Christ omnipotent? If the Holy Spirit have such energy that he can fulfill all his promises, has not Christ energy to fulfill his promises? If the power of the third person of the Trinity is sufficient to penetrate through all impediments and to surmount all local distance, who shall dare to set limits to Christ's ability to do the same? Does not Christ's power also transcend our senses, and shall we think of reducing his immensity to our measures? Why, then, imagine that the Spirit by his almighty power should convey the body and blood of Christ from its local position in heaven to the believing communicant on earth, when according to a more scriptural Christology the body of Christ, by virtue of the union of the two natures in one person, and the almighty power of the divine-human Saviour has a presence (not local) with his people when they receive the bread and the wine in the Holy Supper, as he says, "This is my body," "This is my blood." If Christ, by his own inherent power could raise himself from the dead, has he not power to fulfill his own words concerning his body and blood? The view of Calvin does not solve the mystery at all. It leaves it in its fathomless depth. It requires Christ's person, the Holy Spirit, and the faith of the believer—three factors, confusing each other. The first

factor is sufficient, and if justice is done it, the other two are not needed for the objective substance of the sacrament; they come in at their proper place, not to help Christ make what he has perfectly made already, but to enable the recipient to receive savingly what he is receiving sacramentally.

The Lutheran Church is, therefore, opposed to the Calvinistic separation of heaven and earth. It denies that the presence of Christ is purely spiritual, a presence only in the devotion and in the inwardness of the believing heart. It teaches that Christ is not in a literal manner separate from his believing people so as that they must go to heaven in order to find him. The Calvinistic doctrine that this is necessary puts too much upon man who is nothing, because it concedes too little to Christ who is everything. There is more than wit, there is solemn argument in the illustration of the great old divine: "When Christ says, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in unto him and will sup with him and he with me,' a Calvinist might answer, 'O Lord, there is no need for you to wait so long at the door. Return to your heaven, and when I wish to sup with you I will fly up with my wings of faith and meet you there.'" Such a flight to heaven, however, is not necessary. Christ is at the right hand of God, it is true, but the right hand of God is everywhere. And therefore he is present wholly and entirely in his Supper wherein he in an especial manner wills to be. There are not in the ordinance two acts, one heavenly and one earthly, distinct from each other, but the heavenly is comprehended in the earthly and visible act, and is organically united therewith, thus constituting one sacramental act. And this statement brings us to our second proposition.

II.

The Lutheran Church teaches concerning the Lord's Supper, that, in addition to the true objective presence of the whole Christ, there is a sacramental, but not a substantial, union between the bread and the wine, and the body and blood of Christ. She teaches that there is such a connection between the bread and wine on the one hand and the body and blood of Christ on

the other, that the latter are received by means of the former. This is commonly expressed by the phrase "in, with and under the bread and wine," or, "under the form of bread and wine." The Lutheran is, however, careful to say that the bread remains bread and the wine remains wine, but at the same time believes that such is the connection between the human nature of Christ and the bread and wine, that when the latter, that is, the bread and wine, are received, the other, namely, the body and blood of Christ, or which is the same thing, Christ himself is received. The Lutheran at this point is positive in saying that the eating and drinking of the one is not the same as the eating and drinking of the other. The eating the bread and drinking the wine is a natural eating and drinking. The eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ is a supernatural eating and drinking. The Lutheran repudiates a gross, carnal, natural eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ. Since his presence is a supernatural presence, the reception of him in connection with the bread and wine must be likewise supernatural. But, supernatural though it be, it depends upon the partaking of the natural bread and wine.

This teaching rests for its support upon the words of Paul: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10 : 16.) The Revised Version substitutes in the margin, "participation in" for "communion" at both places. Upon this passage Ellicott writes: "Is not a communion with the blood of Christ imparted by it, and, as it were, conveyed by it? No cup, no *κοινωνία*. The *ἐστί* retains its ordinary and proper meaning; the consecrated cup does not merely signify a *κοινωνία*, but *is* the bearer of it; the language being concise, but perfectly intelligible." Lias, in the Cambridge Greek Testament, under the same passage, says of the word, *κοινωνία*: "Literally, 'the making or sharing in common.' Hence it signifies that all share together in the gift of the blood of Christ. * * The idea here is that of a meal on a sacrificed victim, which is Christ himself, the true Paschal Lamb, by feeding on whom all who partake of him are

made sharers of his flesh and blood, and are thus bound together in the closest fellowship with him and with each other. The fact of this eucharistic feeding upon the Christ is adduced as the strongest reason why Christians cannot lawfully take part in idolatrous rites. It is impossible to exclude here the active sense of "communication" as it is to confine the word to that signification. It must be taken in the widest possible sense, as including Christ's feeding his people with his flesh and blood, and their joint participation in the same."

These two comments were written by men of the Anglican Church: I add now the words of a Lutheran, Dr. Krauth. "This passage, in its express terms and in its connection, is what Luther calls it—a thunder-bolt upon the heads of errorists in regard to the Lord's Supper. The figment of transubstantiation is overthrown by it, for it expressly mentions bread, and that which communicates cannot be identical with that which is communicated by it. St. Paul expressly mentions the two elements; the bread which is the earthly; the body of our Lord, which is the heavenly; the sacramental union and the impartation of the heavenly in, with and under the earthly. The passage equally overthrows all rationalistic corruptions of the doctrine. Zwingli says: The bread is the sign of the body; Paul says: The bread is the communion of the body. Zwingli says: The wine is the sign of the blood; Paul says: The cup is the communion of the blood. * * On Zwingli's theory, the relation of the bread and body is that of symbol and of reality; on Paul's theory, it is the relation of the communicating medium and of the thing communicated; on Zwingli's theory, we receive the cup to be reminded of the blood; on Paul's theory, we receive the cup to receive the blood. * *

"Equally do the words overthrow the Calvinistic theory. Calvin's theory is, that the Holy Spirit communicates the body of Christ; Paul's is, that the bread communicates it; he mentions but two elements, bread and body. Calvin says, the Holy Spirit communicates the blood of Christ; Paul says, that the cup communicates it, two elements only again, cup and blood, not three: cup, Holy Spirit and blood. Calvin makes faith the communi-

cating medium ; Paul says, the bread we break, the cup we bless, is the communicating medium. * * Calvin's communion is one which can take place anywhere and always, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit is always present, and faith can always be exercised ; Paul's is expressly limited to that with which the bread and cup are connected. Calvin's is the communion of an absent body and blood ; Paul's, the communion of a present body and blood, so present that bread, broken and given, imparts the one, and the cup, blessed and taken, imparts the other. Calvin talks of a faith by which we spiritually eat an absent body ; Paul, of elements by which we sacramentally eat a present body. * *

"If language can express a thought unmistakably, the words of Paul imply that, in the Lord's Supper, there is a supernatural reality, a relation between the bread and the body of Christ which makes the one the medium of the reception of the other."

Now, because of this doctrine of the sacramental conjunction of the two factors, and the failure, on the part of opponents, to distinguish the sacramental conjunction as taught by the Lutheran Church from the substantial conjunction as taught by John of Paris and Rupert, the Lutheran Church is often charged with teaching consubstantiation. This is certainly strange when we consider how uniformly the Lutheran Church has denied it and rejected the doctrine thus imputed to her. What is consubstantiation? The doctrine that the body and blood of Christ are changed into one substance with the bread and wine so that they are indistinguishable and thenceforth one, and that what happens to one, happens to both. Now what do the Lutheran theologians say about this doctrine? The Form of Concord says : "We utterly reject and condemn the doctrine of a Capernaitish eating of the body of Christ, which after so many protestations on our part is maliciously imputed to us ; the manducation is not a thing of the senses or of reason, but supernatural, mysterious and incomprehensible. The presence of Christ in the Supper is not of a physical nature, nor earthly, nor Capernaitish, and yet it is most true." Gerhard says : "We neither believe in impanation, nor consubstantiation, nor in any physical or local presence whatever. Nor do we believe in that con-

substantiative presence which some define to be the inclusion of one substance with another." Cotta says: "The word, consubstantiation, may be understood in different senses. Sometimes it denotes a local conjunction of two bodies, sometimes a commingling of them, as for example, when it is alleged that the bread coalesces with the body, and the wine with the blood, into one substance. But in neither sense can that monstrous doctrine of consubstantiation be attributed to our Church since Lutherans do not believe either in that local conjunction of two bodies, nor in any commingling of bread and of Christ's body, of wine and of his blood." Mosheim says: "They err who say that we believe in impanation, or that Christ is in the bread and wine. Nor are those correct who charge us with believing subpanation, that Christ is under the form of bread and wine. And equally groundless is the charge of consubstantiation, or the belief that the body and blood of Christ are changed into one substance with the bread and wine. But the Lutheran Church maintains that the Saviour fulfills his promise and is actually present, especially present in the supper in a manner not comprehensible to us and not defined in the Scripture." Dorner says: "The presence of Christ is not to be conceived after the manner of the presence of the elements, (not locally), but a *modus supernaturalis* of the presence obtains; and the view is earnestly repudiated that the *manducatio oralis* is a *Capernaitica* one, for only the elements, not Christ's body, experience a *lacerari dentibus*." Luther says, in his Larger Catechism: "It is rightly and truly said, when the bread is shown, touched, or eaten, that Christ's body is shown, touched, and eaten." This sentence, perhaps more than any he ever wrote, has been urged to show that he held the doctrine of consubstantiation. But that he used these words in "no Capernaitish, or natural sense, but in a mystic and sacramental sense, to indicate that in the use of this sacrament the bread and body are most presentially united and united present," is very clear from his whole train of thought and the words that follow: "This remains fixed, that no one perceives the body of Christ or touches it, or bruises it with the teeth: yet it is most sure that what is done to the bread, is, in

virtue of the sacramental union, rightly and truly attributed to the body of Christ." * * In sacramental concreteness, then, not in natural abstractness, according to Luther, is the body of Christ eaten. What is eaten is both bread and Christ's body. Both are eaten by one and the same objective act; but because of the difference in the modes of their presence, and the nature of the object—the one being a natural object, present in a natural mode, the other a supernatural object, present in a supernatural mode, the one object act is natural in its relation to the natural, and supernatural in its relation to the supernatural. So to the eye of the prophet's servant, by one objective act there was a natural vision of the natural hills around the city, and a supernatural vision of the supernatural hosts—the horses of fire and the chariots of fire. Holding that Christ's body is locally in heaven only, the Lutheran Church must necessarily reject all local conjunction, or local inclusion, or substantial mingling of that body with material elements. If it were always borne in mind that it is Christ's heavenly body that is present in the Holy Supper, no one could imagine a local conjunction—much less charge the teaching of it upon a Church which holds simply to a sacramental conjunction.

From this position regarding the sacramental union between the elements and Christ's body and blood, it has been inferred and taught by many Lutheran theologians, that the body and blood of Christ are orally received by the communicant. Luther so taught, as the quotation just made has shown. From that formula of his, "in, with and under," it followed, (says Dörner), that the eating is also *oralis*, so far as Christ's body and blood are received with the elements. This inference is just, if the union of the body and blood of Christ with the elements is absolute; for then what happens to the former is identical with what happens to the latter, and Luther inclined to this view when he charged Melancthon, on the journey to the Cassel Conference, to maintain that Christ's body *dilaniatur et dentibus laceratur* in the Holy Supper. Christ would then certainly be treated in the Supper as passive matter. Nevertheless, Luther's true doctrine cannot be learned from this winged word of his.

In any case, the view taken by the Lutheran Church is not so rigid that it approves the above expressions (which are rather expressly rejected) or that it makes a material imprisonment of Christ (*impanatio*) take place. The Form of Concord says upon this point: "We believe, teach and confess that the body and blood of Christ are received with the bread and wine, not only spiritually through faith, but also orally through the lips, yet not in an ordinary, but in a supernatural, heavenly manner, on account of the sacramental union." No doubt most minds find it difficult to discriminate between an oral and a material reception. If the reception be oral, they fail to see how it can be supernatural. They may ask, do we receive with the mouth any food that is not material food? It must be admitted that there is some force in the objection. Men will insensibly and almost inevitably regard as material that which is received by the mouth unless they bear in mind the preceding qualifying clause. Yet we scarcely need dwell upon this point, for as the Augsburg Confession is the only distinctive symbol universally recognized in the Lutheran Church, and as the expression, "with the mouth," or "oral reception," is not found in the Augustana, nor in Luther's Catechisms, nor in Melanchthon's Apology, nor in any other symbol except the Form of Concord, a man can be a sound Lutheran without adopting or even defending this expression.

A second inference drawn from the doctrine of the sacramental union of the elements with Christ's body and blood, and an inference which is supported by the whole Church and not alone by part of it, is that Christ is objectively present for all communicants, both worthy and unworthy. The Lutheran does not teach that Christ is partaken of by all alike, but he does teach that Christ is present objectively for all and offered to all. Herein he opposes the Reformed teaching that Christ is subjectively present only for those who apprehend him by faith. The difference is plainly seen by comparing the two Confessions: The Westminster Confession says: "Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in the sacrament, do then also inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and

all benefits of his death: the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with or under the bread and wine; yet as really but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to their outward senses." Here the presence of Christ is made to be only to the faith of believers, therefore, subjective and dependent upon their faith. The Augustana says "That the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are dispensed to the communicants in the Lord's Supper." Here the Lutheran Church affirms that the sacramental contents are objectively present to man along with the elements, and are presented, that is, offered, to every one.

This objectivity or certainty that Christ is present, where his supper is administered in harmony with his institution, does not rest on faith, rather faith rests on it. It is not faith which makes the sacrament a sacrament, not faith first, but his will connects Christ with the act, and the elements subserving the act. The certainty of Christ's presence is based on his fidelity to his kingly promise and purpose, which is continued in the preservation of his institution both of the Church and of the Holy Supper. If this presence of his is so assured to Christendom that it can be doubted by only such an one as doubts the purpose of his institution and promise, then it is a point of dispute scarcely worth naming, and of no religious importance, as to whether Christ is connected "with the elements in and under them," or with the act of the supper. But since the reality of the supper can be decided only by the use of the elements, and the act is inconceivable without them, while in any case the elements are a pledge of present grace, it is not easy to see what sort of reason there is on the Reformed side for excluding Christ's presence from the elements and limiting it to the act, providing Christ's permanent theanthropic work is admitted, and, on the other hand, the thought of a spatial inclusion of Christ in the elements is kept at a distance. Every theory must in the end go back to the promise of Christ, to the effect that he desires to be a present gift in the supper. That promise implies, therefore,

that the present Christ really offers himself, through the entire act to every one taking the outward elements, consequently to unbelievers also. As Christ truly and earnestly offers grace in his word, and as far as he is concerned, not merely to believers, so is it also in the Holy Supper.

It follows from what has now been unfolded, that the Calvinistic notion, that Christ is present only for the faithful, must be rejected. For the word and command of God, not the faith or devotion of man, make the sacrament; and as the seed-corn is the same whether it fall into good or into bad ground, so it is with the sacrament. The objective grace exists for all; but there is a difference in the taking, and hence in the effect also. Accordingly it is emphatically said, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." Unbelievers, also, who partake of the sacrament, come into actual relation with the all-holy; and though we cannot say of them that they eat the sacrament, that is, make it their food, yet we must say that they receive it. As unbelief only receives the sensible word with the bodily ear, while the inner ear or heart is closed to the meaning and truth of the word, so too may it be in the Holy Supper. The saving blessing (*Christus ut Salvator*) is rejected by the the unbeliever, therefore not accepted. And since the unbeliever takes the elements like the believer, and Christ offered himself in the act in which the unbeliever takes part under the guise of a believer, unbelief renders void Christ's promise and purpose, which held good also to him, by this wicked hypocritical conduct; and whereas he receives nothing but the elements, thus making the sacrament a common eating or empty ceremony, he sins against the Lord and draws down judgment upon himself. It is not through want of knowledge; it is not through weakness of faith, that a man eats condemnation to himself. It is the very consolation of the objective sacrament that the blessing is given to him who is weak in faith, and who has need of strengthening; herein is just the comfort, that the Lord descends

to us, comes to the help of our weakness; whereas the subjective doctrine of the sacrament makes all to depend upon the perfection of our faith; and upon the frame of mind we are in at the moment we partake of it; and it must therefore lead to an anxious effort, a straining of every nerve, by means of which the man endeavors to soar upwards to heaven. It is not weakness of faith, nor deficiency in doctrinal insight, which causes a person to eat condemnation to himself. It is the unhallowed sense which fails to discern the Lord's body, to discern between the holy and the profane, and which draws nigh to the table of the Lord without preparation or self-examination.

I have tried to present to you in brief the main teaching of the Lutheran Church concerning the Holy Supper. I have stated the two propositions of my paper to accord with the divisions of the Tenth Article of the Augustana: the first clause, "That the body and blood of Christ are truly present," teaching that there is a true objective presence of the body and blood of Christ; and the second clause, "And are dispensed to the communicants in the Lord's Supper," teaching that there is a sacramental, but not a substantial, union between the bread and wine, and the body and blood of Christ. But I would not have you think that the Lutheran Church thinks she possesses in her teaching a full solution of the mystery surrounding it. With Calvin she would say: "They are preposterous who allow in this matter nothing more than they have been able to reach with the measure of their understanding. When they deny that the flesh and blood of Christ are exhibited to us in the Holy Supper, 'Define the mode,' they say, 'or you will not convince us.' But as for myself, I am filled with amazement at the greatness of the mystery. Nor am I ashamed, with Paul, to confess in admiration my own ignorance. For how much better is that, than to extenuate with my carnal sense what the apostle pronounces a high mystery."

I know of no more fitting words with which to conclude my paper than the words of Archbishop Trench: "It is certainly a thought of infinite sadness that this sacrament, the very bond of

innermost communion of the faithful with their Lord, and through him with one another, should have proved so often a source and spring of strife and debate, dividing churches and then dividing again the divided. And yet from the bitter of this thought a sweet may be extracted. There is comfort even here. No doubt there can be but one truth about it, and all which is not this truth is wrong. But those who miss this absolute truth we are sometimes tempted to think of as missing the blessing of that which they underrate, or—I will not say overrate, for that is impossible—which they wrongly rate. Let us be assured. God is greater than our hearts. Many a one who, under imperfect teaching, has come to this as no more than a commemorative rite with some vague, ill-defined solemnity clinging to it, has gone away strengthened and inwardly nourished, as he shall fully know and understand only in that day when Christ shall quicken the mortal bodies of his saints. God's purposes of grace are not so lightly defeated, the ordinances which he has appointed are not so lightly robbed of their blessing, as we too often assume. Let us devoutly thank him that the condition of securing the grace of this heavenly feast does not lie in holding what Paschasius Radbert held about it, or in denying what Paschasius Radbert held about it; in being a Berengarian or in being an anti-Berengarian. There are things which may be too high for us, too high for our understanding, but not too high for our using and enjoying; and of such things this is one, and the greatest."

ARTICLE VIII.

THE ROMAN WORLD IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

BY REV. JEREMIAH ZIMMERMAN, A. M.

In attempting to produce an historical picture of the Roman world in the time of Christ we are not obliged to grope our way back through the centuries that intervene, but we may begin at once with that period by the study of cotemporary literature and the many remains of art as they exist in the various monuments that have come down to our times. When visiting the countries embraced in our study we receive impressions that are not otherwise possible, for the law of association is irresistible and reproduces the scenes that transpired there more than eighteen hundred years ago, and invested them with all the vivid realism of events that have but recently passed into history. No man who has any knowledge of Biblical history can stand by the well of Jacob without at once recalling the memorable interview of our Saviour with the woman of Samaria at this same well. We cannot visit Bethany without reflecting upon the home of Mary and Martha, and their brother Lazarus whom Jesus loved and raised from the dead.

It is an important feature in the study of any period of ancient history to feel the reality of those times, and know that the characters are not mythical and mere creations of the imagination, but that they were actual men and women who shaped the times in which they lived and made the history which has been transmitted to us. Nothing can give such vivid realism and aid the imagination as the works that survive them; their architectural remains of palaces, temples and tombs; their portraits and inscriptions that speak for themselves.

Of the many surviving monumental records of the Roman Empire that shed light upon this period none are so numerous as the many interesting coins in gold, silver and bronze. I know of nothing which so intimately connects the past with the present,

bridging over the intervening centuries, and bring those characters and nations of remote history so near to us, and investing them with such an objective reality as their coinage, on which we behold stamped by imperial or senatorial authority the very portraits of the rulers of those times, with inscriptions of great historic interest. The next thing to seeing the individual himself is to look upon his actual portrait, for that brings him face to face with us and revives the period of his activities. We grow familiar with the portraits of Lincoln and Napoleon though we may never have seen either of these men, and recently there has been a wonderful revival of interest in historical portraits, but how greatly this interest and importance is increased when we go back to the days of Christ and look upon the portraits of his cotemporaries. In this way we become as familiar with the leading characters of that period as with our own Lincoln and Washington. Unearthed Pompeii gives us a real picture of a Roman city as it actually existed in the period of Christ's sojourn on earth. We may walk through the same streets and see the ruts worn in the stone pavement by the wheels that once rattled through these narrow thoroughfares. We may still enter the houses and visit the different rooms that tell us so much of the manner of life among these Pompeiians. As we pass along the streets we learn that the people were great scribblers in those days and the walls often served as bulletin boards, and we almost seem to hear the voice of the pleading politicians of ancient Pompeii. Instead of printed posters and political newspapers they had their electoral announcements, and these were posted in every available conspicuous place, and they did not scruple to deface tombs with their scribbling appeals and endorsement to their favorite candidates.

A citizen of Pompeii unwittingly immortalized himself as well as his candidate by placing the following inscription in red letters upon the walls of his house that all who passed the street might read and give their vote accordingly: "Vesonius Primus recommends to your votes Caius Gavius Rufus, a man useful to your city, and I beseech you to elect him to the office of *duumvir*." This reminds us of the large cards containing the pic-

ture of the favorite candidates so often displayed in the windows of homes and public places, and of some of the personal appeals made in the daily press. This same Pompeian seeks to use his influence for another candidate for a different office in the following inscription: "Vesonius Primus recommends you to choose as Aedile Cneius Helvius, a worthy man of our city." He little thought that when he wrote that inscription, that the name of his candidate would so long outlive that of his competitor, whether successful or defeated. In fact there were no local political honors to be enjoyed henceforth, for a little later Vesuvius buried Pompeii out of sight.

In attempting to produce an historic picture of the Roman world in the time of Christ it is not possible to combine all the geographical, political, social, moral and religious features of a vast empire, for it would require more space than that allotted for this article, and hence we shall endeavor to suggest certain features that have impressed us.

The Roman Empire embraced the civilized world, including one third of its population, or about 120,000,000 souls, extending its realm from England and the Danube on the north to the Cataracts of the Nile on the south, and from the shores of the Atlantic eastward three thousand miles to the Euphrates. The policy of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, was not to destroy other nations but to conquer them, bring them into subjection and incorporate them in the empire, for consolidation and centralization was the method pursued, and hence they assimilated foreign nations so that they became an interested portion and factor of the empire itself, sharing the protection of its armies, the rights of its laws, and enjoying all the advantages of peace and prosperity.

This political unification of nations was already begun by Alexander the Great who began the work of universal empire, for he sought to bind together all the conquered provinces by establishing a chain of cities built by his conquering army, and then providing a mixed population, with tradesmen, mechanics, teachers and others to develop those cities, but appointing Greeks to govern them so that all might become Hellenized and continue loyal to one world empire, and hence the Greek language,

thought, religion and customs were established in distant countries as abundant evidence confirms. As Greece was to educate the world, she also furnished the universal language, for Greek was spoken in the distant provinces since the days of Alexander. We have many evidences of the universality of the Greek language in the time of Christ. The fact could be established from numerous existing coins alone that bear their inscriptions in Greek. Even the coins of Parthia are inscribed with this language, whilst those of Bactria extending far eastward to the Indus bear bilingual inscriptions,—the Greek as well as their ancient vernacular. Not only do they show the prevalence of the language but the images with which the coins are stamped are unmistakable proof of the presence of the Greek religion and culture, for the gods of the Greeks appear on the coins of India just as they do on those of Palestine and Asia Minor and elsewhere throughout the Roman empire.

It was the prevalence of this language that made the Septuagint a necessity for the vast Jewish population, for dispersed in every city they were familiar with the Greek. Greek culture prevailed even in the capital of the empire and to such an extent that when Paul addressed his epistle to the Romans he wrote it not in Latin, but in Greek. The oldest inscriptions in the Catacombs at Rome are likewise in the same language, and the earliest Christian hymns, and the Apostles' Creed, whilst even the epistle to the Hebrews was written in Greek. The two famous Jewish authors of this period, Philo and Josephus, also wrote in the language of culture. Alexandria and Antioch were two famous cities of Greek culture, as well as Athens and Tarsus. The home of St. Paul was a notable center of Greek learning and philosophy that had few rivals, and many scholars and prominent Romans were attracted to this seat of intellectual influence, and among this people in the grand metropolis of Cilicia possessing the culture and the vices of the Greeks the great apostle received his early training.

Both Greeks and Romans were the important factors in the preparation of the world for Christ, and hence Dr. Schaff says, "The Greeks prepared the elements of natural culture, of science

and art, for the use of the Church. The Romans developed the idea of law, and organized the civilized world in a universal empire ready to serve the spiritual universality of the Gospel." "They furnished the human forms, with which the divine substance of the gospel, thoroughly prepared in the bosom of the Jewish theocracy, was moulded. They laid the natural foundation for the supernatural edifice of the kingdom of God. God endowed the Greeks and Romans with the richest natural gifts, that they might reach the highest civilization without the aid of Christianity, and thus both provide the instruments of human science, art and law for the use of the Church, and yet at the same time show the utter impotence of these alone to bless and save the world."

When the Romans conquered Greece, they transferred to Rome not only their most magnificent works of art, but the artisans also; and Greek literature and art were cultivated in the capital of the empire, so that it was transformed by this infusion and lost its western character. It was the misfortune, though perhaps the inevitable result, that whilst Greece contributed her richest intellectual achievements and rarest treasures of art, the worst phases of the social life of the Greeks were also transported to Rome, including extravagant luxury in dress, feasting, entertainments, and unspeakable vices. This Hellenistic influence corrupted Roman society, and the moral degeneracy thus engendered conquered the Romans and hastened the downfall.

In viewing the religious character of the Roman empire at this time we find that Julius Cæsar, one of the greatest of men, has been enthroned among the gods, and the Emperor Augustus is to receive deification at death, but even now he is honored above men, for temples were erected to him at Rome, and whilst for a time the people only prayed for him, later they offer sacrifices and pray to him. Our Saviour when withdrawing from the opposition of the Jews came to Cæsarea Philippi, he beheld the white marble temple that Herod the Great had erected to Augustus, whilst he himself the King of kings, and whose kingdom shall have no end, was then honored with no

temple ; but how all this has been reversed. They had gods many, but their number only increased the doubt and confusion. They had their Pantheon, but the one Supreme Being was not represented therein, and all their gods had no existence beyond their belief and could not help them. They seized upon the highest visible embodiment of power as expressed in the Emperor, and hence the deification of the Cæsars began. It was a time of great expectancy and conscious need of God, and the One who alone could meet the demand had come. They had their Sibylline books, but no revelation from heaven, and whilst their country swarmed with philosophers, they had no Saviour to teach them the truth. They were conscious of sin and longed for forgiveness, for they needed regeneration, but there was no hope of reformation from within the state. That power must come from without, but whence? They deplored the moral and religious condition, but found no Deliverer. Even their greatest philosophers not only utterly failed in their practical results among the people, but they themselves did not exemplify their moral teachings in their own lives, and hence there was increased corruption, superstition and skepticism. They were often put to their wits' end and vacillated between hope and despair. They trembled before their gods, consulted them in great undertakings and implored their help, and yet in times of calamity and disastrous ruin they lost faith in the same gods and repudiated them, and at the destruction of Pompeii many, fleeing from the overthrow, declared that there are no gods.

Augustus established the state religion for political reasons of necessity, as it seemed to him, for just as he sought to unite all nations in one great empire that every citizen might feel bound to the power that emanated from the capital at Rome, in like manner he would incorporate all the local cults of the provinces in the Pantheon, a kind of religious universalism, and to-day that magnificent ancient temple is one of the most interesting and remarkable structures of the world. It was erected before the Christian era, and has served the purposes of a temple for more than nineteen hundred years. It was the symbol and monument of religious toleration in the days of Augustus Cæsar,

for as they conquered new nations and incorporated them in the empire, they not only tolerated their local worship, but even sought the aid and protection of all the known gods. Still there was the state or national religion which all the provinces were compelled to recognize, and to oppose it was treason, whilst all proselyting was forbidden.

The Jews came in conflict with this law as we shall see, and they were often made an exception. Of course Christianity could not subscribe to these requirements, nor even claim toleration, for its mission was to proselyte,—to make disciples of all nations, by preaching the gospel and exposing the errors of paganism. It claimed to be the universal and absolute religion, admitting of no compromise, and the Christians made no concessions lest they should seem to give their endorsement to the pagan rites, and hence persecution became inevitable as Christianity spread, for its followers refused even to drop the little incense on the fire for the worship of the Cæsars. They would pray for them, enjoin obedience as loyal citizens, and never did they revolt in insurrection, but they could not violate their religious convictions and allegiance to Christ by sacrificing to the emperors, and hence the mortal conflict in time between Christianity and Paganism until the religion of Christ triumphed and ascended the throne of the Cæsars.

We need only transport ourselves back to the period to see how religion must have suffered from the apotheoses of members of the imperial family, many of them having their life stained by the vices of that age. If the people cannot rise higher than their religion and their gods, then what must the social and religious condition of Rome have been with such gods as the emperors furnished. It was worse than a religious fraud, it was a religious monstrosity, and yet this was also one of the evils borrowed from the Greeks, for their rulers had received deification long before. It is true that Augustus would not allow temples to be erected in Italy to him alone, but only to "Rome and Augustus," and yet the cities of Asia Minor vied with each other in paying him divine honors during life, and temples were dedicated to him at Athens, Caesarea, Sparta,

Alexandria, &c., and he received equal honors with the Olympian gods. As he had set the example, immediately after death the Senate decreed him divine honors. No less than fifty-three members of imperial families received apotheosis, fifteen being females, not always distinguished for moral virtues; and Nero even decreed divine honors to his little daughter Poppæa, that died when only three months old.

Some of the rulers in their monstrous audacity even claimed to be living gods, and their statues occupied a place among those of the ancient gods, and votive offerings were paid to the genius of the emperor, for the worship of the Cæsars had become the religion of the world, centered in the emperor on the Palatine, rather than in the Jupiter on the Capitoline. Caligula went to shocking extremes, and the fact that the people tolerated him, and the proud senators of Rome outwardly recognized his audacious claims, shows also the political corruption of the times as well as the degradation of religion, for, claiming divine honors for himself, he would enter the temple of Castor and Pollux by the rear, and then present himself between the statues of the dioscouri that the people passing in the Forum might worship him along with the twin deities. Domitian had the audacity to style himself "lord and god," and had others address him by this divine title, and some of his coins struck by order of the Senate still bear the inscription "deo et domino" as his imperial title or designation, and these cotemporary records in imperishable bronze show to what depths the religious idea of paganism had descended. Hadrian reached the climax of this profanation of worship when he decreed divine honors to the young Bithynian Antinous who lived in vile and unnatural relations with the emperor, who had temples erected to him and statues raised throughout the empire and where worship was offered to him.

It was an age of countless temples, and the cities were peopled with gods and goddesses so that a cotemporary informs us that it was "easier to find a god than a man," for they had deities for all occasions and interests, even for the most trivial and unhallowed purposes, and they sought the favor and good will of all the gods lest they should incur their anger and suffer dis-

aster. Alexander the Great has given us a remarkable example of this religious compromise or local adjustment to the prevailing cult, for we learn that when at Troy he sacrificed to Achilles and Priam, at Memphis to Apis, but when in Babylon he prayed to Bel,—but in this again the Romans imitated their great Greek example, for they even brought the foreign gods to Rome, and Serapis and Isis, though at first excluded, are finally admitted to the freedom of the city, and in time Serapis receives adoration even from Marcus Aurelius, the emperor and philosopher.

In this condition of religious unrest and uncertainty, when human hopes and fears were exercised, and earnest efforts made for deliverance, there were swarms of mountebanks, professing philosophers and priests, who imposed upon the credulity of the people, and we find traces of these in the Acts of the Apostles. Even with all the wisdom of their greatest philosophers they knew not God as the Father of us all, in whom we live and move and have our being, and from whom we receive every good and perfect gift. They built temples, and altars smoked with sacrifices offered to their gods, but they received no response from the unseen, and continued to grope their way in dark uncertainty, and all their views concerning the eternal future were only a dim perhaps, for “life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel.”

Rome as the capital, the centre of influence, attracted all classes from every part of the empire. The rich and poor, philosophers and charlatans, merchants and porters, teachers, students and artists, the most cultured and refined, as well as the rudest Gaul and warlike Thracian, came together in this great meeting place of the world and made up the picturesque scenes that were witnessed on the streets of the imperial city. It was also the world's emporium of trade, for the products of all lands and their choicest luxuries were transported thither for the banquets of the rich, who were notorious for their extravagance in feasting. The richest treasures of other lands were exhibited here for sale, the rarest works of art, and the various objects of handicraft. Ships entered the famous port of Ostia and sailed up

the Tiber to Rome where they anchored at the great imperial warehouses, and unloaded their cargoes of wool, silk, linen, works of art, wine, spices, honey, oil, fish, fruit, iron, tin, marble, timber,—in short all manner of merchandise, including grain, for over 144,000,000 of bushels were brought annually from Egypt to Rome. Many of those vast chambers still remain, and in one of those storehouses was discovered, a few years ago, 675 cubic feet of huge ivory tusks, and a quantity of lentils in another.

Rome was connected with all the provinces by a system of roads that had been constructed with reference to rapid movement and durability, and portions of them are still in use. Augustus erected in the Roman Forum the golden milestone, (a large fragment still remaining), as marking the centre of the world, and thence radiated the roads that extended to the remotest portions of the empire. These roads have never been surpassed in excellence, and communication was safe and rapid. The Apian way was 350 miles in length, extending from Rome to Naples, and thence across Italy to Brindisi. The solid road-bed is still good for many centuries more, and over this historic road the thundering legions of Rome went for conquest and returned after victory in triumphal processions. The imperial families and wealthy citizens drove over it for pleasure; Paul the apostle, on foot, journeyed over the same road when he came to Rome in bonds. Merchants traveled for trade in other countries and one from Asia Minor informs us that he went by water to Rome no less than seventy-two times. Others traveled for study, health and pleasure. Large milestones were placed at regular intervals and many of these are still standing in the old provinces of Asia Minor and Syria, bearing the inscriptions of their rulers and taking us back to those early times.

These great highways were of the utmost convenience for the apostles who went forth from Jerusalem preaching the word. They could travel with comparative safety in every country, for all were included in one empire; they could appeal to the emperor himself for justice. There was one system of coinage, laws and language for the Roman world, and interpreters were

not necessary for the first missionaries of the cross, for the knowledge of the Greek language was well nigh universal, and everywhere the apostles might make themselves understood. This was of incalculable advantage to the early heralds of the gospel, for the Jews being scattered in every country had their synagogues in all the towns and cities, provided with the sacred writings of the Old Testament, and the missionaries of the cross entered these places of worship and from the Jewish scriptures proved that Jesus was the Christ.

Amusements were an important feature in the social life of Rome, and as early as the time of Tiberius the number of holidays or public festival days for every year was no less than eighty-seven, and this number was often increased by special celebrations. Their great fêtes extended through many days, and the opening of the Flavian Amphitheatre was celebrated for one hundred days. The city had a population of one million five hundred thousand, composed of all nations, one half being slaves, and no less than two hundred thousand were fed from the public charities, and the common cry was for "bread and the circus." The Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, witnessed a variety of exciting games, and this stupendous structure, built to accommodate one hundred and fifty thousand was finally enlarged with a seating capacity for three hundred and eighty thousand spectators. Here were witnessed athletic sports, exciting chariot races, and occasionally the bloody spectacles of the gladiators.

Once gladiatorial shows were a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancient Etrurians and were only connected with such occasions. In B. C. 200, the sons of Marcus Valerius Laevinus had twenty-five pairs of gladiators fight on the occasion of their father's funeral; and in 175 B. C., T. F. Flaminius had seventy-four gladiators fight in honor of his deceased father, the bloody combat being extended through three days.

Their chief method of amusement is shocking to our sense of humanity, for the people had developed a passion for exciting and cruel sports, and the crowds were most enthusiastic over the bloody spectacle of the gladiators, and never shouted louder

than when they saw human blood flow upon the sands of the arena. What an awful perversion in human nature when men and women found pleasure in the bloody spectacles that would now sicken the human heart. There sat the emperor, and the empress with the vestal virgins, the senators and chief men and women of Rome as well as the rabble. We can understand how slaves and captives were forced to fight as gladiators in the arena, but it seems almost incredible that even women should deliberately enter the amphitheatre, and fight like men in mortal combat. It is true that they came from the lowest classes, and yet there were notable exceptions, for Tacitus informs us that there were even "illustrious women" among the gladiators during the reign of Nero.

The Greeks at first revolted against the cruel spectacles, but in time they became accustomed to these revolting scenes also, and they were gradually introduced into all the larger cities of the empire, and even into Judea, for Herod the Great had an amphitheatre built for gladiatorial shows at Jerusalem, and Herod Agrippa I. had seven hundred pairs fight in a single day. In fact no amusement so attracted the people, they thirsted after the exciting and bloody shows of the gladiators, and these exhibitions were witnessed in the various Greek cities, where, as well as at Rome, many a brave German, Gaul and Thracian were compelled to battle and die for the amusement of others.

We can understand how such scenes deadened the tender feelings of humanity and degraded true moral greatness, and by cheapening life made suicide easy as the most direct way out of a life of misery and shame.

The gladiatorial spectacle has special interest for us in this connection because in the first century one of the distinguished citizens of Rome, and a convert to the Christian faith, was obliged to enter the amphitheatre on Mt. Albano and fight against three wild beasts. His only crime was that of being a Christian. His name was Acilius Glabrio, an honored consul, but persecuted by Domitian, who turned against him in the arena a lion and two bears, and these fierce animals the illustrious Christian slew. He was afterwards banished and put to death,

but within recent times his tomb has been discovered where loved ones transferred his mortal remains to the family vault. This early hero of the Christian faith may have seen the Apostle Paul, or some who had seen and heard the Lord Jesus himself. As we stand within the ancient walls of that amphitheatre at Albano, the tragic scene appears to be reproduced when that Roman of noble birth was ready to surrender all for Christ. Surely he had sufficient evidence for his faith in the Lord and Saviour.

Rome had three famous theatres for amusement, named Pompey, Balbus and Marcellus, the last of which still remains. These accommodated from fifty thousand to eighty thousand spectators. The character of their plays and pantomime was sufficient proof of the low decline of taste and morals. They were places of cruelty and sensuality, and Seneca writes that "there is nothing so destructive of morality as being a spectator at the plays, where vice insinuates itself into us the easier under the veil of pleasure; and I return from thence all the greedier, and more ambitious, more sensual, more savage and inhuman, because I have been amongst men." "In the Circus," he says, "there are as many vices as men. It is a den of iniquity. That which is vile is made so familiar to the people, and so takes possession of all hearts, that innocence is not only rare, it is extinct." The power of Christianity becomes apparent when we draw a real picture of those times, and consider the social and moral forces at work, and then contemplate the influence of the Gospel over that people. In that picture we behold the fulfillment of Paul's declaration in his epistle to the Romans, that the "Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth." Marvelous was its transforming character. Its very claims excited ridicule and opposition, but they were fully vindicated by their conquests in regenerating the hearts and lives of men. Augustus could boast that he had found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble,—but the transforming influence wrought by the apostle through the preaching of the Gospel was far greater and more enduring.

Roman society was disgraced by the disregard of the sacredness of marriage, and the frequency of divorces, even among prominent families, and from our point of view it is difficult to understand them. Marcus Cato delivered his wife over to his friend Hortensius as we would transfer a piece of property, and after his death took her again to wife. Cicero also put away his wives without just cause, but only for increased gains of money.

Marriage was unpopular, as it involved responsibilities, and the restriction of certain liberties, and hence less than one half the citizens of Rome were married during the age of Augustus, and this evil was encouraged by that shocking moral degeneracy which was sapping the foundations of the domestic life and social order of Rome and brought ruin upon the state. The unnatural vice of *paiderastia* which caused the decline of marriage and the pure love of the home life among the Greeks and debased their morals now spread rapidly as an immoral infection among the Romans also and instilled its social poison within the highest classes of society so that not even imperial families and patricians of rank were exempt from this destructive vice, and the name of Antinous must ever be a reminder of the lasting shame and folly of even so great an emperor as Hadrian, although others were equally guilty. In Romans 1 : 19-32 we have a true but terrible picture of the prevailing unnatural vices of heathenism drawn by a cotemporary and by an eye-witness, for Paul in his extended travels through the provinces of the empire, had visited famed Corinth, and had an opportunity to see and know how many had sunk their humanity in the unspeakable immoral practices of the times, and hence his severe denunciation. He knew too that the heathen idolatry was not only a worship of false gods, but that often their teachings and practices led to the grossest immoralities, for as Inge says : "Even religion became the ready minister of vice, and the temples of Isis were constantly used for the vilest purposes," and as Dr. Fisher states "licentiousness entered into the rites of heathen worship," and prostitution was practiced likewise in honor of Aphrodite at Corinth." The apostle longed to see Rome, and preach the Gospel in this centre of power and magnificence, for like Luther

at a subsequent period, when corruption was abroad, he had great expectations concerning this imperial city, but there was no improvement in morals there.

The exposure of children was another evil, incident upon the degenerate state of domestic life and according to Tacitus it was to the honor of the Jews and Germans alone that they refrained from the common malpractice and reared their children. Many of the Roman fathers, though principally from the lower classes, carried out their babes at night to certain places of exposure, there to die or to be adopted by others for a life of slavery, or trained for gladiators or a life of vicious and immoral practices. How that scene by the Lactarian column and Velabrum, where the exposures were generally made, contrast with the merciful foundling hospitals of to-day. The spirit and teachings of our Lord and Master was so different from the practices of his times that it seemed foolishness to some, and the leaders in his own country with whom he came in conflict cried out, "Away with him! Crucify him!"

Palestine was the theatre of Christ's earthly labors; a small country, about the size of Maryland and the latitude of Georgia, possessing many unique features, for there is no land of equal size with the same variety of scenery, climate, and natural products, having a fertility of soil that entitled it to the rich figure of being a land flowing with milk and honey, for its flora exceeds three thousand varieties, and there are no less than three hundred and sixty varieties of birds, thirty-seven of fish and one hundred different animals, besides possessing rich mineral deposits, and at the southern extremity a mountain of salt. Whilst Rome was the centre of the empire, Jerusalem and the holy temple was the centre of the earth for all the Jews of the Dispersion in whatever remote country they might dwell, and thither their thoughts and their prayers were directed. At the temple, the altar and sacrifice smoked daily for all Israel in every country, and thither too "devout Jews out of every nation under heaven" came with their offerings of sacrifice, whilst others in distant cities sent their tribute for the temple service, and the half shekel was annually collected for the support of the house of God in

their holy city. Pilate, the procurator, had his residence at the capital city of Cæsarea, on the sea coast and came to Jerusalem as occasion required. The Jews whilst ever groaning beneath the Roman yoke and struggling for deliverance were nevertheless at war with each other, divided into bitter factions, for theirs was "the most fanatical and turbulent province in the world" and whilst tributary to the Romans that same power secured protection, justice and peace for them.

The chief building of Jerusalem was the great Herodian Temple, but whilst it has completely passed away an important Greek inscription that once occupied a prominent place in the wall has been discovered, and there is a sermon in that stone as the words of warning show, and which were read by tens of thousands in the days of our Lord: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death, which will ensue." That marble tablet, now in the Museum of Constantinople, is an interesting relic from the old temple, and likely met the gaze of our Saviour and the apostles; and it is a monument of the exclusiveness of the Jews in the time of Christ, and this very tablet in the partition wall that admitted the Jew and excluded the Gentile may have been in the mind of Paul when writing to the Ephesian Christians he says of Christ Jesus: "For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition *between us*."

NOTE.—The following are some of the works that I have referred to:

The History of Rome, by Mommsen; The Roman Provinces, by Mommsen; The Jewish People in the Time of Christ, by Schürer; The Church in the Roman Empire, by Ramsay; St. Paul the Traveler, by Ramsay; Remains of Ancient Rome, by Middleton; Beginnings of Christianity, by Fisher; The Gentile and the Jew, by Döllinger; History of Rome, by Drury; Pagan and Christian Rome, by Lanciani; Historical Geography of the Holy land, by Adam Smith; History of the Christian Church, by Schaff; History of the Jews, by Graetz; Ancient World and Christianity, by Pressense. Also Lightfoot, Westcott, Edersheim, Mahaffy, Bury, Inge, Granger, &c., &c., and the cotemporary writers.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE WITTENBERG PUBLISHING COMPANY, CINCINNATI.

Sermons for Festival Days. By L. A. Gotwald, D. D., with an Introduction by D. H. Bauslin, D. D. pp. 427. \$1.50.

We are sorry to be so late with this notice. It seems like a work of supererogation to call attention to a volume which in all likelihood has before this writing found its way to the table of almost every one of our readers. Yet the task itself is a grateful one. Not for a long time has a publication found a heartier welcome from us than this volume of Sermons from the pen of one of the most spiritual, popular and edifying preachers within the Lutheran Church.

We hail it as a timely work for our clergy, many of whom have their libraries stocked with Sermons from Methodist, Presbyterian or possibly Unitarian authors, while perhaps they have not a single volume of discourses embodying the doctrines of their own Church. Dr. Gotwald's preaching will serve them as an excellent model, not only in the thoroughly Lutheran quality of its substance, but also in the form and spirit by which it is characterized. His sermons bear the impress of a typical pastor, a true shepherd of souls, a sympathizer with human needs and sorrows, a searcher of the Scriptures, a prophet of the Most High.

They can be sincerely and strongly commended to the people as well as to ministers. They will offer them a palatable and wholesome spiritual diet. We do not know of any book which we would rather see widely circulated and read among our people. Based upon the themes celebrated on the Church Festivals, these sermons are what is wanted in Christian homes with the recurrence of these Festivals. Next to the satisfaction of hearing a good sermon is the privilege of reading one, and such a volume ought to be in every home, in order that those who are denied the hearing of the Gospel on any Sunday may have the spiritual help to be derived from reading such discourses.

This, too, is the kind of literature which we should as good neighbors pass around to those not of us. There still is a vast amount of misapprehension and prejudice regarding what Lutherans believe. Let us hand a warm, practical, spiritual book like this to our brethren in other folds that they may not only learn what a gospel Lutherans preach and what a life they inculcate, but also themselves share the benefit of our scriptural teaching.

It is gratifying to know that a second edition has already been called for.

E. J. W.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Zur Erhaltung des liturgischen Erbtheils und zur Beförderung des liturgischen Studiums in der Americanisch-Lutherischen Kirche, erläutert und mit altkirchlichen Singweisen versehen von Friedrich Lochner, Pastor. 4to. pp. 294.

Liturgische Formuläre für etliche Handlungen und Acte, nebst Gebeten, Collecten und einem Anhang. Zur Aushülfe auf Verlangen dargeboten von Friedrich Lochner, luth. Pastor. Zweite vermehrte Ausgabe. 12mo. pp. 197.

Herr, Ich Warte Auf dein Heil. Andachten in Psalmen, Gebeten und Liedern. Zusammengestellt von A. L. Graebner. pp. 220.

An impression is extant that "Missouri" is not much interested in ritual, and, if we mistake not, a mythical "Missourian" has been quoted in condemnation of the historic Lutheran Service. Any one who has entertained such an opinion concerning the position of "Missouri" is liable to be rudely disillusioned when his eyes fall upon the splendid liturgical manuals whose titles are given above. They are the work of a specialist who for twelve years gave instruction in Liturgics and Church Music in the Springfield (Ill.) Theological Seminary, and who "more than forty years ago was influenced to and guided in liturgical studies by the sainted Löhe and his still surviving friend Hommel."

The surprise of finding a Missouri professor in fullest accord with our "Common Service," while having no connection whatever with its preparation, is heightened by the acknowledgments of his indebtedness to Löhe, with whom "Missouri" waged a long and bitter strife on doctrinal points. It appears that while the latter did not hesitate to charge against the former Romanizing tendencies in the sphere of polity, it thankfully recognizes his invaluable contributions to liturgical science.

The faithful teacher Löhe had in our author a diligent student, who has here furnished us in his "*Hauptgottesdienst*" a very lucid and comprehensive though brief survey of "the origin and structure of the Lutheran Chief Service" with comparative Tables, as well as with an analysis and rationale of "the individual parts" with their musical renderings. It closes with an instructive appendix on Church furniture, the Altar with its cloths, crucifix, candles, vases for flowers, and sacramental vessels, the Pulpit and the Font.

The contents of the "*Liturgische Formulare*" are Forms of Consecration, Ordination, Installation, Baptism, Marriage, Clinical Communion, Dying Bed, Reception of Members, Public Announcement respecting discipline, &c., Forms of Prayer for catechetical instruction, along with a large number and variety of Prayers and Collects, closing with an Appendix of miscellaneous practical directions concerning liturgical names, colors, vestments, &c.

No controversial interest or flavor attaches to these volumes. All the

more weighty is their testimony on such points as the South German "Orders," which departed from Luther and the practices which became more and more regnant, and conformed to the Reformed services of the neighboring lands, Switzerland and France. Brentz who had given the last touches to the "Nürnberger Ordnung" with its richness of Form, presented in his "Württembergischer Ordnung" of 1553 "a Form which could not be balder:" An Introit or Hymn, Sermon, and when no Communion (which was observed but once a month) Hymn, Benediction.

For the place of the *Confiteor*, at the beginning of the service, or after the Sermon, the author presents both sides concluding with the preference for the latter. So also as to the position of the Lord's Prayer, we are reminded that Luther's own two "Orders" vary, as well as the standard "Ordnungen."

The ignorance (Unverstand) which scents Roman Catholicism in liturgical chanting, Pastor Lochner ascribes to "the dominion of Rationalism in Germany and to the reign of Puritanism and Methodism among us," a position which no scholar is likely to contest.

Believing our readers will heartily appreciate it, we transfer at some length what the author says in his "Anhang" to the "*Formulare*" on the Chief Service: "The parts of which according to *them* (the foremost 'Orders' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) the Lutheran Chief-Service everywhere consists, are also found in the Romish Mass; and the order of these parts is almost exactly the same. But what the Lutheran Chief Service has thus in common with the Romish mass is not Romish, not papistical, but is of the *ancient Church*. This service the Lutheran Church does not derive from the Church of Rome, but, just the same as the latter, from *Christian antiquity*. In his pamphlet 'Order of the Divine Service in the congregation' 1523 Luther writes, 'the liturgy which is now everywhere in use, is of *high Christian antiquity*, the same as the office of the ministry. But just as the office of the ministry has been corrupted by the ecclesiastical tyrants, so also has the liturgy been corrupted by the hypocrites. And just as we do not desire to abolish the office of the ministry, but to place it again in its right position, so also it is not our intention to abolish the liturgy, but to establish it again in its right use.' In his introduction to the "Formula Missae" 1523 he writes: 'We never thought of abolishing all liturgy, (aeusserlichen Gottesdienst,) but to purify that which has been in use hitherto but is corrupted by many additions—and to indicate what is the right Christian usage.' In his reformation of the public Divine Service Luther did not proceed radically like the fanatics, but conservatively. In this also he endeavored to hold fast and give efficiency to the connection with the ancient Church. Whatever was of the ancient Church, whatever was pure according to the gospel, whatever could be of service in the administration of the word and sacraments he retained. Whatever was proved to be an addition of later papistical

times, and especially what belonged to the papistical sacrifice of the mass—or even betrayed a savor of it—and might prove a hindrance rather than a help in the administration of word and sacrament was abolished. The Lutheran Chief Service is the purified Mass, the Chief Service of the ancient church. Its parts are, Kyrie, Gloria, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, Creed, Sermon, General Prayer, Psalmody, Preface with Sanctum, Lord's Prayer and Words of institution, Distribution, Thanksgiving, Benediction. These are the parts in Luther's two formulae, and in all the liturgies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as among the later liturgies, in the one of the Missouri Synod, which, as is well known, is taken from the old Saxon liturgies. And, although there are some variations, although some liturgies have the ancient Introits before the Kyrie and others put a German Hymn instead; some,—as for example the Brandenburg 1533—place the Confession before the Introit, and others—as the Saxon orders—put it after the sermon; although in the former the Lord's Prayer follows the words of the institution in the consecration, and in the latter it precedes, it is evident that we have everywhere the same characteristic form which embraces all the above-mentioned chief parts. * * The leading idea of the Chief-Service is and remains the word of grace *in sermon, absolution and sacrament*. Because according to Luther 'the mass (*i. e.* the liturgic service) shall be for the use and application of the gospel and of the administration of the sacrament,' and 'in divine worship among Christians everything must be done for the sake of the Word and the Sacrament,' it appears, on more careful examination, that the Chief-Service in its parts is by no means an accidental conglomerate, but a fine distinction of members constituting a whole process step by step in its progress to the proclamation of the Word, and from this ascending to the Lord's Supper as its goal."

The *Andachten in Psalmen, Gebeten und Liedern* collected by Prof. Graebener is a manual for the Simeons and Annas who are awaiting their redemption and whose eyes have grown weary and dim. Such large and beautiful print we have never before seen, and a richer collection and a better arrangement of Psalms, Hymns and Prayers to be used by the aged in their daily devotions can nowhere be found. Any one who has old or dim visioned German parents may rest assured that he could not bestow on them a more acceptable treasure than this excellent manual of devotion.

E. J. W.

Die Biblische Geschichte des Alten Testaments. Kurze Auslegung der alttestamentlichen Geschichtsbücher. Von G. Stöckhardt, Prof. am Concordia-Seminar zu St. Louis. 8vo. pp. 410.

These brief outlines of Old Testament History have grown from the author's lectures at morning worship in the Concordia Theological Seminary.

In form and content they are models of popular biblical instruction. The author recognizes the organic relations of the several parts to the whole of the Old Testament, he knows how to seize and group the salient features, to exhibit their connection with the whole, to weave into the general presentation essential explanations of individual paragraphs or expressions, and finally to apply all to the reader and to our own times and conditions.

We know of no class of writers more intent than these "Missourians" on making a practical use of the Holy Scriptures, or more mindful of the truth that all of it "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Prof. Stöckhardt understands also the art of making all Scripture exposition conducive to the personal study of Scriptures, a testimony which we cheerfully bear to him as the highest tribute to be given to a Scripture historian or exegete.

E. J. W.

Dr. Martin Luther's Auslegung des Alten Testaments. Fortsetzung. Auslegungen über die Psalmen. Quarto. pp. 2151.

This is volume IV. of the superb revised Stereotype Edition of Dr. Martin Luther's *Sämmtliche Schriften*, our appreciation of which has been repeatedly expressed to our readers. Vol. III. brought the Reformer's Expositions of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms. This volume contains the whole Psalter "deutsch nach Hebräischer Sprache," the exquisite brief "Summaries" or digest of all the Psalms, and Expositions of some fifty of them.

In the Walch edition nearly the whole contents of this volume are in Latin, only the Psalter, the Summaries, and the Exposition of the seven Penitential Psalms being in German. Now the whole of it is in German—Oh that it were in English! the great body of it being an entirely new translation, while small portions of it are revised on the basis of the Latin.

Excepting his imperishable Commentary on Galatians, it is doubtful whether any of Luther's contributions to the Exposition of the Holy Scriptures excel his labors on the Psalms. Their spiritual depths, their evangelical richness, their poetic beauty, their unequalled power as expressions for private and public worship, challenged his profoundest study and drew from his lips and pen many of his most memorable and most edifying utterances.

Delitzsch, himself the foremost modern commentator on the Psalms, says: "In Luther, who began his Academical lectures in 1513 with the Psalms, and who began to publish a portion of them in 1519 under the title *Operationes in duas Psalmorum decades*, there is combined the experimental depth of the Fathers with the Pauline recognition of the doctrine of free grace, the knowledge of which was restored by means of him to the Church." He adds: "In respect of experimental, mys-

tical, and yet healthy knowledge of the meaning of Scripture, *he is incomparable*; his Expositions of the Psalms, especially of the Penitential Psalms and of Psalm 90, are superior to all previous works on the subject, and will always remain a mine of wealth for future laborers."

Fain would we see this entire library of Luther in the hands of all ministers, but where their slender salaries do not admit of this, it is to be hoped that very few will have to deprive themselves of a treasure like the present volume.

E. J. W.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The International Critical Commentary. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark, by the Rev. Ezra P. Gould, S. T. D. pp. 317. \$2.50.

This is the first volume of the *International Critical Commentary* to which we have been able to give a careful examination. Its masterful scholarship is what we expected from Prof. Gould, but its (relatively) conservative character is a happy surprise, and we feel bound to say that if the whole series is pitched on so high a key the work will receive a hearty and a general welcome from students of the sacred oracles.

Some things may, indeed, startle minds bound to traditional theories of inspiration and inerrancy, but we have seen nothing in this volume that is more "liberal" than what is found everywhere in Lange and Meyer. The credibility of the narrative as contemporaneous history is accepted, and on this rests the historicity of the miracles as well as on their veri-similitude. "All kinds of rationalizing" employed to explain away those stupendous works of power, is declared to be "mere talk" in the face of a "concurrence of eye-witnesses," whose testimony leaves no doubt whatever that they recognized in them divine creative acts.

The distinct character of the Commentary reflects the author's judgment of the specific task of the Exegete, namely by the aid of grammatical, philological and historical methods to arrive at the meaning of the original, and we are spared the accumulation of practical and homiletical suggestions and the consideration of ecclesiastical and polemical interests. Uniform consistency is of course nowhere to be expected, and our author is not himself when he treats the institution of the Lord's Supper. With unusual positiveness he insists that the literal meaning of "this is my body" is entirely contrary to linguistic laws and usage, "the literal meaning is impossible to Jesus," &c. And yet later we are told that the meaning of the Eucharist is "a partaking of the Lord, the feeding of our Spirit with the crucified Jesus. That is to say, it is Jesus our life, rather than the externally atoning aspect of his death, that is imparted to us in the sacrament."

Again, while his method is scientific and in general to be commended, it is a pity that notwithstanding his premises he seems at times to forget the sacred character of the themes which claim his attention. His

comment on our Lord's quotation from Isaiah in chap. 7 : 6, "It is this misquoted part which makes the point of the quotation, and it is the misquotation which makes it available," is, it seems to us, a very grave reflection. If it was called for in the interests of truth it should, in our humble judgment, have been followed by some general explanation touching New Testament methods of citing the Old Testament, an extremely difficult and delicate question on which Prof. Gould, we doubt not, could shed considerable light.

The text adopted is neither of the critical texts, the author making choice between the several texts on the strength of the evidence, and giving in special notes the more important various readings of standard critics.

The volume contains, besides the Notes, an Introduction stating the synoptical problem, a discussion of the characteristics of Mark, and an analysis of events ; a statement of the Person and Principles of Jesus in Mark ; a discussion of the Gospels in the second century, a Review of Recent Literature, and a statement of the Sources of the Text.

There is also a Topical Index, a very full one of Greek Words, and one of Notes on Special Subjects.

Each section of the text is introduced with a paraphrase or summary of contents. The whole make-up is that of a thoroughly helpful, instructive critical study of the word, surpassing anything of the kind ever attempted in the English language, and to students and clergymen knowing the proper use of a commentary it will prove an invaluable aid. Its style is so lucid that whatever doubts may remain as to the sense of the original no one will question the meaning of the commentator's language.

E. J. W.

Another volume of this Series, *The Epistle to the Romans*, by the Rev. William Sanday, D. D., LL. D., and the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, B. D., has been received, but our examination of it has not been extended enough to warrant a criticism of it. The notice of the same will appear in our next issue.

Lectures on the Council of Trent. By James Anthony Froude. pp. 294. \$2.00.

A fresh volume from the pen of the brilliant historian may be a surprise to our readers. It is a case of "the man dies but his work goes on." This series of Lectures was delivered by Froude during his brief residence at Oxford as Regius Professor of Modern History in 1892-93. They cover subjects of perennial interest and their consummate style exhibits anew the author's power to make history more fascinating than fiction. Under the magic of his pen the contentions of the Fathers at Trent transfer the reader to the Chamber of the United States Senate, where the debates and the wrangles of hoary statesmen are occupied in the main with personal and partisan interests and where principles are continually sacrificed to politics.

It is refreshing, likewise, to have ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters handled by a competent layman, whose point of view is naturally somewhat different from that of professional theologians and whose phraseology is largely distinct from theirs. An illustration of this is offered in the emphasis which Froude places on the lay character of the Reformation, for before reaching Trent about one-half of the volume is taken up with the great movements that led up to the Council which produced the schism in western Christianity. He represents the contest as "between the moral sense of the laity of all sorts and the pretensions and scandals of ecclesiasticism." The "Centum Gravamina" were printed and circulated through Europe as "the stern voice at last grown articulate of the long-suffering laity." The Diet at Worms, in which a question of religion was submitted to an assembly where clergy and laity sat and judged side by side, "was the first step in the great lay revolt which was impending."

Of course the lay writer will also stumble occasionally when traversing a province for which he was not trained, as for instance when it is stated (twice) that "the Lutherans admitted the Real Presence, but said that it depended on the faith of the receiver."

Froude has a weakness for placing Princes in a favorable light, and accordingly the Emperor Charles V. appears here at times as almost a Lutheran. "He probably suspected the truth" about Luther's seclusion in the Wartburg, "but did not wish to be too well informed." "Like every other noble-minded layman in Germany" he is believed to have approved of the attack upon the indulgences, and "did not wish to press too hard on a man whose only fault was to have denounced them with too much vehemence." "Of all the princes except the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, Charles and Ferdinand were the most consistent from first to last in insisting on the urgency of reform."

Treating a subject the literature of which in the English tongue is all too meagre, these lectures form a striking and valuable elucidation of the most momentous period of modern history, and considering the flabby and feeble attitude which so largely characterizes our nominal Protestantism, they are a most timely reminder of the responsibility for the rent in the body of Christ. The world needs very much to be taught once again how determined the papists were to forbid the Gospel, how in certain cases it was only through the most subtle metaphysical speculations that they succeeded in condemning Luther's teachings as differing from their own. "Yet on such points as these, the Council of Trent thought it wise and right to curse all who expressed the same thing in other language; to split Christendom asunder, teach good and godly men to hate each other, and stain Europe red with blood." E. J. W.

T. AND T. CLARK, EDINBURG.

Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels. By Paton J. Gloag, D. D., Author of a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, etc., etc. pp. 284. \$3.00. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

To one who has traveled through the dreary wilderness of destructive criticism it is refreshing to fall in with a positive critic, who after giving you a luminous survey of all the hypotheses and theories, points you to the well-enclosed fields which contain the hid treasure that yields to men the riches of divine truth.

Candidly admitting that there are "great, perhaps insoluble difficulties connected with their origin," Prof. Gloag is convinced, and so in large measure must be his readers, by all the evidence, external as well as internal, that "the Synoptic Gospels are credible records of the deeds and words of Christ." He rejects "the theories of an Ur-Matthaeus and an Ur-Marcus as not supported by the statements of the Fathers, and in themselves improbable."

While he considers the question concerning the Sources of the Synoptic Gospels in a considerable measure unanswered, and does not settle the problem whether the original Matthew was Hebrew or Greek, he is confident that the genuineness of Matthew's authorship is sufficiently demonstrated by external evidence, which is amply corroborated by the internal. And he holds the same concerning the genuineness of the Gospel of Mark and of that which is ascribed to Luke.

As for the first two chapters of Matthew the author says: "The external testimony in favor of the passage is so strong and convincing, that we do not see how it can be set aside by any objections of a subjective or internal nature," the internal evidence he, in fact, holds to be in favor of its genuineness. On the doxology attached to the Lord's prayer a rapid survey is given of the argument in favor of its omission and that in favor of its retention. It is admitted that the words are rejected "by the vast majority of the critical editions of the New Testament," and "by the most noted commentators," yet it is claimed that "it is not altogether devoid of support."

Concerning Mark 16 : 9-20 Prof. Gloag feels constrained to come to "the conclusion that it is a genuine portion of the Gospel. He confesses to being somewhat audacious in opposing the views of the great critics, "but they had not the data which we now possess in the important testimony of Tatian, and the authority of these great names does not destroy our private judgment or cause us to relinquish our convictions."

We have a feeling of uncommon respect for the scholar who does not bow to the tyranny of fashion and who is so capable, as Dr. G. is, of giving us the grounds for his defiance of reigning opinions. E. J. W.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By Stewart D. F. Salmond, M. A., D. D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. 1895: Price \$5.00 net. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

This fine volume is the outcome of the thirteenth series of the Cunningham Lectures connected with the Free Church of Scotland. The Six Books into which the work is divided correspond generally to the six original Lectures, but present the several parts of the subject with fuller development and more extended discussion.

The ability and scholarly resources of Prof. Salmond have become widely known by his conduct of "The Critical Review," his Commentary on I and II Peter, his editorship of the series of Bible Class Primers, quite a number which are from his own pen, and by his position as one of the editors of *The International Theological Library*, now in process of preparation and publication.

We heartily welcome the work before us which ranges through the very heart of the great eschatological questions which, these late years, have pressed into special prominence. It is the more valuable because it does not undertake to recount the old familiar arguments for the immortality of the soul or deal with the philosophy of the question, but aims to bring out in fair view the witness of the Christian Scriptures. "The words of Christ," says the author, "are to me the highest authority, beyond which I seek no other." Hence, also, the inquiry, as conducted, is not the partial one concerning the immortality of the *soul*, but the larger and comprehensive one of the immortality of *man*, in the totality of his personal life. So it becomes the "Christian" doctrine of immortality. The author's plan, however, wisely views it both in its "preparations" and in its New Testament presentation.

The first two Books treat of the ethnic and the Old Testament preparations. In order to understand clearly the teachings of the New Testament it is necessary that its language be studied in connection with the ideas which had been reached in the earlier dispensation and were prevalent when Christ came to bring "immortalities to light." And as there was a special preparation in Israel, there was also a general one in the Gentile world. The growing light in Israel is properly compared with the thought of pagan peoples on the subject; and thus the Christian doctrine can, in the end, be seen most clearly and discriminatingly on the background of the history of the views before entertained. In tracing the ethnic beliefs Prof. Salmond draws from the latest and best researches of scholarship. He notes the universality of belief in some sort of existence continued after death in the Lower Races, and presents interesting accounts of the special beliefs in the religions of India, Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, Persia, and Ancient Greece. But the pre-Christian contribution to the truth of immortality is found specifically in the Old Testament Scriptures. Our author gives no right to

those who have questioned the teaching of a future life in these. He calls attention to the striking fact that certain ideas, some of them widely prevalent elsewhere, are utterly foreign to the Old Testament, such as *extinction* of existence at death, a *Pantheistic* view of man's future in a loss of personal identity by absorption into abstract deity, *Metempsychosis* or transmigration of souls, so common in the Eastern nations, the dogma of the *Pre-existence of souls* or of their being parts of a universal soul, separating from it and coming into contaminating bodily condition, and the exaggerated conceptions of the *Body* which were congenial to many of the ancient beliefs and philosophies. "The aloofness of the Old Testament from the ways of thinking of a future life, which are familiar to us in other literatures, demands the first attention of the student." Then our author traces the doctrine of *Sheol*, as the gathering-place for all mankind, a gloomy under-world, without joy or attraction. But he shows how from the first the Old Testament faith had elements of promise for the future life, which were purer and greater than those in the ideas of any other people. The fundamental one of these was its doctrine of *God*, in which he was recognized as the one and only true living God, a God of love and grace, entering into personal covenant relations with his people, making himself known to them and holding them as his own forever. A second element was in their doctrine of *man*, his origin, constitution, and destination. The soul was not a child of earth, grown from the ground, but a breath of life from God, with a sacredness standing in the image of God. Man was a free personality, superior to nature, with dominion over creatures, and made for a divine fellowship. Though the Old Testament began with but a dim and fragmentary conception of immortality, it held, in these and other great all-illuminating truths, the forces destined to unfold, from little to more, from obscurity to clearness, until it should kindle unto the radiance of the New Testament revelation. The author's chapter on the contributions of the Poetical Books and of the Prophets and Ecclesiastes, traces this widening and clearing of the view. And he thus sums up the measure of the Old Testament teaching on immortality: "On the one hand, we have found the Pentateuch almost silent on the subject of a future life. We have found the Old Testament, as a whole, pervaded by the conception of a chill, shadowy under-world, like that to which the Babylonian and Greek looked, and did so without hope or satisfaction. We have found the individual and his lot sunk for the most part in the nation and its lot, and we have found no clear or sufficient faith in the existence of a moral order or judicial awards after death. On the other hand, we have found hints of higher things; half-articulate, divine voices breaking the silence even of the Mosaic books; words of sublime suggestion, like those regarding Enoch, which point far behind the documents in which they rest, and far above the common belief. We have found faith asserting its prerogative as the 'substance

of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen,' cleaving to God and the certainty of his fellowship in the heavy present and the dark Beyond, snatching glimpses of a gracious future, negating death, and forecasting life by assuring itself of the communion of the Eternal. And with this we have seen the gradual emergence of a more positive and constant belief, given in the deliverances of the prophets, and rising at last to the hope of a resurrection to life."

One thing we feel compelled to say with respect to this part of Dr. Salmond's discussion, able and valuable as it is, viz., that the progress of the doctrine seems to be treated too much as a natural human insight or attainment, leaving only small and indistinct relation to a source in supernatural revelation. This may have been unintentional, but it is a defect and fault, weakening to the final impression of his Old Testament review. In the rest of the work, beginning with the third Book, the great truth of immortality is brought out under the full illumination of the teaching of Christ and his apostles. Here the presentation is specially strong and instructive. It is pointed out that though Christ's recorded declarations touching the problems of the future world form a comparatively small part of his aggregate teaching, they are incomparably explicit, elevated, far-reaching and comprehensive. They appear not as philosophizings. They stand not as answers to theoretical curiosity, but as practical directions for meeting the responsibilities of life. His teaching grounds itself essentially upon the Old Testament doctrines of God and of man and the divine significance of these. Especially, it moves in the idea of "the kingdom of God," promised in the old Testament and now being established in the New, a kingdom whose essential blessedness is "Eternal life," the final perfection of the whole man. This at once carries the eschatological view on into the great realities of future life, resurrection, judgment and final destiny. Christ's teaching is found fundamentally in what he *was* and *did* as well as in what he formulated in words. The apostolic interpretation, expansion and applications of it are then carefully delineated, not only in general, but in the special representations of the different writers, so as to bring out and complete the view of the New Testament teaching. The examination covers the leading topics in the Last Things, the Intermediate State, the theories of Annihilation, Conditional Immortality, Restoration, and allied doctrines.

The discussion is of great value not only from the breadth of its range and the rich resources of scholarship which it employs, but from the spirit of candor and fairness with which it is conducted. It is specially gratifying to find that though the author is fully familiar with recent historical research and criticism, his conclusions are thoroughly conservative and in harmony with the orthodox faith of the Church. Dr. Salmond's review shows how destitute of positive Scripture authority are the theories of annihilation, conditional immortality, and

future probation. The discussion is vigorous and timely, full of information and quickening suggestion, and will prove very valuable to ministers and students.

M. V.

The Truth of Christianity. By James Ivorach, M. A., D. D.

The Making of Israel, from Joseph to Joshua. By C. Anderson Scott, B. A. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.)

These are two issues of the *Bible-Class Primers*, edited by Prof. Salmond, which can be had at 25 cts. a piece and are unsurpassed as manuals on the subjects of which they treat. We do not know of a more admirable series of religious brochures, and certainly of none so valuable, that can be had at so low a figure.

E. J. W.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Jewish Scriptures. The Books of the Old Testament in the Light of their Origin and History. By Amos Kidder Fiske, author of "Midnight Talks of the Club" and "Beyond the Bourne." pp. 390.

Here we find the "Higher Criticism" not only accepted but enthroned. Its conclusions are given with unquestioning confidence. Faith in the Old Testament as a divine revelation is childish credulity and gross superstition. The author's purpose, as stated in his own words is, "to present the history and literature of the ancient Hebrews, as contained in the Old Testament, in a clear, concise, and candid way, accepting the benefit of the light revealed by modern research and learning, and applying the same calm judgment to which we are accustomed in dealing with the productions of other ancient peoples. * * It has been necessary to sacrifice detail, to forego discussion, to refrain from citations and references, and to be content to accept conclusions as established and to compress their statement as much as practicable, without loss of that clearness and color that are essential to interest."

The reader will find that Mr. Fiske does write in a "clear and concise" way, and, we think, has given the conclusions of the higher critics on the Old Testament Scriptures as satisfactorily and with as well sustained interest throughout as can well be done in the same compass. He will be found, too, "to forego discussion," there being no argument to sustain the most surprising "conclusions;" but he does, here and there, give a hint of an explanation. For example, while speaking of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, under "a specially qualified leader, who was always known as Moses," a name which he concedes "doubtless stands for a real person, though it became the centre of a legend which was woven about it . . . for ages," he shows how easy it was to cross the Red Sea. "The Red Sea," he says, "at that time extended farther north than at present, in a series of shallows and lagoons, and in certain states of wind and tide this projecting arm could be safely crossed on the uncovered sands. A lulling or shifting of the

wind and a turning of the tide would bring back the waters in a surging tumult;" and thus the Israelites crossed and thus the Egyptians, attempting to do the same, were drowned. Grant that there is a God of almighty power presiding over human affairs, which explanation of the crossing requires the greater stretch of faith (or credulity, if preferred), this, or that contained in the Scriptures? The author adds to his explanation this: "Advantage was taken of this situation [at the Red Sea] in a manner that gave rise to one of the most thrilling episodes in the story of the exodus." (p. 22).

The manna in the wilderness was "an edible gum which exuded from certain trees known to the Arabs as Mann-es-Sema, or 'Gift of God.'" (p. 23).

"The column of smoke rising in the serene atmosphere from the central camp, and the torches carried on long poles at the head of the marching column, doubtless gave rise to the legend of the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night." (p. 24).

"Mount Sinai, standing in gloomy solitude in the depths of the wilderness, was the reputed abode of a terrible deity, and a sojourn in its neighborhood was calculated to produce a deep and lasting impression." (p. 24). "Whether tradition had brought down any part of them [the Ten Commandments] through six centuries as utterances of Moses is doubtful. * * The sublime conception of the Deity as the God of all mankind and of the universe was fermenting in the minds of the prophets * * and of the priests * * when they conjured up the terrors of Mount Sinai and made the legendary leader of the exodus the spokesman of the Almighty in proclaiming his decrees to the world," (p. 136).

"The story of Joseph in Egypt was doubtless wrought mainly out of material furnished by Jeroboam, * * and in its main lines it corresponds with the old Egyptian tale of the 'Two Brothers.' The experience with Potiphar's wife is an incident common to several oriental tales while dreams and interpretations thereof were stock material for this kind of folk-love," (p. 236).

"The only absolutely inscrutable thing about it [the story of Jonah] is the intellectual effort and moral earnestness that have been expended upon the theory that it is, or was ever intended to be, a solemn narrative of facts, any more than the story of Giant Grim, or the encounter of Greatheart with Apollyon," (p. 377).

These few extracts will show the color of the book throughout. It is interesting from cover to cover and gives the "conclusions" of the Higher Criticism in a more clear and compact shape than we have elsewhere seen. We may say, too, that it is rather free from the bitter animus which so often mars books of this class. The most marked case in which it appears is in connection with David, who is characterized as a bandit and outlaw while avoiding the enmity of Saul. He casts this reflection on the sincerity of his sorrow when he heard of the death of

Saul and Jonathan: "David's mourning for Saul and Jonathan may have been sincere, but it did not prevent his taking prompt advantage of a situation which he had shrewdly helped to bring about," (p. 79).

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY, NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, CHICAGO

History of Europe. By Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., LL. D. pp. 150. 12mo.

This is one of the *History Primers* edited by J. R. Green. It would be hard to compress in a more satisfactory form the measure of valuable knowledge contained in one of these little primers. They are prepared by specialists and are authoritative compendiums. E. J. W.

R. BARTEL, READING, PA.

Philipp Melanchthon, der treue Freund Luther's. Zum 400. Geburtstagsjubiläum unserm Volk erzählt von F. Wischan, pastor der St. Paulus deutsch luth. Gemeinde in Philadelphia. Mit. 75 Illustrationen und Initialen. pp. 194.

The German readers, who still abound in the Lutheran Church, will heartily welcome this brief, popular and very readable sketch of the "Preceptor Germaniae," the inseparable friend and coadjutor of Luther. It was prepared in anticipation of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Melanchthon, which will be celebrated, no doubt with becoming *eclat*, in the year 1897. In the meanwhile it is to be hoped that this little volume or some other biography equally interesting and more extensive will be provided for English readers. Not to speak of Melanchthon's imperishable labors for the Evangelical Church, the personal history of the first scholar of Europe in an age of scholars, who at a salary of 100 gulden (\$40.00) lectured to from 1500 to 2000 students at the University of Wittenberg when twenty-one years of age, and who long resisted the entreaties of friends to take to himself a wife because of the interference with his studies this would involve, and the sacrifice of his highest pleasure, the personal history of such a man must have strong attractions for intelligent readers.

The numerous portraits of Melanchthon's contemporaries, and illustrations of scenes associated with his name add very much to the interest of a work, whose only defect, so far as our eyes have observed, is its brevity. E. J. W.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Annotations on the Gospel According to St. Mark. By John A. W. Haas, B. D. pp. xxvi., 352.

This is the third volume of the Lutheran Commentary by scholars of the Lutheran Church in America, edited by Dr. Jacobs, the commentary on St. Matthew by Dr. Schaeffer, constituting the first two. The purely exegetical part, embracing 283 pages, is preceded by a preface and an introduction, and followed by an appendix of nearly seventy pages on "When did Christ Eat the Last Supper?"

The aim and scope of the commentary (this on Mark) are explained by the author in the preface as "in part somewhat more scientific and technical than announced in the general plan" without, however, overlooking the practical need.

The introduction is a paper on the Gospel according to Mark, telling of its author, its sources, its characteristic features, its integrity, its purpose and plan, its place and time of composition.

The appendix is a scholarly discussion on the time of eating the Last Supper. This is a good companion paper to the one that appeared in the QUARTERLY of April, 1895, with the title, "On the Day of the Crucifixion of our Lord."

The commentary proper, in large measure, draws its chief explanations of the text and their practical lessons from the Church Fathers, the Reformers, and later writers, notably Starke and Stier. They *explain*, and are exceedingly suggestive of lessons to be drawn as helps to faith and a holy life. Thus, notwithstanding that the practical need was not so much the aim as in Dr. Schaeffer's Matthew, or as contemplated by the general plan of the whole work, we find the words of these holy men, who are quoted, wonderfully full of practical suggestions and lessons. This gives a popular cast to the book, which will make it highly acceptable to the plain reader and religious teacher; and this acceptability will not be a whit diminished, but rather enhanced, by the scientific and critical treatment of the text, with the use of purely technical language, wherever the matter in hand calls for it. The volumes already issued are a promise that the Lutheran Commentary will be one in which the whole Church may justly take no little pride.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK. CRANSTON AND CURTS, CINCINNATI.
Christianity Vindicated by Its Enemies. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D.
pp. 187.

Dr. Dorchester, with a happy and abiding confidence in the cause of Christianity, goes boldly into the camp of its enemies and wrests a vindication for it from what they themselves in their better moods have said in its favor. He makes his argument entirely on the concessions they have made, and presents an array of evidence that ought to silence them as well as convince the doubter and strengthen the faith of the believer. The testimony of friends is gratifying and helpful but the favorable testimony of enemies is more convincing. On this principle, the author has called to the witness stand the strongest and most conspicuous opponents of our holy religion, and taken their voluntary testimony in favor of God and immortality; of the genuine historic basis of Christianity; of its transcendent character as a religious system; of the divinity of Christianity; of some of its vital doctrines; and of its power to satisfy the spiritual necessities of our being. The last chapter, on the power of Christianity, to meet human spiritual need, is

specially strong. Well would it be if every educated young man of our land would read this little book. It will prove an antidote to infidelity and a bracing tonic to faith.

The Shorter Bible Chronologically Arranged. Being the Holy Bible abridged and with its writings synchronized for popular reading. Edited by Lucy Rider Meyer, A. M., M. D., author of "Deaconesses," "Fairy Land of Chemistry," "The Jewish Offerings," "Children's Meetings," etc. With an introduction by Bishop John H. Vincent. pp. 963.

We confess to not a little prejudice on opening this book; for what better Bible, thought we, can any one read than the Bible itself, full text and just as it has come down to us? But the more we have examined it the more has the purpose of the editor commended itself. There is not the faintest semblance of an intention to supplant the precious volume of God's revealed word or to offer a substitute for it; but, on the other hand, the manifest purpose has been, to contribute to a more intelligent study of it and awaken a keener interest in it. This is likely to be the result of the plan pursued, viz., giving as nearly as possible a chronological arrangement to its contents, eliminating repetitions, and divesting it of "those parts which, by reason of the great change of circumstances and the vast lapse of time since its composition, need the assistance of a commentary to be understood." The chronological feature is the conspicuous and most valuable one. This, we think, will be specially appreciated in reading the missionary journeys of St. Paul and the epistles he wrote to the churches he established. These epistles get a much more vivid setting by their chronological insertion in the narrative of the travels and labors of the great apostle to the Gentiles. We commend the book, not to take the place of the Bible but as a help to Bible study.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Casa Braccio. By F. Marion Crawford.

This is the twenty-fifth novel that has come from the pen of Mr. Crawford, and we think it has by common consent been voted his strongest one. The plot is such a tragic one, the scenes are so weird, the action so stirring, the characters so strong and so well sustained, that the result is a novel of unusual power. On account of his profession, a physician finds his way into the convent of Carmelite nuns at Subiaco, southeast from Rome. Here he falls in love with one of the nuns and finally succeeds in persuading her to flee with him. How he succeeded in covering her escape from the convent walls, is thrillingly told. The very conception of it reflects the author's power. We can imagine nothing more thrilling or daring. After their marriage and the death of the nun, the story is woven around their daughter, and it becomes more interesting at each development. If at any time the reader is

tempted to turn from it because of painful or unpleasant situations, he remembers that it has taken an unusual pen to make it so real. The description of the double part that "Gloria" played while living with "Paul Griggs" cannot be described. It is perfect and must be read to be understood. The sending of "Gloria's" letters to "Griggs" was the most awful revenge that even the fertile imagination of Crawford could have conceived. While the novel is bound in two volumes it is in three parts and the third part seems like a relief. It has few situations in it so dreadful as those in the other parts. The interest in this novel must be intense with those who admire it and equally so with even those who disapprove, for it is one of the strongest novels of this period.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON.

The Village Watch-Tower. By Kate Douglas Wiggin.

If any one in the past has been the peer of Mrs. Wiggin as a writer of short stories it will be necessary to watch carefully for his laurels, for she has risen so rapidly that we know of no one now who surpasses her in her chosen line. Six stories are included in this collection, and while each one of them has the imprint of genius, we think that "The Fore Room Rug" is the best. In the portrayal of the New England characters with which this writer deals, she convinces her readers that she thoroughly understands her subjects. If they are indolent or thrifty, economical or prodigal, charitable or fault-finding, lovable or unlovely, they are so picturesque as to make them stand out as real, living beings. While there are many fine touches of pathos, we think that the particular quality to admire in Mrs. Wiggin is her keen wit. If there is in any character anything to ridicule, she never fails to see it, and she puts what she thinks of such characters in most original expressions, as "A man's a great sight likelier to do an unlikely thing than he is a likely one when it comes to marryin'," or "You may have noted the fact that it is a person's virtues as often as his vices that make him difficult to live with." How these bright sayings are illustrated, want of space forbids our telling, but they are well worth the reading. "The Midnight Cry" is the last of the stories in this collection, and perhaps it was written for the ambitious New Woman. It is to be hoped she will not fail to read it. The dedication of this book is remarkable for its highly artistic character.

Mr. Rabbit at Home. By Joel Chandler Harris.

Mr. Harris has long since won the hearts of all youthful readers by his dialect tales. Those who have learned to know, through "Uncle Remus," what to expect from him will be happy to know of this new volume of stories; and those who have read "Little Mr. Thimblefinger and His Queer Country" will certainly want to read its sequel in "Mr. Rabbit at Home." In all ages children have been captivated by the imaginary and fanciful in story, and ever since the poets of ancient Greece

and Rome contributed to the desire for what was unreal and visionary, writers in every land have added to this class of literature. During the present period no one has made richer contributions to it than Joel Chandler Harris. He has aimed not only to fascinate, but to amuse, and he has admirably succeeded. Br'er Rabbit has driven the clouds from many a childish face and brought sunshine into many a youthful heart. This new volume of stories has much in it that is very beautiful; many allusions to Nature and to character that are elevating to childhood. If the individual who has the power to brighten the lives of children is one to be envied then surely Mr. Harris is an object of envy, for we know of no American who has so perfectly suited their taste as he has.

PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS.

As the Olympic Games are to be revived at Athens during the present month the *Century* will take note of the event by an article to be written later by the leader in the movement. In the meantime Prof. Marquand of Princeton has furnished for the April number of this magazine a preliminary article with rare drawings by Castaigne. Mrs. Ward's Sir George Tressady has a generous instalment which includes an English house-party. Prof. Sloane's History of Napoleon sets before the reader "Napoleon the Assailant of Nationality." A paper in this number likely to attract considerable attention is one on "Four Lincoln Conspiracies." Mr. Gilbert Parker's story "The Little Bell of Honor" is a strikingly dramatic one. Those interested in the development of church architecture will be interested in Mrs. Van Rensselaer's paper on "The Churches of Périgueux and Angoulême." The editorial department for April returns to the question of Permanent Arbitration. It is a very superior number.

The Atlantic Monthly for April opens with four chapters of a new serial by Henry James. A most opportune paper on "China and the Western World" is contributed by Lafcadio Hearn. The delightful flavor of the article on "Old Time Sugar Making" will be greatly appreciated by those who have lived, as we have done, where the sugar maple grows. Octave Thanet's story, "A Son of the Revolution" in this number is unusually bright. The third paper of "Some Memories of Hawthorne," "The Scotch Element in the American People," "The Alaska Boundary Line," "The Care of the Public Schools," "An Archer's Sojourn in the Okefinokee" and "Latter-Day Cranford" are all strong papers. It is indeed a number of unusual strength.

St. Nicholas! What a promise of good things the very name suggests and surely there is no disappointment in the April number. The young folks are treated here as are their elders in *The Century* to a paper on "The Olympian Games" and it is also illustrated by Castaigne. Tudor Jenks has prepared for this number a well illustrated article on that always attractive subject "Flying Machines." There is an array

of captivating stories, "Teddy and Carrots," "Lieutenant Harry," "Mardie's Experience," "The Prize Cup," "Sindbad, Smith & Co.," "How the Whale Looked Pleasant," "Stalled at Bear Run," and "The Swordmaker's Son." And then such poems, letters, pictures and puzzles, all making the "old folks" say "Oh, well, we didn't have such things in our day." But where, oh, where is dear "Jack in the Pulpit?"

Table Talk for April is so full of helpful hints and recipes that it seems a pity any housekeeper, perplexed with the solution of what she and her family shall eat and drink, should be without it, for this magazine always gives the menus for every meal in the month. In this number are discussed the latest "Fancies in Table Linen," "A Breakfast Toast," "Nursery Emergencies," "The New Bill of Fare," "The Course Dinner," some novel and most acceptable methods of entertainment, "Books, Old and New" and "The Proper Methods of Boiling Meats and Fish." It is an admirable number and we commend it to all housekeepers assured that it will greatly assist in making their duties more pleasant.

Vick's Floral Guide for 1896 is fuller than ever of attractions for the grower of flowers, vegetables and fruits. It is full of illustrations of the choicest things that the horticulturist might seek, and we can testify that the illustrations are not exaggerated, but that the seeds advertised in this *Guide* produce just such results. And then they are so reasonable in price and so generous in quantity. Each year James Vick's Sons, Rochester, N. Y., offer some specialty and this year they have particularly choice sweet peas and asters to tempt the lover of flowers, and who does not love them better for growing them. Nowhere can better seeds and bulbs be obtained than from this house.

Synodal Bericht, (Nebraska Districts) of the German Evan. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States, A. D. 1895.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The following books on our table will be reviewed in a future issue :

The Brotherhood of Mankind. A Study towards a Christian Philosophy of History. By Rev. John Howard Crawford, M. A. Published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. pp. 379. Price \$2.00.

The Agnostic Gospel: A Review of Huxley on the Bible; with Related Essays. By Henry Webster Parker. John B. Alden Publisher.

Regeneration. A Reply to Max Nordau. With Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Luther League Hymnal. Luther League Review, 96 Fulton St., New York.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JULY, 1896.

ARTICLE I.

THE LITURGICAL QUESTION.

LECTURE ON THE BAUGHER FOUNDATION, DELIVERED JUNE, 1896, IN THE
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

BY JOSEPH A. SEISS, D. D., LL. D.

As there is a God, the Father Almighty, from whom all things proceed, and on whom all creatures depend, we stand greatly obligated to him. As his offspring and workmanship, we owe him perfect obedience. As recipients of his innumerable gifts and mercies, we owe him love, gratitude, and continual thanks. And as sinful beings, we owe him amends and adequate expiation. These are matters inherent to our existence.

Our blessed Saviour has, indeed, met and completely discharged, in his own person, all indebtedness due to God from fallen man, so that we now need only accept and appropriate his mediatorial work as proposed in the Gospel, in order to stand justified and free from the penalty of the law. Nevertheless, our faith and gratitude still obligate us to conform to his teachings, example, and commands, and to make visible showing of our appreciation and dutifulness.

In general, this embraces the whole Christian life; but, in a narrower and more special sense, it involves the rendering of certain formal expressions and exhibits of loyalty and devotion, which we call *worship*.

In its proper Christian acceptation, worship means the doing of certain things, at certain times, in a certain order, by certain persons, for the special honor and glory of God. It implies a Ritual, Cult, or Liturgy, made out and determined in whole or in part beforehand, or in whole or in part extemporized; for it is inconceivable how worship can be rendered without some form, rule or order according to which it is done. As there can be no faith without a creed, so there can be no worship without a form of some kind. If different actions are included, it must be understood what they are to be, and which of them are to precede, and which to follow; for they cannot all go on at the same time. If there is to be reading of the word, some one must be designated to do the reading, and the place where it is to come in must be determined, if it is to have place. If there is singing, it must be by the use of some previously composed Psalm or hymn, and tune. If there is to be united prayer, it must be offered by some one assigned to offer it, and what he utters necessarily becomes a set form to all the rest; "for though we suppose the minister to pray extempore, and to vary the form and phrase every time he prays: yet, to make it a common prayer to the congregation, it will be a form to them in spite of all contradiction." And if sacraments are to be observed, some one must administer them, for they cannot administer themselves; nor can they be administered except according to some form or method improvised or predetermined. All these things are embraced in Christian Worship, and such regulations and rendering of them constitute a Ritual—a Liturgy.

Many think of the Liturgy simply as a lot of prayers printed in a book. But the book is not the liturgy proper, though it may record the particulars which make up the liturgy. The real liturgy is the service as arranged and rendered, whether according to a book, or extemporaneously directed; just as the real Church is the living congregation, and not the building in which it assembles. Bingham has well said: "It is impossible there should be any public worship of a congregation, as a congregation, joining in common prayer to God, without having a common form dictated in some way or other for all to join in;"

and the way people render their worship is their liturgy, book or no book. Their worship may be according to custom, pre-arrangement, or capricious haphazard; but if they worship at all, they must do it after some fashion, order, disorder, or way of managing their doing. And that doing is their liturgy.

And the manner or plan of rendering sacred worship, is of much more serious moment than many suppose. Because "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" and because true religion has its seat in the soul; some are led to regard external observances, rites and ceremonies as matters of indifference, to be omitted or arranged as fashion, feeling, or caprice may dictate. But liturgies do not belong to the department of human esthetics. True religion is indeed spiritual; but we cannot know spirit without embodiment in some form. Nor is the kingdom of God a mere internal sentiment, or a mere hidden leaven working on human life apart from all external means and activities. To have known place and influence in the world, its reality must be outwardly manifested, as it is in a range of doings called *worship*, and which in their very doing make a liturgy.

A liturgy, moreover, is a matter of such grave importance, that it does not rest with man to determine its order and contents. God must speak; for only he can say what sort of worship is acceptable to him. The Church has liberty and charge to adapt details to times and circumstances; for it is not essential to Christianity that human regulations, and ceremonies which God has not ordained, should be everywhere alike. But the principles and essential constituents of divine worship, must needs have a "Thus saith the Lord," to be legitimate, and to assure us that God accepts it. Every religion has its own fixed cult, which is part of its very being; and the same is true of revealed religion. If there be no divine authority for its cultus, it is not divine, and nothing can make it so, or assure us that what we do is approved of God. The faith and the ritual must be divine, if the religion is.

But in these matters God has abundantly spoken, and amply indicated his will and pleasure. What forms of converse and

communion with the Lord obtained in the Garden of Eden, we are not told. That a certain divine order did obtain, is justly inferred. That Adam and Eve were very happy in its observance, is also clear. And when there came aversion and shrinking from the timely meeting of God in these forms, it argued ill, and judgment was at hand.

After the fall, another order was instituted. It was a sacrificial order, specific in its requirements, and to be strictly observed by all. Cain ventured upon some rationalistic and self-chosen variations from it, and the result was that God rejected him and his devotions. Once for all, it was there taught, that the manner of rendering acceptable worship is not left to the taste, fancy, or choice of the worshipper, but must be ordered according to God's appointment.

There are intimations in the sacred writings, that there was a regular Church before the time of Moses, even from the very beginning. We speak of the patriarchal dispensation; and a dispensation means a divine order, regulating the relations and duties of man toward God, directing him how to come before the Lord, and prescribing the sacred services for obtaining and retaining the divine favor and blessing. It was no part of the legation of Moses to record a full and detailed description of the Patriarchal economy, or its cultus; but there are numerous detached incidents and allusions, in his and other sacred writings, which point out and imply the existence of a Patriarchal Church and cultus, indicating *places* set apart for holy worship, *persons* who were to perform the rites of that worship, *forms* of consecration and blessing, *times* for sacred observances, *preachers* and *preaching* of doctrines and duties, *belief* and *hope* in a Messiah to come, and the offering of bloody sacrifices for the cancelling of sin; all of which evidences a regular code, traceable also in some sort in nearly all the ethnic world. Nor can we fairly construe what relates to Noah, Melchizedek, Job, Jethro, Balaam; and especially Abraham's offering of the heifer, the goat, the ram, the turtle-dove, and the pigeon, with so much care and circumspection; without feeling assured that ample directions on these and other points were vouchsafed to what we may call the

Patriarchal Church. In other words, we have in these incidental references, when duly collected, the leading elements of a complete Ritual, so harmonious, so universal, so sacredly held, and so like what was afterward enjoined in the Mosaic laws, that we cannot otherwise than regard it as the primal institute of God himself for the regulation of his worship among fallen men. And very strange it would be, that all the rest of the peoples of the earth should have their priests and set forms and modes of worship, and only the worshippers of the true God be without them.

But since the time of Moses, and the organization of the children of Israel into a nation consecrated unto the Lord, the divine appointment and authorization of an elaborate, extended and detailed Ritual is no longer a matter of inference. For three thousand years it has stood written in the sacred books; and there it may be seen and read of all men, along with the contemporary history of its delivery. And as God never repeals the essential substance of what he has once ordained, the groundwork of the Hebrew ritual was the same that had obtained from the beginning. The center and all-conditioning principle of both was the sacrificial element—the slaying of a substituted victim, and the offering and acceptance of its life-blood as a covering and satisfaction for the sins of the worshipper.

The Passover with its slain lamb, and the numerous propitiatory sacrifices prescribed in the Levitical code, correspond in substance with Abel's offering of "the firstlings of his flock,"—with Noah's "burnt offering" of "every clean beast and every clean fowl,"—with the "burnt offerings" of Job,—and with the sacrifices connected with the giving of the covenant to Abraham. The Patriarchs had their "altars" everywhere, and they were the forerunners of those ordained through Moses. And as in the former times, so under the Levitical order, only more fully defined and recorded, we have the like designations of sacred places, sacred seasons, sacred persons, and sacred things, with divine directions for all sorts of occasions, offices, and duties, down even to dietetics, "divers washings, and carnal ordinances;" all ordained of God, and "imposed until the time of reforma-

tion" by the Christ. And so imperative was the observance of these sacred appointments and prescriptions, that wilful variance from them, even in seemingly unimportant particulars, was miraculously punished by the hand of God; as may be seen in the case of Nadab and Abihu, Korah, Dothan, Abiram, and Uzzah.

These divine prescriptions and provisions were further elaborated and carried into effect by men raised up of God for special service to his Church and people. By impulse of the Holy Ghost, David appointed the Levites to stand every morning and every evening to thank and praise the Lord with prayers and holy song, and supplied them with a *repertoire* of sacred compositions unapproached to this day in the literature of the world. In the building of the temple, arranged according to a model from heaven, Solomon furnished new impulse, and ampler accommodations and materials, for the rendering of the holy services. After the long captivity in Babylon, Ezra, that heaven-guided man, restored the ancient worship, and contributed much to the purification and enrichment of the Hebrew ritual, which continued to be observed with increased strictness, in the temple, the synagogues, and the homes of the Jews, down to the time of Christ. And during the years that Jesus was on earth, the sacred calendar of feasts, fasts, sabbaths, new moons, and the various Jewish services, national, congregational, domestic, annual, and daily, was in full practical force.

Abundant also is the testimony, from the Scriptures and other ancient records, as well as from the prayer-books still in use by the orthodox Jews, that the worship of the time, as it still is, was conducted almost exclusively according to set forms, and that the Old Testament Church was out and out a liturgical Church, made so by the commands and ordinances of God himself. No one acquainted with the facts can for a moment doubt or question this.

To enter into a full account of the Jewish liturgy in the time of Christ, would carry us too far beyond present limits. Suffice it to say, that, both in the temple and in the synagogues, the regular services, with the prayers, lessons, Psalms, &c., were all definitely fixed. In the outer court of the temple, people might

pray as they felt, as in the case of the Pharisee and the Publican, of whom we read; but for the regular services, everything was according to prescribed forms.

In the morning and evening sacrifices at the temple, every act of the priests had to be accompanied with the saying of set prayers or benedictions. The *Shema*, a sort of confession of faith, taken from Deut. 6 : 4-9; 11 : 13-21; Numb. 15 : 37-41; had to be recited, and generally the ten commandments also. Then the particular Psalm or Psalms set for the day had to be chanted or sung. And while the incense was being offered in the holy place, a succession of prescribed prayers, the most noted in the Hebrew liturgy, had to be recited, some of which date back to Ezra's time, and others to periods much earlier in the history of Israel.

These Psalms and prayers were somewhat varied in the celebration of the great festivals, which had their own particular liturgical forms, but the morning and evening services were never interrupted or entirely superseded.

The services in the synagogues, with the exception of the sacrifices and the necessary presence of the priests, largely followed those of the temple. They consisted of prayers, reading of the Scriptures, and preaching upon the scriptural lessons; but all the prayers and lessons were prescribed, embracing in large measure the same as set for the temple services. The most solemn and necessary prayers for use in the synagogues were the *Shemoneh Eshreh*, that is the *eighteen prayers*. The arrangement of these is referred to Ezra and the great synagogue; some of them having no doubt descended from a much more remote antiquity.

To these liturgical formulas, it was common to add some special prayers taught by celebrated Rabbis. So Rabbi Gamaliel, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, added a nineteenth to the old eighteen, intended to be used against Christians. So it would seem that John the Baptist gave a form of prayer for the use of his followers along with the old set forms. And after the same manner the Saviour gave to his disciples our common Lord's prayer, not as their only Prayer, but for use

along with such others as they were accustomed to use, or the Holy Spirit dictated, or the situation required. The modern services of the rigid Jewish religionists are ritualistic in the extreme; yet Dr. Edersheim, himself a converted Jew, says, that "by far the greater number of the usages observed in our own days are precisely the same as 1800 years ago."

It was in connection with the practical observance of these forms and regulations, that Christ and his apostles were brought up, and from which he never separated. The heartless and ostentatious manner in which many went through with these observances, he criticised and severely denounced; but never a word did he utter against the authorized ritual itself. The temple, with all its appointments, however misused by some, was still to him "the house of God," and the services of the synagogue he habitually attended and took part in, even to the last (Luke 4 : 15). The set lessons, the prescribed prayers, the fixed order in the use of the Psalms, and the whole arrangement of the worship, he therefore acquiesced in as proper and right. As a member of the Church of the time, he had to know by heart, at least a selection from the eighteen prayers, and to recite them with the congregation in the synagogue once a week, and two or three times every day; for this was the law for every adult of either sex. (Compare Ps. 55 : 17; Dan. 6 : 10, 13). And had it been contrary to the will of God for his servants to use set liturgical forms in worship, we may be sure he would have protested against them as against the many corruptions into which the Jews had glided, and that he would by no means have joined in them as he did. Nay, so far from finding fault with set forms of prayer, he himself prescribed one for his disciples, after the same manner as did John and some of the noted Rabbis (Matt. 6 : 9-13; Luke 11 : 1-4). He also sang hymns or Psalms with his disciples (Matt. 26 : 30; Mark 14 : 26), which certainly were precomposed forms prescribed in the Jewish ritual; while in some of his personal addresses to the Father, under circumstances altogether unique, he did not disdain to utter himself in language from the Psalms.

Liturgical forms thus have the unequivocal sanction of his holy example.

Some fancy that all ceremonial worship, whatever its authority worth and virtue under former dispensations, has been done away by the Gospel. Of course, important changes have been wrought by the "reformation" under Christ; but *re-formation* is not total abrogation. The truth is, that the Christian Church is the continuation of the Church that preceded it, only with enlarged life, privileges and powers. The Israelites had the Gospel preached to them as really as it has been preached to us (Heb. 4 : 2). Patriarchism was the embryo, and Judaism the chrysalis and cradle of Christianity. They each belong to the one divine economy of human redemption. The latter is simply a graft on the root and stock of the former (Rom. 11 : 18). Everything under the Mosaic code had reference to what was to be under Christ, and, in a way accommodated to the times, embodied all the elements of genuine Christianity. The sacrifices, the priests, the temple, the altars, the feasts, the fasts, the synagogues, and the appointed rites and ceremonies,—all have their counterparts in the Christian system. The great characteristic under all preceding dispensations was the offering of sacrifice as the propitiation for sin; and the all-conditioning centre and substance of Christianity is, that "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." The moral law, and all the principles of worship, are the same now that they have always been. The first Christians were at the same time members of the Jewish Church, and only by degrees emerged into an independent establishment. They had no scriptures but the Old Testament, no organized worship apart from that of the temple and the synagogue. The same old liturgical forms and prayers used by the Jews, with a few special orders added by Christ, they employed. And when cast out of the synagogues, and refused entrance into the temple, they continued for long time the habits and forms to which they had always been accustomed, and carried the same in large measure into their Christian worship. Even the differences which gradually developed, as the Christian Church came into

separate and independent existence, were neither so great nor so radical as to obliterate what had been carried over from the old forms. In the very nature of the case, the new dispensation had to grow out of the old, retaining much of what had preceded, only adapted to the special ordinances of Christ, and the new conditions after the Jews pronounced against Christians as apostates and heretics. And even the Christian sacraments, those distinctive New Testament institutions, were framed, to a large extent, out of preceding sacramental observances, and embodied for Christians the essential substance of what they finally displaced and superseded, as may readily be shown.

It is the favorite theory of a certain class of religionists, that the first Christians had no liturgical forms; and they allege in proof of this that the New Testament says nothing about them. It is difficult to understand how intelligent men can bring themselves to put forth such unfounded assumptions. The Christian Church was born with as full liturgical equipment as in any of the ages since, and was formed and taught by inspired men of God, whose office it was to direct by example and precept just what and how things were to be ordered and done in its holy assemblies. And what they taught and enjoined in these matters was already so deeply imbedded in the life of the Church, and in the minds and hearts of all its members, that there was little need to refer to it in their subsequent writings,

It must be remembered, that Christian congregations were in existence, and celebrating their weekly worship and sacramental observances, ten years before a line of the present books of the New Testament was written, and more than sixty years before the last of those books was completed; so that the Christian Liturgy was long before the Christian Scriptures. Most of these writings were themselves addressed to established churches in the full exercise of whatever entered into their Christianity. These churches the apostles formed, taught, and started in all that belongs to Christian life and duty, as Christ commanded them and the Holy Ghost led them. Their assemblies had to be organized and set in order for the purposes of holy worship, which had either to be dictated by the apostles, or carried on by them

after the manner in which the people had always been accustomed in the synagogues. But whether dictated by the founders of these churches, or carried over from the old manner of conducting worship, or partly from both, there had to be some sort of authorized and approved apostolic order and way of doing, which had become well understood and in full force for many years before the present books of the New Testament appeared. And whether these apostolic churches were taught to follow certain set forms in their worship, or not; the matter was altogether so fully settled and practically established, that the detailed rehearsal of these forms in these writings had become unnecessary and superfluous.

Nor would the absence from the New Testament of formal account of the institution of set forms prove that they did not exist, or were not used.

There is plenty of apostolic, patristic, and secular testimony, that the primitive churches all over the world, for hundreds of years, regularly celebrated the *Agapæ*, or *feasts of love*; yet there is not one word in the New Testament to tell us when, or by whom, this observance was instituted.

There was a ceremony or rite in the primitive churches, called *baptizing for the dead*. Just what it was, we do not know. But, in Paul's time, it was so general and well understood, that he cites it as a confirmation of the doctrine of the resurrection, (1 Cor. 15 : 29). And yet, there is not a word said about its origin or authority in the New Testament canon.

The first Christians, observed *Sunday*, "the first day of the week," for their religious assemblies and services (Acts 20 : 7 ; 1 Cor. 16 : 2). Beyond doubt this was an apostolic order and appointment, evidencing something of a Christian calendar in apostolic times ; but there is nowhere anything said in the New Testament as to when, where, or how, it was introduced and established.

We are certified in the Gospels that the Lord Jesus dictated a form of prayer for his disciples, and said unto them, "*when ye pray, say, Our Father,*" &c. We cannot suppose the apostles so indifferent to a prescription and command of the Master, as not

to use this prayer themselves, or to fail in teaching it to all their converts. And yet we find no trace of its use in the book of Acts, in the apostolic Epistles, or anywhere in the canon of Scripture.

And if these things could be, without more being said about them in the Scriptures, so the non-mention of liturgical formulas is no evidence of their non-existence, or non-use. The silence concerning liturgical forms has an ample explanation which will be given later on.

Furthermore, if argument from the silence of the Scriptures is to avail, we may safely challenge the citation of any passage of Scripture which appoints, directs or requires the use of extempore prayer in the celebration of united Christian worship. There is as much occasion, and more, to demand the authority for the extempore rendering of the Church's public services, as for the rendering of them according to set formulas; and if silence is sufficient to rule out the one, it must needs rule out the other also.

But even apart from any scriptural references to a fixed Christian ritual, the strong presumption, from the nature of the case, and from the established methods when, and where, and whence, the Christian Church came into being, is, that the apostles and primitive Christians never celebrated their joint worship in any other way than by predetermined and set forms. The difference between such a fixed order, and mere extemporized proceedings and doings, is so very great, that if the joint services originally were purely extemporaneous, it is inconceivable that it should have been so soon exchanged for set forms by every church in the whole Christian world.

But no such an unaccountable transition ever occurred. What determined the universal use of the prescribed liturgy in the later churches was, the practice and teachings of the apostles in the original churches, concerning which the New Testament is not such a blank as some would have it. It is easy enough to show, from the gospels and epistles, that the principles, and all the chief elements, of a full Christian liturgy were constituted, appointed, and ordained by Christ himself, obligating his apos-

tles, whom he commissioned, and all his followers in all ages, to observe and conform to them.

To bring about the organization of a community, bound together under one supreme head, by a common faith, for the same holy purposes, was the great business of Christ's life upon earth (Matt. 16 : 18). He meant that the members of it should habitually meet together for joint worship and mutual edification (Matt. 18 : 20 ; Heb. 10 : 25). He appointed the chief officers, endowed with the Holy Ghost, in his name to gather, instruct and set in order these assemblies, according to his directions, fully given before he left the world (Eph. 4 : 11, 12 ; Acts 1 : 3 ; Matt. 28 : 18-20). All this implied, and to some extent embodied, certain unalterable liturgical provisions and regulations.

He likewise appointed a special and perpetual sacrament of initiation into his Church, in which he ordained the use of a certain ceremonial in connection with the use of a certain formula of words (Matt. 28 : 18-20); so that there can be neither church nor proper church membership without this ordinance, administered according to the liturgical prescription he has set for it.

Christ also ordained a special prayer, the words of which he dictated, not only as a directory after which to fashion our prayers, but as a set formula to be used by all Christians. His unequivocal command is, "When ye pray *say*, our Father," &c. So also all the early Christian writers who speak of it, understood him, and affirm that this prayer was in common use in all the churches *by command of the Lord*. Tertullian calls it "the prayer appointed by law, ordained by our Saviour." Cyprian says, "Christ himself gave us a form of prayer, and commanded us to use it," so that "we speak to the Father in the Son's words." St. Augustine informs us that, in his time, "it was said at God's altar every day ;" and adds, "we cannot be God's children unless we use it." It is also quite improbable that any Christians, in their public worship, should have omitted a prayer, worded for them by their Lord as a mark of their discipleship ; while the prayer itself, in all its petitions, runs in the plural number as specially designed for the joint use of an assembly.

From three of the Evangelists, and from the epistles of St.

Paul, it is also abundantly clear, that our Lord ordained the sacrament of the holy eucharist (Matt. 26 : 26–28 ; Mark 16 : 22–24 ; Luke 22 : 19 and 20 ; 1 Cor. 11 : 23–27). In this he gave a special and set form of divine service with command to “*do this*,” “often,” and continuously, “till he come.” The observance of this ordinance is the one most distinctive service of Christianity,—“the great central act of Christian worship.” Weekly, or even daily, it was observed by the Church from the very beginning (Acts 2 : 42 ; 1 Cor. 10 : 16 ; 11 : 20, &c.) Its ancient and most general name was *the eucharist*—the thanksgiving—the blessing—as being preëminently the characteristic and main thing in the worship of Christians. And nothing that the Saviour ever appointed was more emphasized by him, or set out with more repetition and particularity of wording and direction, than this, which contains in itself a divinely prescribed liturgical formula for the highest service in the Christian Church.

And when we come to the study of the sacred epistles, written from fifteen to twenty and more years after Christ, we find there, in practical and living fact, all that he instituted, commanded, and authorized, as reported in the gospels. We find there the Church he loved and purchased with his blood, with all its appointed machinery at work to “sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.” We find there all its commissioned officers and agents in place, doing duty, “some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” We find there references to a formula of the faith once delivered unto the saints, “the form of sound words,” to be firmly embraced and held fast,—baptism as Christ ordained it,—assemblies for worship to be conducted “decently and in order,”—the ever recurring celebration of the Holy Supper, emphasized as the crowning ordinance of Christianity, demanding great circumspection for its right observance. And there also we find the life of the baptized summed up in this, that “they continued steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine, and in *the fellowship*, and in *the breaking of bread*, and in *the prayers*” (Acts 2 : 42).

Here was organization, order, settled regulations, worship, well known particular prayers, and a complete economy in living operation, with all the elements that enter into a comprehensive and rubricated ritual.

It is also very significant in this connection, that the apostles, in their writings, frequently refer their readers back to certain oral instructions and directions given, and examples set, exhorting and charging their converts to hold fast, keep in mind, follow and imitate the same with special care, avoiding as disorderly and unfit for their fellowship, every one who did not walk according to these traditions (1 Cor. 11 : 2 ; 1 Thess. 2 : 13 ; 4 : 2 ; 2 Thess. 2 : 15 ; 3 : 16 ; 1 Tim. 1 : 13 ; 2 : 1, 2).

Protestant Christians are suspicious and chary of traditions, and rightly so ; for great spoliations of God's truth and the souls of men have more than once come from traditions as well as from philosophy falsely so called. But there are traditions and traditions ; and the religion of most people is more a matter of tradition than of conviction from personal searching of the written word ; and primitive Christianity, for decades, lived, moved, and had its being from tradition. And even long after the Christian facts and teachings began to be recorded, the apostles themselves continued to refer their converts to these traditional instructions as more complete and definite than what was written, and quite as divinely authoritative (1 Cor. 15 : 1-3 ; 2 Tim. 1 : 13 ; Jude 3).

Necessarily, these traditions included not only formal statements of doctrine and faith, but also the established orders of worship, rites, and ceremonies ; for there had been nothing else for congregations to go by. It was only after it became necessary to discriminate between true and false tradition, that the New Testament canon was determined, and all tradition contrary thereto disallowed and rejected. And the great importance which the apostles in their writings attached to these preceding traditional teachings, shows, that there was very much more authoritative direction, instruction and regulation given to the early churches than appears in the written Scriptures.

In first Corinthians (chaps. 10 and 11) the apostle refers to the

holy communion in such liturgical terminology that his readers could not have understood him, if they had not been familiar with that sacrament, and the manner of its observance ; and his sharp censure of the abuses which had crept in in connection with the *Agapæ*, shows how much the apostles were concerned for the proper rendering of the Christian services, and how they sought to have a certain approved ideal followed and maintained. And Paul's interference to have everything in proper order in the church of Corinth, furnishes apostolic testimony that we are no more at liberty as Christians to fashion our worship according to our own fancy or pleasure, than to believe and live as we please and not hurt or damage our standing before God.

Under the old economy, much use was made of the *amen*, the *hallelujah*, the *hosanna*, &c. These constituted a part of the ancient liturgy. They were prescribed for the temple, and for the synagogue. And we find the same referred to as parts of Christian worship (1 Cor. 14 : 16 ; Rev. 19 : 6 ; Matt. 21 : 9). They are all liturgical words, named only in connection with acts of worship ; and they argue set formulas for the rendering of that worship.

The New Testament likewise contains salutations, ascriptions, benedictions, and prayers, often in such connection with holy offices that they go far to confirm the familiar use of set forms, some of them being themselves liturgical formulas.

It likewise appears that the apostles sanctioned and enjoined *singing*, as part of Christian worship (Jas. 5 : 13 ; Eph. 5 : 19 ; Col. 3 : 16). But there could be no joint exercise of this sort without set forms prepared and learned beforehand. Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs cannot be extemporized.

All this would seem to demonstrate, that the approved services of the first churches were in no sense or degree haphazard ; but were regulated by order and rule, with forms and offices prescribed by Christ or his inspired apostles ; and that they had and used what we may call a very complete, well defined, and well understood liturgy, as divine in its elements and provisions as the faith they confessed.

A recent writer on "Ancient Christianity" urges what he calls

“the profound silence, both of friends and enemies, in the early ages of the Church, respecting liturgies and forms of prayer,” as valid proof that no such thing as “liturgical worship” had place in the primitive churches. What has been given above, shows how utterly false is the assumption of such a “profound silence.” It is never safe to argue from omissions or silence ; and did the New Testament contain much less on the subject of set forms and liturgical prescriptions than it does, we would not be warranted in concluding that none existed. This is sufficiently evident from what has just been said of the institution of the *Agapæ*, baptizing for the dead, Sunday, and the actual use of the form of prayer Christ ordered to be *said* by his followers in their devotions.

The literary remains of the early fathers and their contemporaries are indeed somewhat meagre and scanty in descriptions of the services of Christians in their day ; but the silence is far from being so “profound” as some would have it. And whatever of reticence or silence on the subject may characterize the writings of that age, so fragmentary at best, there is an underlying explanation, which is amply satisfactory, over against the inference some would draw from it.

The first Christian centuries were centuries of persecution, inducing Christians to hold their assemblies and services in a manner as retired and unobserved as possible. They were centuries of heathen domination ; and as Christ admonished his disciples not to cast their pearls before swine, nor give that which is holy to dogs, they scrupulously guarded these sacred mysteries from the knowledge of the profane and unbelieving. The chief and highest of all their services was the observance of the holy eucharist, as Christ commanded ; and they were strict never to celebrate it in the presence of any but those prepared and entitled to participate. The original disciples were alone with Christ when he gave them this sacrament, and it was in like seclusion from the common world that they, and their successors, observed it, and had it observed by their converts. Outsiders, children, and even the catechumens, were rigidly excluded, when

it came to the celebration of the holy communion ; while it was expected, as a matter of duty, from all admitted to the fellowship of the Church, that they should observe the most sacred silence regarding everything connected with it. Chrysostom declared it sacrilegious, either directly or indirectly, to disclose the holy mysteries of this service.

And for the maintenance of this secrecy, the early Christians, for the first several ages, carefully abstained from committing to writing the manner and make-up of their sacred services. According to Le Brun, it was forbidden to write even the Creed or the Lord's Prayer on paper or parchment. Jerome says that even the writers of the New Testament refrained from writing any plainer concerning these things than was absolutely necessary. It was the maxim of Origen, "The mysteries must not be committed to writing." Basil affirms that, up to his time, "the words at the dedication (sanctification) of the bread of the thanksgiving and the cup of blessing," were not in writing, but had been transmitted by oral tradition from the apostles. Meletius, in a confidential letter to a friend, declined on principle to write anything about these sacred matters, and referred his correspondent to one Theophrastus for the answer to his inquiries, to be given by word of mouth.

This then would explain why the Roman authorities, under the exterminating decrees of the persecuting emperors, in their rigid searches of the private houses and meeting-places of the Christians, were so unsuccessful in finding written accounts or set formularies describing the services of their secret assemblies. All who entered those assemblies had to memorize the prayers, and understand the parts to be taken by them, before being admitted ; so that Tertullian could say, they prayed "*by heart*," moved to it by their own willing obedience, and having no need of a monitor to prompt them.

Nor can there be any question of the possibility of maintaining and perpetuating even a most elaborate ritual in this way. The Masonic fraternity, and numerous other secret societies, having very complex rituals, are doing it to day ; and some of them have been doing it for hundreds of years, without change

or loss. The Druses of Lebanon, from time immemorial, have been maintaining the secrecy of their religious faith and rites against all attempts to ascertain just what they are. And the reticence and reserve, as a religious duty, on the part of the early Christians respecting the order and matter of their most important acts of worship, being obligated on their honor and hopes as Christians not to write, expose or betray them in any manner, so far from arguing the absence of all set forms, very strongly intimate that they did have and follow a certain established liturgy, considered divine and obligatory; or, why the solemn inculcation not to reveal?

But neither friends nor enemies were so "profoundly silent" that nothing on the subject is contained in the literary remains of "the early ages of the Church." Although no liturgies, given in full, so far as we know, appeared before the third Christian century; yet enough authentic evidence exists to show and prove that the most sacred services of the early Church were observed and conducted according to set forms, the main features of which are sufficiently indicated. A few of the most important of these testimonies may be noted.

One of the earliest and most decisive witnesses in the case is, the *Didache*, or *teaching of the twelve apostles*, discovered by Bryenios in 1873, in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the holy sepulchre at Constantinople. It has since been numerously edited, translated, and published, in various editions, countries and languages. Many of the ablest critics and scholars, of different connections and nationalities, have examined into its age and authority, and by general consent have assigned it the place of a genuine production of the primitive Church, written close about the time of the death of the Apostle John, and certainly dating somewhere from A. D. 90 to 120. A few date it even earlier, and some, not the most orthodox in their faith and methods, date it about the year A. D. 150. It is "one of the rarest treasures of ancient literature." Athanasius, in his 39th Festal Letter, after reciting the canonical books received and used by the Church, gives a list of such works as (he says) are not canonical, but intended by the fathers to be read by those

who come to be instructed in the true doctrine; and among these he mentions the *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Apostles," and "The Shepherd," or "Hermas." Athanasius puts the *Didache* ahead of "Hermas," as of earlier date and greater importance; while some sections of "Hermas" only enlarge on the simpler and more dignified statements of the *Didache*. "Hermas" was written not later than from A. D. 140 to 150, (some placing it much earlier), and hence the *Didache* must be of a date very close to, if not within the apostolic times. Clement of Alexandria (about A. D. 200) quotes it as "Scripture," regarding it as semi-apostolic and semi-inspired; and it could not then have been a new book to have obtained such high esteem. And the testimony of such a document, of such an age, must needs be of great weight; and, if clear on the subject in hand, ought to be accepted as conclusive.

And we have only to look into this precious relic of antiquity to see that, of its sixteen chapters, *four* (7th to 10th inclusive of both, and part of 14th, that is, *about one fourth of the whole*) are taken up almost entirely with liturgical directions and prescriptions.

We find it there laid down, that all these things "are to be taught to candidates for baptism, and that baptism is to be administered according to a given formula, in a particular way.

Prayer is enjoined, and the Lord's Prayer recited as a form to be used, asserting that so "the Lord commanded in his Gospel."

The eucharist is referred to as a thing for weekly observance by Christians, and the order is: "Give thanks after this manner: First for the cup: We give thanks to thee, our Father, &c. And for the broken bread: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge thou hast made known to us," &c. "Now after being filled (having partaken), give thanks after this manner: We thank thee holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts," &c., through four additional paragraphs.

For the prophets, free prayer was to be allowed. "Permit the prophets to give thanks (pray) as much as (in what words) they wish." But the mention of this liberty in these special cases

implies that, in all other instances, there were regular liturgical forms to be used as prescribed.

Coming together on the Lord's day "to break bread, and give thanks, (celebrate the holy eucharist) having before confessed transgressions," is recognized and prescribed as of divine obligation.

And with such evidence of what was done and held in the primitive churches, it is hard to understand how any candid seeker of the truth can question or doubt that they had and used a formal apostolically authorized order in celebrating their most solemn worship, and that that order included liturgical forms and set prayers, which were considered essential to proper Christianity.

We also have heathen testimony, of nearly the same antiquity, thoroughly confirming the presentations in the *Didache*. Pliny the younger (born A. D. 62, died A. D. 113), in his oft quoted letter to the Emperor Trajan, gives the result of judicial investigations to ascertain the habits and doings of Christians in Bithynia, and says, "They met on a certain day before it was light, *carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem.*"

Much learned criticism has been evoked to determine the exact meaning of these Latin words. The common rendering is, "and they sang hymns to Christ, as God." The added *dicere secum invicem*, Mosheim interprets to mean that this rendering to Christ as God was the action of the assembly as such, in which all joined, one part being said by the elder, bishop, or leader, and the other part by the congregation. And with Melmoth, Gessner, and other "learned men," he understands the word *carmen*, to refer, not so much to hymns or singing, as to *forms of prayer*—"merely a set form of words in prose." This would also accord best with the word, *dicere*, which means, *to say*, rather than, *to sing*. In either case, a ritualistic liturgical order is necessarily implied; for whether Pliny meant addresses to Christ as God, in verse or prose, said or sung, the statement is conclusive, that the Christians of Bithynia, in his day, did use set forms in their common Sunday worship, and that all was

directed after a fixed and well understood manner, in which all could participate, and the voices of all be heard.

Ignatius, who received his Christian training under the Apostle John, and suffered martyrdom about A. D. 110, in his epistle to the Magnesians (vi. and vii.) declaims against separation, and the ordering of worship according to individual fancies, and adds, "Being come together in the same place [for worship], *have one common prayer, one supplication, one mind.*" In his view, therefore, a fixed order, with set forms, was the thing which all believers of his day were expected to observe, as a matter of proper Christian dutifulness.

Clement of Rome, the most distinguished of the primitive fathers, who lived in the close of the apostolic age, and to whom is ascribed a certain letter to the Corinthians, so highly esteemed by the early Christians that it was publicly read in their assemblies the same as the Scriptures, and classed among inspired writings, in one place (xxxiv.) cites the angelic *sanctus*, and says, "Let us also, being gathered together with good conscience, *in accord with one another, as it were with one mouth*, cry earnestly unto him, that he would make us partakers of his great and glorious promises." In another place (xl.) he cautions his readers to be careful "to do all things in order whatsoever our Lord has commanded, and, particularly, that we perform our offerings and service to God, at their appointed seasons; for these he has commanded to be done, not haphazard and disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours, and therefore he has ordained by his supreme will and authority, both where, and by what persons, they are to be performed,—that so, all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto him. (xli.) Let everyone therefore bless God in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, *not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed unto him.*" He also solemnly reminds Christians of the superior honors vouchsafed in our means of communion with God, and of the great danger to which lack of strict conformity to the appointed order in these things exposes the soul.

In all this it is plainly implied that fixed regulations and set

forms belonged to the Christian worship of Clement's time, and were held to be of divine authority, and essential to practical Christianity. Nay, in the recently discovered copy of this epistle to the Corinthians (by Bryenios, 1875), there is given a long and carefully composed form of prayer, which seems to have been used in the Church at Rome, and which, next to the forms in the *Didache*, is the oldest specimen of the prayers of apostolic times. In a somewhat condensed form it is contained among the "Additional Prayers" in the Pulpit edition of the *Church Book*, No. 2, of the General Prayers. "It begins with an elaborate invocation of God in antithetical sentences, contains intercession for the afflicted, the needy, the wanderers, and prisoners, petitions for the conversion of the heathen, a confession of sin and prayer for pardon, and closes with a prayer for unity, and a doxology" (Schaff). And in these words we have a set form as prayed by the Christians of the first ages.

The so-called Apostolic Constitutions (Book VIII), contains a full liturgy, with forms, directions, special and general prayers, and a complete eucharistical service, which cannot be consistently accounted for except on the supposition that so (in substance at least) the early churches were accustomed to order and render their sacred services.

Bunsen, in *Hippolytus and His Age*, having gone very fully into the examination, gives it as his conclusion touching these so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, that, as soon as we eliminate some ethical introductions, and all moralizing conclusions, and get rid of what was manifestly re-written with literary pretensions, and expunge some easily discernible interpolations of the fourth and fifth centuries, "We find ourselves unmistakably in the midst of the life of the Church of the second and third centuries;" that is, in the next age immediately after the apostles.

The same learned author says, "I think we may safely quote the celebrated passage of Irenæus, which dates from the latter part of the second century, in proof that, at that early time, there existed in the Church a collection of customs and ordinances ascribed to the apostles. I believe we may also refer to the

words of Clement, as proving that such customs and ordinances existed traditionally, before the end of the first century. They must therefore have been acknowledged by many, if not by all the churches, as of substantial although not scriptural authority, before the year 88, when Clement died, and consequently before St. John wrote his gospel."

After the Emperor Constantine took sides in favor of Christianity, decreed the freedom of Christian worship, and gave to the Church the recognition of the state, the liturgical formulas, so long used *memoriter*, and transmitted mostly by oral tradition, began to be written; and from the middle of the fourth century onward, full Christian liturgies were everywhere found, the contents of which in ample integrity have come down to us. They are not precisely alike, but so much alike in general features, as to constitute one race or brotherhood, the close inter-relationship of which may be easily traced by internal evidence, just as affinities are traced in comparative philology or ethnology. And as all nations and languages have been traced back to a few heads or stocks, so all the orthodox Christian liturgies that exist, have been traced back to some four or five original groups or families, sufficiently distinct and different to show they have not had one single original, and yet so much alike in essential substance, structure, parts, and to a certain extent in wording, as to prove a kindred simultaneous origin, which the history of the beginnings of the early churches well explains. There are differences between the several inspired writers, though moved by the same Spirit; and so it was not unnatural that their liturgical inculcations and arrangements should exhibit similar unessential diversities. The forms are not identical in every minute particular, but the substance, spirit, and general character, are so much the same, that they must needs have had their first origination from the same authorities from whom we have the Gospels and Epistles.

And from the descriptions in the *Didache*, in the famous account of Justin Martyr's *First Apology*, and in the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, we are sufficiently certified that the liturgical formulas and prescriptions given in the so-called

Apostolic Constitutions or the *Liturgy of St. James*, minus some manifest interpolations and additions of later times, furnish reliable types of the way in which the early churches, by order and example of Christ and their apostolic founders, and hence by divinely inspired directions, conducted their worship, and observed the ordinances of our holy religion.

Between these Christian liturgies and the orders of service observed by the Jews, there is a near relationship; particularly between the formula for the Lord's Supper and the canon of the Passover. The order of sequence, the structure, and some of the parts and wordings, are the same in both. And when it is remembered that the institution and first celebration of the eucharist occurred in connection with the Jewish Passover, it could hardly have been otherwise. As Christ then and there commanded the apostles to do as he said and did, they would naturally feel bound and impelled to celebrate this holy ordinance in a way as completely as possible conformed to the manner and liturgical surroundings in which it had been given to them, and so to teach their converts.

The holy eucharist proceeded out of the very heart of the Passover, and its great central substance is the slain Lamb typically contemplated in the Passover. The whole action of the Saviour in instituting it took in, rested on, and joined with the Passover ritual. And that action, with its ceremonial connections, necessarily became a rule and directory for the apostles when they came to do as Christ bade them.

The Jewish passover services, in addition to the sacrifice of the lamb, embraced a blessing, giving and receiving, of bread and wine. There was a call to give thanks, with the response: "It is meet for us to praise the Lord of the universe," &c. There was recitation of the seraphic hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." There was a use of the prescribed Hallel Psalms, which contain the words, "Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." There were numerous set prayers and benedictions to be said, and among them one commemorative of departed souls, as in

all the early Christian liturgies. At the conclusion there was call, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good ; for his mercy endureth forever." And then followed a song of praise, which may have been a Psalm, but more likely one of the "Unity Hymns," as still retained in the Ritual of the Passover services.

Now these features appear in all the earliest Christian liturgies. Hence it has been remarked, that "the Eucharistic Ritual of the early Christians strikes its roots deeply into the old Israelitish sacrificial ordinances, and is framed in many respects upon them ; so that while the staple elements of that institution passed into the great realities of Christ's offering of himself, and into the supreme act of of Christian service instituted by him in special connection with it, the more ordinary kinds of Jewish worship merged, in a parallel manner, in corresponding Christian action. We certainly find unmistakable proofs of paternity and derivation subsisting between the Temple and synagogue services and those of the primitive Church."

Now, then, if these features of the Jewish Ritual had no place in the Christian worship as arranged and conducted by the apostles, how are we to account for such a return to them, against apostolic usage, at so early a period, as appears in all the Christian liturgies throughout the whole world? And how, indeed, could the Church of the third and fourth centuries dare to put forth and adhere to these formularies as verily descended from the apostles, if they were mere inventions of the time? Nay, these very fitting items from the Jewish ritual, in the nature of the case, without some positive instructions to the contrary, would necessarily be retained and continued by the apostles as epicycles in the celebration of the Eucharist, seeing that Christ used them at the institution of this sacrament, and commanded the apostles to do as he did.

And the retention and presence of these features in all the early Christian liturgies, warrants, if it does not necessitate, the conclusion, that the worship inculcated and arranged by the apostles certainly included liturgical set forms ; and that the celebrants did not fashion things as their humor might be, but

came to the service with well chosen and well digested words,—words used by their spiritual ancestors for generations,—words all the more enlarged in meaning, amplified in grasp, intensified in feeling, and spiritually exalted, by their connection with the great sacrifice and appointments of “the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.”

But there is another line of testimony which remarkably clinches the whole argument. What if it can be shown that some of the apostles in their writings *quoted* from Liturgical Formularies in common use at the time of their writing? Would that not settle the whole question of the existence of an established ritual under the ministry of the apostles? Glance then at some of the facts in this line.

Dr. John Mason Neale, perhaps the ablest modern liturgiologist went deeply into this study, and declared himself “*absolutely sure*” that the apostle Paul did make sundry such quotations. Some may be disposed to ridicule an assertion so startling; and yet it is not at all unlikely. We know that this apostle, when addressing the Greeks at Athens, quoted from a liturgical poem by Aratus (Acts 18 : 28); that in writing to the Corinthians he quoted from Menander (1 Cor. 15 : 33), and from Epimenides in the Epistle to Titus (1 : 12); and why should we be surprised that, in writing to Christians, he should quote liturgical expressions well known and dear to them? Dr. Neale claims to have found not less than thirteen instances of such quotations in the Pauline Epistles.

The first he names is 1 Corinthians 2 : 9; which, according to the Greek, literally reads: “But as it hath been written,—which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and into the heart of man hath not entered, which God hath prepared for them that love him.” This, as it stands, is grammatically very awkward. The apostle gives it as a quotation, and from an authoritative source. He says, “*it is written.*” Some, at a loss to give any other explanation, have supposed that he had reference to Isaiah 64 : 4. But this is a mistaken supposition. It is not from Isaiah. Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, justly says: “The citation is so very different, both from the Hebrew and the version

of the LXX, that it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile them, without going beyond the bounds of temperate criticism." Wordsworth (*in loc*) says: "It is remarkable that the words as here quoted have no place in this passage of Isaiah in the Hebrew original, nor in the LXX." The margin of Bagsters Miniature Quarto Bible, says: "This passage is not taken from the LXX, nor is it an exact translation of the Hebrew." Some of the most distinguished Church Fathers were so perplexed with this apostolic quotation, that Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact concluded it must be from some lost prophet; or, as Origen believed, from some apocryphal work. Olshausen says: "The Old Testament has no such passage." Grotius believed that it was taken from Rabbinical writings. Lowth inclines to the belief that it is from some apocryphal writing; and Meyer seems to think that the apostle quoted what he, by mistake, supposed was in the Old Testament! How, then, is the puzzle to be solved?

Every scholar will note that, as the quotation stands in the original of Paul's Epistle, it is broken, and ungrammatical. It begins with (*A—which*) a relative without an antecedent. This shows that the quotation is literal, but fragmentary, and a transfer from some place familiar to his readers, who would readily understand it. And that place has been found; and is of such sort and connections as to meet all the requirements of a satisfactory explanation. *The entire sentence exact, with the wanting antecedent supplied and in place, is word for word in the Greek of the eucharistic service set forth in the Liturgy of St. James.* It is from the *Anaphora* of that service; and, literally translated, reads: "We sinners, remembering His life-giving Passion, His salutary cross, His death and resurrection from the dead, * * offer to thee, O Lord, this unbloody sacrifice, beseeching thee that thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities; but, according to thy gentleness and ineffable love, passing by and blotting out the handwriting that is against us thy suppliants, wouldst grant us *thy heavenly and eternal gifts*, WHICH *eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard*," &c. St. Clement also (*ad Cor.* xxxiv) quotes these same

words, with other words and phraseology from the same places in the same Liturgy, which show that he was quoting from the common Ritual, and not from St. Paul's Epistle.

But in the very next verse Paul quotes still further from the same Liturgy, though not noted as quotation. Concerning *these things freely given us of God*, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the apostle says, "But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for *the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.*" And in the Liturgy, following the "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc., it stands: "Holy art thou, King of Ages, and Lord and Giver of Holiness: Holy also thine only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou didst make all things: Holy also *the Holy Spirit, who searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of thee, O God.*" Here is quotation from one side or the other, and there is every reason to conclude that it is Paul quoting from the Liturgy, and not the Liturgy quoting from St. Paul.

When Paul wrote this Epistle to the Corinthians, the Church at Jerusalem, whence this Liturgy came, had been for more than twenty years enjoying the ministry of two of the greatest of the original twelve apostles, and had had weekly, if not daily, celebrations of the Holy Eucharist for all that time. It must therefore have had a settled and well understood form for this service, —a form direct from the apostles, and used under their pastoral oversight. It is also of record that Paul had special regard and reverence for this church, and for its chief pastor (Acts 15; and Gal. 2: 6, 9); so that what James approved would be the same to him as Holy Scripture, which he would not hesitate to quote as such. On the other hand, it is quite incredible, that the mother church, which had been following an apostolic directory of worship for more than twenty years, would or could suddenly turn about to construct and adopt another, embracing excerpts from a recent epistle by a belated convert, written to the people of a far off gentile city.

St. Paul (or whoever it was, by him inspired), wrote an epistle to these Hebrew Christians, in which it was quite in place to use what they well understood, and were accustomed to regard as very sacred. Accordingly, Heb. 10: 19–22, was manifestly

fashioned from the common Ritual, as it still appears in the Liturgy of St. James, where the "prayer of the veil" reads: "We thank thee, O Lord our God, that *Thou hast given us boldness for the entrance of thy holy places, which thou hast renewed to us as a new and living way through the veil of the flesh of thy Christ. We, therefore, being accounted worthy to enter into the place of the tabernacle of thy glory, and to be within the veil, and to behold the Holy of Holies,*" &c. And so also Heb. 12 : 22, 23, takes up some of the very language of the Liturgy, where praise and thanksgiving are addressed to the Maker of everything, whom "the heaven of heavens praise, and all the hosts of them; earth, sea, and all that in them is; *Jerusalem, the heavenly assembly, and Church of the first-born that are written in heaven; spirits of just men and of prophets,*" &c., &c.

Of course it is not claimed that what is called the Liturgy of St. James, or the Jerusalem Liturgy, in all its parts and contents as we now have it, is genuinely apostolic. Evidently there are insertions, changes and additions, which are of much more recent date. But these instances of quotations from it by St. Clement and St. Paul, carry sequences of immense theological importance. The evidence is thus furnished:

First, That the early churches had a formulated and fixed ritual for the celebration of their worship;

Second, That this was used and quoted as divinely authoritative, by the apostles and apostolic men;

Third, That the so-called Liturgy of St. James, contains in substance, parts, sequence, and largely in very language, what the apostolic ritual of the mother church at Jerusalem was.

And what is true of the Liturgy of St. James, is also to be said of all the great liturgies that have come down to us from the early ages. Though not in all particulars composed by the apostles, they grew directly out of apostolic teaching and traditions, and the apostolic manner of celebrating the appointments of Christ. And in their main substance, fundamental contents, general tenor, and the language in important parts, they have come down unchanged from the apostles themselves.

The Liturgy of St. James dates back to the early part of the

third century, though much earlier in its main fabric. The Liturgy of St. Mark is of nearly coeval date; and that contained in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, though perhaps never used as there given, was written not later than about A. D. 260. And while, in all of these, there are sundry manifest insertions, changes, and additions of more modern date, the truth of the general statement remains unaltered, that we have in them the substance, parts, order, and largely the wording, of a genuine apostolic Ritual, as sacred and authoritative as anything else originating with the apostolic witnesses for Christ, and the planters and trainers of his Church.

Of course there was plenty of free prayer, private and domestic, as there was occasion, as there must always be. There were free prayers inspired by the Holy Ghost, many of which for their special excellence were taken up by the Church for use in its services, and so were recorded in the Scriptures. Hence we have the *Magnificat* of Mary; the *Kyrie Eleison* of the publican, the lepers, and others; the *Benedictus* of Zacharias; the *Nunc dimittis* of Simeon; the thanksgiving of the Church for Peter and John's deliverance; and other prayers and benedictions. But nothing of free prayer, excepting by the apostles and prophets, was allowed to supersede or interfere with the regularly established liturgical order, any more than free prayer under the old economy was allowed to take the place of the fixed Jewish ritual.

And a great satisfaction should it be to us to know, and the same should go far to silence opposition to the use of prescribed forms, especially to our *Common Service*, that, in outline and substance, and partly in very wording, the same liturgical forms with which the Church of Christ came into existence, and which the apostles used, and taught to their converts, have been so truly and purely preserved and handed down to us through the great Lutheran Reformers. For whosoever will be at the pains to search out the *consensus* of the best and purest of the original liturgies of our Church, will there find the fairest and completest reproduction of the apostolic ritual to be found on earth.

Of course mere forms, however venerable, appropriate, or di-

vine, by themselves, can profit us but little. No *opus operatum* doctrine is here to be thought of. As the Creed must have believers in order to become real faith, so liturgical formulas must have earnest worshippers in order to become true devotion. But prayers by set forms may be full as spiritual and effective as any others, or the Saviour was misled and mistaken in dictating such a form, and ordaining its use by his people. A beautiful, God-made body, without a soul, is a mere offensive carcass; but a spirit, without embodiment, is a nothing to us. The perfection of manhood in this world is a sound mind in a sound body; and the perfection of worship is where devout souls pour themselves forth in the completest of forms, be it on earth, or in heaven.

ARTICLE II.

PRIVATE CONFESSION AND PRIVATE ABSOLUTION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

BY PROF. JAMES W. RICHARD, D. D.

It is the purpose of this article to set forth, chiefly from the original documents, a succinct history of Private Confession and Private Absolution in the Lutheran Church. The subject can be understood best when its history is traced. But the history of this institution in the Lutheran Church must begin with some notice of the same in the Pre-Reformation period, since, as Kliefoth justly says in treating of this subject: "Luther in his earlier movements was strongly influenced by his Romish reminiscences" (*Lit. Abh.* 2 : 254).

Private Confession is usually traced to Origen. It was especially developed in the cloister-life of the Church. In the eighth and ninth centuries it became obligatory. The Synod of Liege (710) required confession to be made before the parish priest. Peter Lombard gave it dogmatic grounding. At the fourth Lateran Council (1215) under Innocent III., it was ordered "that every one of the faithful of both sexes, after coming to years of discretion, shall faithfully confess all his sins alone, at least once a year, to his own priest, and be careful to perform the penance

enjoined upon him with all his strength, reverently receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter; unless perchance on the advice of his own priest for reasonable cause he may for the time decide to abstain from reception of it. Otherwise living let him be cast off from access to the Church, and dying let him be without Christian burial. But if any one should wish, for just reason, to confess his sins to another priest, let him first ask and obtain permission from his own priest, since otherwise the other can neither absolve nor bind. Let the priest be prudent and cautious, and like a skillful physician, pour wine and oil upon the wounds of the patient, carefully inquiring for the circumstances of the sinner and of the sin in order that he may wisely know what kind of counsel to offer and what kind of remedy to apply, using different experiments for healing the sick" (*Mansi*, XXII., p. 1007).

At first and for a long time the formula of absolution was: *Dominus absolvat te*. This was supplanted by *Ego te absolvo*, which has become confessionally fixed by the action of the Council of Trent, *Ses. XIV., Chap. III*: "The form of the sacrament of penance wherein its force principally consists is placed in these words of the minister: *I absolve thee*. * * But the acts of the penitent himself, to wit, confession, and satisfaction are as it were the matter of this sacrament." The Roman Catholic Church also "understands that the entire confession of sins was also instituted by the Lord, and is of divine right for all who have fallen after baptism," and requires the enumeration of sins as a condition of absolution. As this enumeration of sins is made *privately*, that is in a sequestered place, in the ear of a priest, it is called auricular confession. While in his cell at Erfurt a fellow-monk comforted Luther "with the holy absolution," and as a priest in Wittenberg Luther heard private confession and administered private absolution. When he first broke with Rome he assumed a very free attitude towards this old ecclesiastical institution. Afterwards he regarded it more highly as a *pedagogic means*, though he did not lay on it the stress of absolute necessity, nor regard it as of divine appointment.

LUTHER.

With Luther confession was a *voluntary* matter and was left dependent upon the individual's sense of need. He says: "Everything which is evangelical, Christian, and of faith, shall be free. Hence the people can come without law, or force, but with desire and love. If any one does not want to confess, he can stay away, and tread the pope, princes, devil, laws under foot, and make private confession before God. But although I do not force, yet I advise that they gladly confess before going to the sacrament" (*Erlangen Edition*, 28: 308). In his eighth sermon against Carlstadt, he describes the different kinds of confession. The first is made publicly before the people: the second is made before God alone. "The third is a confession in which one person confesses to another, and takes him to a place alone, and tells him his distress in order that he may be comforted, and may quiet his conscience. This confession is rigidly enjoined by the pope, and made a necessity. This necessity and compulsion I reject, and have severely attacked it, when I have preached and written on confession. Hence I will not confess because the pope has enjoined it, or wants it. He shall leave confession free to me, and shall not make a command of it" (28: 249).

In 1522 he wrote: "If any one is burdened with sins and wishes to be absolved from them, and to hear a sure word of comfort with which to quiet his heart, let him go and confess his sins to his brother privately, and ask absolution and a word of consolation. If now he gives thee absolution, and says, Thy sins are forgiven thee, thou hast a gracious and merciful heavenly Father who will not impute to thee thy sins: then believe this promise and absolution joyfully, and be sure God will make good to thee this promise through the mouth of thy brother. If any one has strong faith in God and is certain that his sins are forgiven, he may indeed omit this private confession and confess to God alone. But how many of you are there who have such strong faith and confidence in God? Let every one see that he be not deceived. Hence I have said and still say that I will not allow this private confession to be taken from me.

Neither will I drive or force any one to it, but leave it free to every one" (28 : 250). So late as 1538 Luther wrote: "I Doctor Martin myself sometimes go (to the Lord's Supper) without having confessed, lest I lay a necessary custom on my conscience; yet I use confession and will not be deprived of it, chiefly on account of absolution, which is the Word of God" (23 : 35).

The *pedagogic* purpose of Luther in retaining and maintaining Private Confession and Private Absolution, and as well the extent of their application, is shown in his *Warnungsschrift* (1533) to the people of Frankfort: "We hold that the confessant should confess such sins as burden him most. And this we do, not for the sake of the intelligent; for our pastors, chaplains, Master Philip, and such persons as know what sin is, do not require any such thing. But the dear young people are growing up, and the common people understand but little. For these we retain the custom that they may be brought under Christian discipline and instruction" (26 : 306). Luther also held that absolution is *conditional*. Indeed he says expressly: "Every absolution both general and private is conditioned by faith. Without faith there is no absolution." He declares that everything depends on faith and the divine word, and that God forgives sins in the name of Christ: "The power to forgive sin is simply the power to say to another, be thou comforted, thy sins are forgiven thee. Whosoever receives and believes this as a word of God, to him they are certainly forgiven."

1. Thus by maintaining the purely *voluntary* character of Private Confession, Luther opposed, and for his followers struck down a chief characteristic of the Roman Catholic private confession, namely, that every one must confess at least once a year under penalty of the ban while living, and of the denial of Christian burial when dead. Also he identifies absolution with the preaching of the gospel. His very words are: "Thou hearest the gospel daily, what is this but the word of absolution? To preach the gospel is nothing else than to absolve and declare free from sin."

2. Luther taught very positively that no one is obliged to

make an enumeration of sins in private confession. This position results by natural conclusion from the doctrine that private confession is a *voluntary* matter. If the entire institution be *free*, then of course the enumeration of sins cannot be obligatory. Persons who choose to make use of private confession, are at liberty also to choose whether or not they shall name the sins which they conceive themselves to have committed. In the Instruction to the Saxon Visitors (1528, '38, '39), revised and approved by Luther, it is written: "The papal confession is not enjoined, namely, the enumeration of all sins. Such also is impossible, Ps. 19 : 12 : 'Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults.' Yet for various reasons the people should be exhorted to confess, especially in cases in which they need counsel, and which oppress them most" (23 : 40).

In the Small Catechism it is taught: "But if any one do not find himself oppressed by these or greater sins, let him not be anxious, or hunt for imaginary sins, and thus make a torture out of confession. But let him mention one or two which he knows, as that he has cursed, or been unchaste in words, or that he has been remiss in this or that. Let this suffice. But if thou knowest none (which will scarcely be possible), then do not mention any in particular, but receive forgiveness after a general confession which thou makest before God to the confessor" (21 : 19). In his *Kirchenpostille* Luther wrote: "We do not teach confession as the papal theologians do, namely, that sins must be enumerated (which alone the papists call confessing), or that one is worthy of forgiveness and absolution because, as they say: 'I absolve thee from thy sins on account of thy penitence and confession'; but it should be made use of in order to hear the comfort of the gospel, and to awaken and strengthen faith in the forgiveness of sins, which indeed is the chief thing in confession. Thus *confessing* is not as with the papists enumerating a long list of sins, but it is the desire for absolution, which is confession enough, that is, the acknowledgment that thou art a sinner. It shall not be required to enumerate all or some, many or few sins" (11 : 322). This teaching stands in marked opposition to the papistical decree that every Christian shall confess all his sins at

least once a year with a recital of the circumstances under which they were committed. With Luther it is confession enough *simply to acknowledge one's self a sinner* or to desire absolution. The formal act of *confessing* is in itself nothing. The inner sense of the need of forgiveness is everything. Hence he could say: "We esteem and retain confession not for its own sake, but on account of absolution. The golden jewel in it is that thou hearest the word preached, which Christ has commanded thee and all the world to preach in his name, that even if thou do not hear it in confession, yet thou hearest the gospel daily, which is the word of God and absolution" (II : 322-3). As with Luther the very essence of the gospel is the forgiveness of sins, therefore wherever the gospel is preached, whether to the multitude or to the individual, *there* is absolution. There is no absolute need of confession. He who hears the word, or is baptized, or receives the Lord's Supper, *with faith*, receives the forgiveness of *all* his sins, whether he enumerate them or not.

3. Another important feature of Luther's doctrine of private confession is, that it does not require such confession to be made to a priest, or to a minister *as such*. Absolution, that is, the proclamation of the gospel of divine grace, is a part of the power of the Keys. But the Keys and their use are given to the entire Church. The Church is in possession of the gospel with the commission to preach and witness it. Every member of the Church by virtue of his relation to Christ, and as a believing priest has a right to use the Keys, that is, the right to preach the gospel, and to declare the forgiveness of sins. Ordination has nothing to do *per se* with the administration of grace, or with the efficacious handling of the means of grace. It is the word itself which brings forgiveness. It makes no difference in the effect how the word reaches the penitent. Luther enunciated this principle in the most concrete and objective way: "I say further and warn that no one confess privately to a priest as such, but as to a common brother, and Christian, and for the reason that the papal confession has no foundation. Let us not build upon the sand, but confess in the power of the words of Christ, whether we confess to a layman or to a priest"

(27 : 578). "God has called and appointed thy pastor, father, mother, thy Christian neighbor, and has put his word in their mouths, that thou mightest seek comfort and forgiveness of sins from them." And again : "Hence every Christian is a confessor in private confession, which the pope, the huge thief, has seized, as he has seized the keys, episcopacy, and everything else" (27 : 376).

Neither did Luther limit the choice of a fellow-Christian as confessor, to cases of necessity, since in *every* case the effect of absolution is the same, whether declared by a layman or by a minister. But as the pastor is the official organ of the Church, so ought he to be the confidant of all the fellow-members of the Church : "We all have this power, but no one should take it upon himself to use it publicly unless he be chosen thereto by the congregation. But privately I may employ it ; as when my neighbor comes and says : My conscience is burdened, give me absolution. This I may do freely ; but privately, I say, it must be done, for if I should thrust myself into the Church, and likewise others, and we should also hear confession, how would it look ?" (11 : 348).

Thus the ministry is made to belong to *order*, not to *necessity*. The gospel bears its own message of grace, whether it be heard from the lips of a layman, or from those of a minister. There is no specific difference. In either case it is Christ who speaks. It is he who absolves. "When I hear the word of Christ and have absolution, I shall not be troubled because the pope has not absolved me, since he has no title from Scripture for private confession ; yea, it follows that private confession, reproof, correction from sins, are taken from the priests and given to the entire congregation, and to each one" (*Walch's Luther's Work*, XIX. 1082).

In taking the right to hear private confession and to announce private absolution out of the hands of the priest as such, and giving it into the hands of the Christian as such, Luther annihilates all priestly power and judicial authority over the consciences of men in the entire matter of confession and absolution, and makes private confession a voluntary conference be-

tween brothers, and private absolution a simple proclamation of the gospel. Private Confession is thus a privilege based on individual need. Private Absolution is the exercise of a right belonging to every Christian, based on the general priesthood of Christians. A Christian, feeling the burden of sin, selects his own confessor on the basis of confidence. The confessor thus chosen, on the principle that every Christian has part in the use of the Keys, proclaims the gospel of grace: "Thou hearest the gospel daily, which is also the word of absolution. For to preach the forgiveness of sins is nothing else than to absolve and release from sins" (11 : 323).

We may sum up Luther's doctrine of Private Confession and Private Absolution in a few brief propositions: He teaches that private confession is a purely voluntary matter; that the enumeration of sins is not necessary; that every Christian has the right to pronounce absolution. Further: That confession consists of two parts, the confession of sins and absolution, the latter being the chief part; that absolution is simply the preaching of the Gospel, or more particularly the application of the Gospel to the individual; that the validity of absolution does not depend on the character of the absolver, but on the word which is spoken; that its efficacy depends upon faith; that the effect of absolution is the comfort of the conscience, and peace with God in the forgiveness of sins; that private confession is not commanded of God.

The following judgment of Dr. Jacoby's will commend itself to all who have studied the subject in its sources of information: "So, then, Luther did not wish to abolish Private Confession, but he did undermine its dogmatic roots. It should remain as a pedagogical institution, which has in view partly the instruction and religious training of the untutored, and partly it should furnish an opportunity for the exercise of pastoral care over the consciences of the members of the congregation. Especially should private confession precede the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and be a means by which the unworthy could be excluded from the sacrament. So in the Instruction to the Visitors in 1838: 'Yet it would be well if the people were exhorted to

receive the sacrament. Also no one should be admitted to the reception of the venerable sacrament, except he be first heard and questioned, so that no dishonor be done to the body of Christ.' The standpoint occupied by Luther was tenable so long as the pastor enjoyed a patriarchal influence, and in so far as exemplary men, endowed with gifts of spiritual discernment, discharged the duties of the ministry. But who could compel any one whom the pastor regarded as needing private confession, to submit to it when he himself believed that he could dispense with it, and when the growing self-consciousness of the congregation should oppose the rule of the pastor? And who could guarantee that the pastor might not be in error? The judgments of Luther on Private Confession show plainly that in the soil of the Evangelical Church it cannot flourish, and that it bears in itself the seeds of death" (*Liturgik der Reformatorum*, p. 230).*

THE CONFESSIONS.

We have seen that Luther made private confession a *voluntary* matter, voluntary even as a preparation for the communion. In

*Dr. Herman Jacoby is professor of Practical Theology in the University of Königsburg. The work from which we have quoted, published in 1871, is a recognized standard. From a private letter (Aug. 15, 1895) the writer is permitted to quote Dr. Jacoby as follows: "As regards the estimation of Art. XI. of the Augustana, it is to be remarked primarily, that a *doctrine* is not here treated, but a *human institution*, an *external order*, the operation of which depends upon historical conditions which are subject to change. The Reformers valued Private Confession very highly. They placed it over against the Romish Auricular Confession. Luther and Melanchthon assigned no dogmatic dignity to Private Confession. Luther confesses that he sometimes went to the Lord's Supper without confession. To him it is only of pedagogical value. He declares: 'And I Dr. Martin myself sometimes go without having confessed, that I may not lay a necessary custom on my conscience. Yet I make use of confession and will not do without it, on account of absolution, which is the word of God. The young and ignorant must be instructed, not the educated and intelligent. The Würtemberg Kirchenordnung, composed by Brentz in 1553, limits private absolution to special cases: 'If there be any one who has such special burden of conscience, as to need the special consolation of the gospel, he shall be absolved privately, *but the others shall await the general absolution.*' "

his Formula for celebrating the Lord's Supper (*Formula Missae*, 1523), he says expressly: "Of private confession before communion, I hold as I have hitherto taught, that it is not necessary nor to be exacted, though it is useful and is not to be contemned." Up to 1525 persons were allowed to come to the communion at Wittenberg without having first confessed. But now, on account of the lamentable ignorance of the people, and in order to check the abuse of coming to the communion as a mere habit it was announced to the congregation that henceforth a *confessional* examination would be held with each proposed communicant prior to communion.* Such an institution was loudly called for in that time of superstition, and of ignorance of the gospel and of the nature and benefits of the sacrament. The genuine Lutheran idea was that the word is supreme over the sacrament, and must prepare, by excluding and instructing, for the worthy partaking of the sacrament. The old *Beichtinstitut*, through which admission had been gained to the sacrament, was restored, with the idea of making it an inquiry into the religious intelligence and faith of the communicant. Luther had already said in a letter to Nicholas Hausmann (De Wette II., 428), that it had been proposed to admit no one to the communion who had not been first heard and had not responded correctly *pro fide sua*. There was only wanting now a suitable opportunity to carry this principle into execution. The opportunity was given in the Saxon Visitation, which was intended to organize the Electorate into an Evangelical Church. But into this effort of organization entered also the general idea of authority, and the conceptions of individuals as to what should form a proper test for the communion. The personal freedom so much emphasized by Luther, soon began to yield to official determination as to who should and who should not come to the communion. Von Zezschwitz declares that "in an unprejudiced reading of Luther's letters of the Visitation one cannot wholly rid himself of the impression that he himself suddenly began to feel that he was a visiting officer of the prince. But

*See Harless' Zeitschrift, vol. 33, p. 340.

the deciding reason was a matter of conscience. In the universal ignorance of the people it was regarded as not right to collect only the individuals who should have decided for themselves; but in accordance with an entirely new principle the people of the entire territory were declared to be *catechumens* of the new faith, on the basis of the 'Episcopal Visitation of the Prince' which was only subsequently formulated with full consciousness" (*Katechetik*, I., 567).

In accordance with the new principle it is enjoined in *The Instruction to the Visitors* (the first evangelical confession) "that no one shall be admitted to the holy sacrament who has not been examined in private by his own pastor as to whether he be prepared to go to the holy sacrament. For St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 11 : 27, that they are guilty of the body and blood of Christ who receive it unworthily. Now not only do they dishonor the sacrament who receive it unworthily, but also they who administer it unworthily. For the common people run to the sacrament from custom, and do not know why the sacrament should be used. Now whoever does not know this should not be admitted to the sacrament. In order to use the sacrament in connection with such an examination the people should be exhorted to confess, that they may be instructed where they have erred in conscience, and may receive comfort where their hearts are truly penitent, if they hear absolution" (Erl. Ed., 23 : 40).

The pedagogic, disciplinary and educative purpose of private confession here is evident. It was employed as a means of instruction, and of ascertaining who was and who was not worthy to go to the Lord's Supper. Yet with this purpose is connected an element of authority which is not in full harmony with evangelical freedom. The injunction that no one shall be admitted to the communion except through private confession, makes a law out of an acknowledged adiaphoron. Luther himself, as we shall soon see, restored the principle of freedom in a subsequent edition of the *Instruction* (1538).

In the Torgau Articles a simple fact is stated when it is said: "Confession is not abolished; but is maintained with such great earnestness that the pastors are enjoined not to communicate the

holy sacrament to any one who has not been previously examined and sought absolution. * * Again, the command concerning confession, on this account, has been thus given, viz., that the priests are charged to communicate the sacrament to no one who has not sought of them absolution." These statements were intended to be a formal denial of the charge that the Lutherans had abolished private absolution as a preparation for the sacrament.

In the Eleventh Article of the Augsburg Confession it is said: "In reference to confession it is taught that private absolution ought to be retained in the Church and should not be discontinued. In confession however it is not necessary to enumerate all transgressions and sins, which indeed is impossible." Of course it is private confession which is here meant by the word "Confession." For of none other could there have been a question, and none other can correspond to "Private Absolution." It was also the private confession and absolution which had been mentioned in the Eleventh Article of Schwabach, in connection with the sacraments, and which the Instruction to the Visitors had enjoined as the required preparation for the communion. The same confession and absolution are meant in Art. IV., on Abuses: "Confession is not abolished by our preachers. For this custom is maintained among us, not to communicate the sacrament to those who have not first been examined and absolved." And in the Apology (15) Melancthon says: "Among us the people use the sacrament of their own accord, and without constraint every Sunday, when they have been previously examined, as to whether they are instructed in Christian doctrine."

Thus in the Augsburg Confession and in the Apology, confession is spoken of only in connection with the sacraments. This was not by accident. In the Schwabach and the Torgau articles it occupies a similar relation. In the Apology Melancthon declares absolution to be a true sacrament, though this judgment has remained without consequence in the Lutheran Church, which recognizes only two sacraments.* It was the de-

*The subjoined historical statements are in point: "The 'Instruction of

sign of the Reformers to state in the Eleventh Article, that private absolution which has private confession as its antecedent and presupposition, should be retained in the Church as a preparation for the sacrament, and it is in this sense that Articles XI. and XXV., have been historically understood and applied in the Lutheran Church, without however excluding the idea that persons may on other occasions go to the pastor for private instruction, and for private absolution. But this latter is not *the* confession and private absolution of the Augustana. The practice in Wittenberg from 1525 on, and the Instruction to the Visitors, had now determined the use of the institution for the Lutheran Church. Winer is entirely correct in the observation that "although the evangelical Church holds confession not to be a law of Christ, and therefore not as essentially necessary, it has nevertheless retained it as a permanent institute, mainly on account of its connection with absolution. As such it is always the preparation of the Lord's Supper" (*The Confessions*, p. 297).

But the Schmalkald articles seem to embody more fully Luther's idea of confession when they say: "We shall now return to the gospel, which affords us more than one means, one counsel, and assistance in opposition to sin, for God is superabundantly rich in his grace and favors: First through the oral word, in which is preached remission of sins in all the world, and this the Visitors to the Pastors in the Electorate of Saxony' of the year 1528 commanded the pastors to admit no one to the communion without examination; and in this examination 'to admonish the people to confess, in order that they may be instructed where they have erred in conscience, and also may receive consolation where they are heartily penitent by hearing the absolution.' Accordingly also then the Augsburg Confession, its Apology and the Schmalkald Articles firmly maintain private confession and absolution, and require that the people shall not be admitted to the communion without them; and likewise private confession before communion was universally ordered by the old Lutheran Kirchenordnungen." Harless' Zeitschrift (1857) p. 340, editorial. The editors were Drs. Thomasius, von Hofmann and Schmid.

Thomasius in his *Dogmengeschichte*, II., p. says: "The Augustana has not expressed itself on the number (of the sacraments), but by their relation (Art. 9-13 it shows, as the Apology expressly declares, that it counts three sacraments, * * Yet Luther in the Schmalkald Articles counts only two sacraments. The number three has not been accepted."

is properly the office of the gospel; *secondly*, through baptism; *thirdly*, through the sacrament of the altar; *fourthly*, through the power of the Keys, and also through the mutual conference and admonition of brethren" (*Part III., Art. IV.*). This last clause in effect at least places absolution in the hands of the "brethren," whereas Article Twenty-Eighth of the Augsburg Confession unquestionably limits its administration to the clergy. But the whole generic teaching of the confessions on the subject of private confession and private absolution, is admirably summed up by Professor Gumlich in the following discriminating manner: "Private confessions and absolution have been retained in the Lutheran Church as wholesome ecclesiastical ordinances without any sacramental character; still they are not insisted on as absolutely necessary, and their effect is in fact made dependent on the inner consciousness. The Evangelical Church does not mistake the blessing of the open expression of that which oppresses the heart, and the wholesome opportunity for the care of souls which the hearing of confession offers to youth; but the law of auricular confession which demands the enumeration of all separate sins before the priest as a condition of absolution, is expressly rejected, because it demands that which is impossible, favoring a false representation of the essence of sin and disquieting to the conscience (Conf. Aug. XI., Apol. VI., Art., Schmal. III., 8). Absolution in itself is nothing else than the application of the gospel, the declaration of the will of God to the penitent and believing sinner that he will forgive sins for Christ's sake. 'Absolution is a voice of the gospel by which we receive consolation, and is not a judgment of the law.' It is no *annuntiatio judiciaria* of the confessor as a spiritual judge—'God is the Judge,' whose judgment is made known in the conscience—but only the *declarativa* of a minister of the word, and merely hypothetical—absolution being only possible on condition of believing" (*Christian Creeds and Confessions*, pp. 88–9).

Important is the explanation of the confession itself: "Confession is not commanded in Scripture, but has been instituted by the Church" (Art. 25). And our great theologians have put

themselves on record to the same effect. The late Dr. Walther, of the Missourians, wrote: "Highly as private confession and private absolution have from time to time been held in our Lutheran Church, yet neither have they been used in all Lutheran Churches, nor have our orthodox fathers denied to a church the claim of being a true Lutheran Church, even though this institution had not been introduced into it. For example, the Wittenberg Theological Faculty wrote the following theological opinion in the year 1659: 'We do not deny that such private confession has *not* been employed in all orthodox churches, and yet they have the forgiveness of sins, and the right use of the Holy Supper. Hence the confessional (Beichtstuhl) was not appointed for any of these purposes' (Consil. Witebergens, II., 139. Dedekennus' Thesaur. Concil., II). Also the Wittenberg theologian, F. Baldwin writes: 'If in those churches where private confession is *in use*, the same can under certain circumstances be omitted, much more shall it be omitted in places where it is *not in use*, and yet the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is held purely, as is the case in some places in Upper Germany, and the Holy Supper is received beneficially. For usages which are *adiaphora* can detract nothing from the essence of the sacrament' (Tract. de Cas. Consc. p. 467). The Leipzig theologian Hier. Kromayer writes as follows: 'Although it (private confession) has no *divine command* and has been abolished by *many* orthodox churches, for example the *Strasburg*, *Swedish* and others, as an *adiaphoron*, yet it has *examples* in Holy Scripture, and its benefits are not to be despised. * * That in our churches no one is admitted to the Holy Supper, unless he has confessed his sins, comes from *ecclesiastical* institution. Meanwhile they do not condemn other churches which do not have that Private Confession' (Theol. Positivo-Polem., p. 584). The Strasburg theologian Conr. Daunbauer: '*In the articles of the Augsburg Confession Private Absolution is maintained, and yet Christian freedom is allowed.* Thus in the St. Nicholas Church in Strasburg on account of Marbach, who had heard Luther, Private Absolution was and is still retained' (Theol. Casual. p. 99). Finally the Jena theologian, F. Bechmann, writes thus:

‘It is charged that many churches of the Augsburg Confession retain in practice only *open* (general) confession. Answer: This is conceded, but as we do this out of Christian freedom, so in other churches of the Augsburg Confession out of the same Christian freedom Private Confession is retained’ (Theol. Polem. 1702, p. 865). Of the so-called general confession, thus writes the Wittenberg theologian Balth. Meisner: ‘No one of our teachers has blamed and condemned as godless the kind of general confession which is employed not only in Reformed, but in many Lutheran Churches. For by the grace of God we know that the word of Absolution, which in the name and by command of Christ the minister declares there in *general* to the confitents, is the word which in our churches is applied not to all in general, but to each *individual*. Hence we say that *that* absolution is true and salutary, and *this* is not only true and salutary, but also for reasons given more suitable’ (Colleg. Adia-phorit. Disput. 7, 1616, E., 2, b)” (*Walther’s Pastoral-Theologie*, pp. 157–8).

These testimonies, quoted with approbation by Dr. Walther, ought to put to rest the question of the theological, dogmatic and confessional significance of Private Confession and Private Absolution in the Lutheran Church. From a great number of testimonies of similar character before us we select only the following in corroboration: Dr. Hildebrand, General Superintendent in Lüneburg, in his *Theologia Dogmatica* (1692), p. 480, says: “Well says the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Art. V., De Confessione: ‘*We approve confession, and we think an examination is profitable in order that the people may be better instructed.*’ But this sacramental confession is not so much a necessity as that without it remission of sins before God cannot be obtained, for it is not of divine authority.”

Tittmann in his notes on the Augsburg Confession says: “The article teaches that *this Private Absolution* must be retained, not because it is of divine institution, but because it is salutary to afford this consolation to individuals when they hear the voice in the name of God announcing the forgiveness of sins, as it is well stated in the Apology. Hence although the entire institu-

tion of Private Confessions and Private Absolution is only human, nevertheless Melanchthon rightly says it is impious to remove *Private Absolution* from the Church" (p. 82).

And Krauth in his "Augsburg Confession" says: "This then is our answer as regards 'private *confession*,' that the Augsburg Confession does not make it an Article of Faith, but denies it to be such, first negatively, in the Eleventh Article, where it *must* have been mentioned, had they considered it as such, and, secondly, positively in the Fourth Article on Abuses where the confession declares in positive terms, that confession, in any form, is not an Article of Faith, but a usage of the Church, retained by our churches at that time because they found it useful" (p. 77).

THE CHURCH ORDERS.

The Church Orders (*Kirchenordnungen*) were composed for the purpose of making a practical application of the doctrine of the Reformers. Some of them are veritable mines of information on the subject of Private Confession and Private Absolution. They show us in particular how this ecclesiastical institution was employed. But in studying our subject in these orders, we must carry with us the very just judgment of Von Zezschwitz. After describing the catechetical and church-forming activity of the earlier Lutheran Church, he says: "Everything which as a form of order entered afterwards in the *Kirchenordnungen*, is an addition from a different principle. The fixed, given quantum of state-church territory, was the material to which a pedagogic means had to be applied according to ancient models. The gnesio-Lutheran conception and the original church-congregation had nothing to do with it. Usually one does not reflect sufficiently on the first freer form of Church formation (*Kirchenbildung*) in the Reformation, but proceeds from the form which it received when the evangelical princes began to reform their whole territory with imposed Orders according to their own faith and that of their theologians. The turning-point is the Saxon Visitation of 1528, and the Hessen of 1526. Before this the plan was different. When the new conviction of the theologians

began to pass over into official practice, everything was set up *according to their own free determination* in this examination before the Lord's Supper" (*Katechetek*, p. 566).

In these Orders one misses that evangelical freedom which was manifested in the earlier Lutheranism, and sees instead, the hand of authority. The princes are the *summi episcopi*, and the theologians are their servants. Hence while the Orders maintain evangelical *doctrine*, they make additions in *Ordnungsform*, from another principle, the principle of state-churchism. The *doctrine* is the same, but it is now applied more under the conceptions of law. This will appear as we proceed.

1. In the Lippe Order of 1538 it is said: "The Scriptures show us three kinds of confession: The so-called divine, which is made privately or secretly to God, as when the heart of man is alarmed, threatened and anguished. Such was the Confession of David. Ps. 19 : 23 ; 32 ; 51 : 69. The second is that confession which is made to men, and is intrusted to the holy office of preaching, as preaching the word, administering the sacraments, loosing and binding, retaining and remitting sin. Such confession is shown in Matt. 16 : 19 ; John 20, and is necessary and salutary. The third is called fraternal confession, which by command of God is received from a Christian and is mentioned in Matt. 5 : 17 ; Luke 17 ; James 6" (*Richter's Kirchenordnungen*, II., p. 495).

The confession of sins to the pastor which is variously called *confessio privata*, *confessio secreta*, *confessio auricularis*, *Ohrenbeichte*, because spoken privately into the ear of the pastor, with a low voice (see *Augs. Con. Erklärt* by Weidner, p. 172), is not regarded as of divine institution. Under the head of Confession and Absolution the Brunswick Order of 1543 says: "Auricular confession is not enjoined by God ; hence it is not necessary in the sense that thou canst not be saved without confession. As the servants of Christ so must we teach and confess." Again: "Though such Auricular confession is not commanded, neither is it forbidden. * * Hence we can use the Auricular Confession in a very good, believing and Christian way" (Rich-

ter, II., 59). In the absolution the pastor is instructed to declare pardon to those who he is convinced believe on Jesus Christ. The following formula of Absolution is typical: "And I by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his life for us, and shed his blood for the forgiveness of our sins (*hic imponat dextram capiti peccatoris*) absolve thee from all thy sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen!" (*Ibid*).

2. An enumeration of sins is not necessary. They declare that the enumeration of sins is a torture of the conscience. The Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order says: "If any obstinate spirits should say that the papal confession should be restored, tell them, No, for no one shall be forced to relate all his sins to the Priest and to recite them in order." To the same purport also the Schleswick-Holstein Order of 1542. And the Cologne Reformation of 1543: "On account of Absolution the Confession shall remain, but no one shall be forced to an enumeration of sins, but each one shall make an humble confession that he has sinned, that he is heartily sorry that he has provoked God, that he is firmly resolved to amend his life, and henceforth to live in the fear of God, in obedience, true faith, prayer, thanksgiving and without offence" (Richter, II., 45). In this particular of the non-enumeration of sins the old *Kirchenordnungen* adhered faithfully to the teaching of Luther and the confessions, and thus opposed the teaching of the Greek and Romish Churches, viz., that all mortal sins should be told, in so far as the confessant can recall them, with their essential circumstances. Indeed with this principle Lutheranism cannot be reconciled, especially as it does not look upon the confessor as a judge who can impose a satisfaction according to the magnitude of the offence, but as a servant of God, who announces the divine mercy, and declares the pardon of all sins on the condition of repentance and faith.

3. Private Confession and Private Absolution as provided in the Orders are the preparation for the communion. Gerber, pastor at Lockwitz near Dresden, laments that "the ceremony of confession occurs only before the use of the Lord's Supper, followed by the Absolution. Hence the faithful servant of Christ

can have no thought further of comforting his troubled heart and alarmed conscience *formally* with the word of Absolution" (*Hist. Kirchencereemonien*, p. 540).

Some churches had a public or general confession immediately after the sermon, "as a necessary part of the liturgy, always to be repeated, but did not regard this as the proper preparation for the Lord's Supper. The private act of confession and absolution was required as the precursor of the Lord's Supper"* (*Daniel, Cod. Lit.* II., p. 352). In some countries, as in Pomerania the *public* confession was actually forbidden, and only the Private Confession was allowed. "The Church enacted by law that no one should be admitted to the Eucharist without Private Confession and Absolution," says Daniel (*ibid.*), who quotes in support of his statement from the Prussian Agenda of 1525, from the Wittenberg Consistorial Order of 1542 and from the Bergdorf Order of 1544. The latter says: "Without the antecedent confession and necessary examination and instruction of each one separately, no one shall be admitted to the sacrament." In the Cologne Reformation (1543) we read: "Private Confession shall be retained, and for the retention of Christian Absolution we earnestly command the pastors and administrators of the sacraments to admit no one who has not first received Private Absolution from his pastor or other regular ministrant of the sacraments" (*Richter*, II., p. 45). The same in essence is found in the Bremen order of 1534; and in the Pomeranian "*Statuta Synodica*" it is enacted that "the communicants shall come to the Vespers, hear an exhortation on confession and thus prepare themselves for the use of the Sacrament, nor shall any one be admitted to the Lord's Supper who has not attended the exhortation. Private Absolution shall be observed with great care, and each confessant is to be heard separately. If more come than can be heard *privatim* at one time, the pastor shall exhort some to return the next Saturday. If a minister of the word of

*Klöpper remarks: "It is well known that in several Protestant countries, as in *Sweden, Denmark, Holland*, and in several parts of *Upper Germany*, confession was entirely abolished. In Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenberg, it was all the more firmly held on to" (*Liturgik*, p. 240).

God should wish to commune, let him first seek absolution from a colleague or neighboring minister, except that in cases of necessity it may be different" (*Richter*, II., p. 387).

Such was the law that prevailed widely if not universally in Central and Northern Germany. Confession became chiefly what Von Zezschwitz calls *Glaubensexamen*, an inquiry into the faith of the communicant. The object was to ascertain whether he had correct views of Christian doctrine, and especially of the sacrament itself, and was properly prepared to receive the Holy Sacrament without condemnation. The object was in itself entirely worthy, but it was reached through these Orders by two significant departures from the primitive Lutheranism, "from a different principle," as Von Zezschwitz says.

1. They require that confession shall be made to one's *own pastor*, or to a regular minister. This imparts to confession features of formality and officialism. It no longer has the character of a free fraternal conference based on confidence and a sense of personal need. A certain time, place and person are appointed for confession, and confession itself has now in view the definite end of preparation for the communion. Moreover, regular forms of confession were prepared which were recited by the confessant. These are very general in their wording, and no doubt often fell far short of expressing the individual's state of mind. Then too, many persons would be led to rely on the outward ceremony, without true penitence and faith.

2. These Orders changed a matter of Christian freedom into an ecclesiastical law. They do not claim divine authority for Private Confession. Yet no one was admitted to the communion except through Private Confession. The people were diligently exhorted to come to the communion, and were told that it was evidence of a low state of piety in the congregation, if there were not some to present themselves for the Holy Sacrament every Sunday. Yet compliance with the exhortation, and obedience to the divine command, "*Do this*," were made possible only through a confessedly human ordinance. Even pastors themselves must confess and receive Private Absolution. This was contrary to the example and intention of Luther who some-

times went to the communion without having first confessed, and refused "to burden his conscience with a necessary custom," and who in a paragraph added to the Visitation Articles of 1538, reasserted the freedom which he seems to have relinquished in the first edition: "Especially shall absolution (of which the papacy is wholly silent) be richly held forth to the people in preaching, as the divine word in which sin is forgiven and remitted to every one in particular, and by which faith is kindled and strengthened; yet in so far that every thing shall remain voluntary and without constraint in the case of those who use absolution and would rather have it from their own pastor as a public person of the Church, than from another, and maybe could not do without it. But those are not to be coerced who are instructed in faith and the doctrine of Christ, and wish to confess to God alone and then receive the sacrament. They shall not further be coerced, for let every one take to his conscience what St. Paul says: 'Let a man examine himself'" (23 : 40-1). Had the institution been allowed to stand on the pedestal of freedom, on which it was placed by Luther, might it not have been spared many of the sad abuses which finally befell it? Was it not just this departure from the freedom of the primitive *Lutheranism*, and the undue emphasizing of the confessional *declaration*, and of the absolutional *forgiveness* as *the very forgiveness* of God, joined with a rigid and exclusive orthodoxism, which made the institution finally an instrument of oppression and a school of hypocrisy? Private Confession had now lost the character of a free ceremony. It had become a *law* of the state. It is natural that in the hands of princes and theologians who had before them the examples of the Middle Ages (I use the words of Von Zezschwitz) Private Confession should sadly degenerate towards the practice of the Middle Ages, and so it is

*Von Zezschwitz after stating the relation of the Reformed Church to Private Confession, says: "On the contrary in the Lutheran Church, later, when the state-church arrangement became fixed, and the idea of educating the people (*Volkspädagogik*) came up, it (Private Confession) became again an exclusive *Ordnungsform*. The matter took a different shape in the beginning of the Reformation.

represented by those most competent to speak on the subject. Von Zezschwitz says: "Gradually also Private Confession became again the sole prevailing *Ordnungsform* in the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Saturday afternoon *Beichtvesper* among the Lutherans grew to the complete parallel of the mediaeval *Beichtgottesdienst* on Ash Wednesday" (Herzog, II., p. 225). And Steitz, whose book, entitled *Privatbeichte und Privatabsolution der Lutherischen Kirche*, is the chief classic on the subject, says: "During the controversies with the Reformed the examination in rigidly Lutheran Churches assumed a very exclusively confessional character. The members of the congregation, and especially those who were suspected of leaning to the Reformed view, were examined formally on their orthodoxy in regard to the distinctive doctrines of the Lord's Supper. Hartmann and Jager give, in extracts from John Brentz, a series of confessional questions, among which the following are worthy of attention: 'Believest thou that Christ communicates his body in the bread, his blood in the wine? That Christ sits at the right hand of God in heaven? But if in heaven how can he give us his body to eat?' To the last question he gave the explanation in the confessional that the Lord's Supper is heavenly food, but before God there is no difference of time and place. Thus the Lutheran examination became a tribunal of faith (*Glaubensgericht*) as the Catholic confession was an inquisition of conscience. This was the natural consequence of the exclusiveness with which Luther held fast his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He admitted no salutary, yea not even a true and real participation of the sacrament, where a person did not share with full consciousness, his method of conceiving of the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper, where it was not confessed by the preachers and congregations that the body of Christ is reached with the hands and received corporeally by the mouth. Compare with his *Warning* to the people of Frankfort a. M. the declarations on pp. 296, 299, in vol. 26 Erl. Ed. I also call attention to the fact that in the former he approached the Catholic doctrine of the efficacy

of priestly intention which he otherwise so strongly rejected" (pp. 116-7).

Not unfrequently Luther's followers spoiled Luther's teaching by fixing on an accidental extreme, or by developing a thought uttered in controversy to its remotest conclusion. In nothing is this more manifest than in the subject under consideration. What Luther retained from the olden time as a privilege, not a few of his followers transformed into a law, which from the very nature of the operation of law, was far better calculated to promote intelligence of the understanding than to nurture piety in the heart.* The habitual recital of prescribed forms of confession and absolution must inevitably lead to mechanical performance.

In the practical administration of the institution there was very little deviation from the inherited methods.†

1. The time for Confession was the day before Communion, usually on Saturday afternoon, and the service itself was called *Beichtvesper*, which is thus described by Kliefoth: "The Beichtvesper on the day before the Sunday or Festival has its characteristic and its name from the circumstance that on it occurred the *Beichte* (Confession) of those who wished to commune on the day following. Yet this circumstance very little influenced its form and its content. Nowhere does the act of Confession seem to have occurred in the course of the Vesper, but usually the Vesper proceeded as on other days, and when the Vesper was ended the pastor assembled those intending to commune before the altar, read to them the Admonition to repentance,

*In the Austrian Order of 1571, the questions and answers to be used in confession extend over seven pages folio. They relate to the origin of sin, the trinity, the person and work of Christ, the doctrine of the sacrament, etc.

†The editorial in Erlangen *Zeitschrift* from which we have already quoted, says: "Finally it is to be observed that in reference to Confession and Absolution our Church retained the parochial compulsion (den Parochialzwang) as it found it in the Pre-Reformation Church, and even the confessor's fee (Beichgeld) and other accidents, the latter, the confessor's fee, in such a way as not to serve as a scandal, and the former, the parochial compulsion, in such a way that it served as a salutary discipline for congregations." p. 349.

confession and the sacrament, and then went to the confessional to hear the confession of each one, or he went at once after the Vesper to the confessional, heard the confession of each one, and assembled those who had confessed before the altar to read to them a general exhortation." (*Liturg. Abh.* 8, p. 183). The Wittenberg Order of 1559, says: "After the Vesper the priest shall hear the confession of those who wish to commune the next day, instruct and comfort them with the Absolution" (fol. 89). Several reasons seem to have conspired in the choice of Saturday afternoon for the *Beichte*: (a) The careless and indifferent would have a longer time for reflection and self-examination than would be afforded by holding the *Beichte* on the day of the communion. (b) It afforded the pastor more time to acquaint himself with the spiritual condition of the proposed communicant. (c) It left more time for instruction and worship in the Communion service. Nevertheless provision was made for the examination of the aged and infirm on the day of Communion.

2. "The old Lutheran Church retained the so-called confessionals (*Buchtstühle*) of the Church, but frequently exchanged them for a larger open room, and there allowed each confessant to make his confession to the confessor, and to receive from him *privatim* the Absolution" (*Klöpffer, Liturgik*, p. 246). Some of the Orders are very specific in regard to place. Generally they prescribe that the *Beichte* shall be held in the choir of the church, which is higher than the nave, and is separated from the same by lattice work. Into the choir the people went one by one, made their confession in a low voice, received absolution from the pastor accompanied with laying on of hands, and then departed, giving place to others. The Saxon General Articles of 1580, the most widely influential Order of the latter half of the sixteenth century, is very specific: "But because, especially at Easter, when the people are in the church at Confession all kinds of disorder occurs, and they crowd on the confessor, and quarrel with each other about precedence, and thrust one another back regardless of aged people and pregnant women, and thus stand round the confessor so that no one can make known his request

to the pastor privately nor can the minister speak to them properly, therefore the church-officers shall take the precaution everywhere that in the cities the ministers shall sit in the choir at places widely separated from each other, and the people shall stand outside the lattice or choir, whence they shall go one after another to the confessor, who shall speak with them so that others shall not hear. In the villages the pastors shall order the people to remain quietly in their seats until he who has confessed, shall have left the choir. Pregnant women and weak old people shall not be detained long, but shall be heard first. * * For this and other reasons, the pastors shall hear each person who wishes to come to the communion separately, and after instruction, exhortation, or consolation, according to the condition of the person, shall declare to him Private Absolution, and they shall not declare a general absolution to an entire company who have not been heard. Likewise the confession and examination of those who wish to go to the communion shall not take place in the house of the pastor or deacon, nor in the sacristy, but openly in the choir, that all may be done with greater decorum and seriousness in the presence of the people and by their prayers" (*Richter*, II., 438). In the Pomeranian Order it is enjoined: "The *Beichtstühle* (confessional choirs) the deacons shall set up at isolated places, so that others do not come near the confessor, to disturb the confession and to hear what is said." Hence as confession took place at the *Beichtstuhl*, and *privately*, in ecclesiastical language *Beichtstuhl* and *Privatbeichte* became nearly synonymous, as the following declaration from the Lauenburg Order shows: "It is necessary, useful, and salutary that the *Beichtstuhl* or *Privatbeicht* and Absolution, be not abolished."*

*In his "Augsburg Confession," with notes etc., Dr. Krauth says: "In both phrases '*private* Confession' and '*private* absolution,' the word '*private*' is not used in the sense of 'sequestered from company; secret,' but in the sense of 'individual, not general, separate'" (p. 78). This statement is in direct contradiction of the facts.

The Orders specifically say that the confession shall take place in the choir, *to the minister alone*, so that no other person can hear what is said, and that the *Beichtstühle* "shall be set at places widely sequestered from

At the confession the treatment depended upon the wants of the individual. In the Saxon Order of 1539 we have a typical example. It is said that there are two kinds of persons who come to confession, (a) those who have no intelligence and but little conscience, since under the papacy the people were not taught what sin is and how grace is obtained. When such people come to confession, desiring to do right and not knowing how, the pastor shall first try to touch their conscience, and cause them to feel that they are sinners and need grace. He shall begin by calling attention to the Commandments and exhorting the people to learn the divine word. (b) When people come who confess themselves sinners, and seek instruction, the pastor shall exhort to repentance and pronounce an absolution with laying on of hands. In form the Absolution is sometimes declarative, as "I declare to thee the forgiveness of all thy sins," and sometimes collative, as "I absolve thee from all thy sins." Many of the Orders have both forms. But in either case, the Absolution is based on the mercy of God and the merits of Jesus Christ. Often the confessant is told to go his way and sin no more. (See *Löhe's Sammlung* II., pp. 39-42).

Such in condensed presentation was Private Confession and Private Absolution in the Lutheran Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was not the Roman Catholic Confession and Absolution. It was divested of all *judicial* features, each other," *an weit von einander abgesonderten Orten sitzen.*" "Company" could see this confession *from a distance*, often only through lattice work, but could not hear what was said. Hence it was called *Ohrenbeichte*, *confessio auricularis*, because spoken in the *ear of the minister*. The Mecklenburg Order of 1650 contains a picture of the *Beichte*. The confessant kneels on a stool with a high back extending between him and the confessor, and pours his confession into the right ear of the confessor. In Carpzov's *Furisprudencia Ecclesiastica* is the picture of a canopied *Beichstuhl* within which sits the confessor, and on the outside is the confessant kneeling and speaking privately to the pastor. A partition rising nearly to the top of the confessant's head separates the two persons. In both cases the confession is private in the sense of "sequestered from company, secret." Other persons are standing at a distance awaiting their turn. One still sees such *Beichtstühle* in old German churches, but they are no longer used.

and did not impose *satisfactions*. Had it been kept as a *free* evangelical pedagogy, resting on a sense of need, and on fraternal confidence, it would undoubtedly commend itself as a most potent means of spiritual edification, especially in the hands of godly ministers who know how to exercise the pastoral function. But when it became, as it did in large parts of the Lutheran Church, an enforced requirement as a preparation for the Communion, and when every one who wished to commune, must first go to the *Beichtstuhl*, and make a formal confession of sins, often accompanied with hard dogmatic and metaphysical questions, and then receive a formal absolution, the door at once began to open for the admission of abuses. And that Lutheran Private Confession did succumb to crying abuses, is freely confessed by warm advocates of the institution, who think that the Church has lost much by allowing it to lapse. Private Confession was one of the chief things of which the Pietists complained. Says von Zezschwitz: "The *Beichtinstitut* is for Grossgebauer, afterwards for the champions of Pietism, the chief object of attack. In fact, after the state-church pedagogy became in the Lutheran Church an *Ordnungsform*, and the restoration of order after the Thirty Years' War had given it a new legal sanction, it sank speedily enough into mechanism and formalism. That which Luther had denounced as a Romish abuse, had now become a formality in his own Church. At the times fixed by law the masses flocked to the *Beichte* and to the Lord's Supper. And while there (in the Romish Church) the law imposed upon auricular confession much humbling discipline, here (in the Lutheran Church) the favorite formal Confession was sufficient to obtain remission for all sins through personal security and Private Absolution. The confessional examination, and also especially the inquiring about the faith, had almost entirely lapsed. Church discipline existed only as a penance enforced by the police, release from which could be had by pecuniary fine" (*Katechetik*, I., p. 584). In 1667 John Caspar Schade, pastor at St. Nicholas in Berlin, wrote a book entitled: "Praxis des Beichtstuhles und Abendmahls." He denounced it as "idolatry and soul-murder." "Praise it who will, I say: Beichtstuhl, Satan-

stuhl, Höllenpfuhl." It was declared that "the regenerate who really believe, and consequently stand in the grace of God, have no need to seek forgiveness at the Beichtstuhl." Kellner affirmed, "The wonted method is nothing but a dawdling custom, a mockery." Instead of Private Confession Schade introduced a confessional address, and general confession without the confession of communicants. In 1698 an electoral rescript made Private Confession optional, and enjoined only a personal announcement to the pastor, and attendance upon the confessional address. Gradually the old order of Confession fell into desuetude, and a general confession and general absolution have taken its place. Private Confession and Private Absolution are no longer the required mode of preparation for the Communion. In Germany the preparatory service for the Communion is still called the *Beichte*, and is held in the body of the Church or in the sacristy. In August, 1892, the writer attended such a *Beichte* in Munich on Saturday afternoon. The chief features of the service were an address, public confession and public absolution. In January 1893 he attended a *Beichte* in Leipzig. The service, which did not last over twenty minutes, was essentially like that witnessed in Munich. Only nine persons were present besides the pastor. In answer to diligent inquiry the writer was informed that Private Confession and Private Absolution in the sense of the Augsburg Confession exist nowhere in Germany. A private letter from Dr. Jacoby (Aug. 15th, 1895) from which I am permitted to quote, says: "You are aware that Private Confession, on account of the abuses which connected themselves with it, and on account of the attacks of the Pietists has lapsed in Germany. In recent times, it has been frequently commended, but not set up again. Even its friends would leave it to the option of the individual, and consider the general confession as sufficient, though they do not look upon this even as enjoined by the Scripture."

ARTICLE III.

SOME REASONS WHY A MINISTER SHOULD STUDY
SOCIOLOGY.

BY REV. MARTIN L. YOUNG, PH. D.

Herbert Spencer defines sociology as "that branch of philosophy which treats of human society." As a science now formulating, a more exact definition can probably not be given. Only after fuller study of the fundamental principles underlying the social sciences will sociology receive comparative and sufficient definition. Some writers, indeed, have treated it as being synonymous with social science and regarded it as embracing political economy and ethics. While it can not be severed from all connection with these distinct sciences, since it has at its sphere of investigation social life, diversified and complex in phenomena, forms, structure and forces, yet indiscriminating and inexact is the view which regards it as the sum of social and political science. When, however, we remember that the lines of research contemplated in the study of sociology compass the principles and laws affecting human society, we cannot fail to be impressed with the duty of devoting to the subject earnest thought and investigation. Man as a social being, existing social forces, disease, vice, crime, as well as the radical causes of social ills, and the means of restraint and elevation, are worthy of the patient and persistent study of every lover of mankind and, especially, of the minister as a leader among men.

The importance of this study appears also in the attention given, in our day, to thoughts on all that pertains to social life and relations. In late years there has been marvelous advance in the investigation of this subject. The last decade has witnessed an interest in it so intense and wide-spread as to be regarded phenomenal. Twenty years ago the word sociology did not find a place in the leading encyclopaedias. It was not classed among the "ologies" worthy of special study. Now,

however, the subject is receiving scientific treatment on the part of thinkers of our own land as well as those of other lands. Much has been done of recent years in Germany, France and England in the thorough study of social problems and the results of the ripest scholarship devoted to them, are published in foreign journals, both secular and religious. The discussion of the same subjects occupies many pages of the leading American Reviews. Some of our colleges and theological seminaries have provided professorships or lectureships devoted exclusively to sociological instruction. It is becoming more and more evident that the Christian ministry can not afford to ignore the earnest thought given in our day to this great question. The work of associations organized for the special purpose of acquiring a knowledge of existing social forces, and affording relief for present-day social evils, shows the minister that his field of labor and theirs are largely coincident. Whatever touches deeply the interests of public morals, is concerned with the purity and perpetuity of the family, the state and the church, and has to do with the welfare of all classes of people, demands the enthusiastic attention of the minister of Christ. He is called to be a leader in efforts to promote the well-being of mankind and society. Unless he leads they who are under his pastoral care hold back.

So conservative a writer as Dean Murray of Princeton College has said: "The Christian Church should be a teacher in wise and just social reforms. And let the American Church not forget our great and sad lesson in its recent history. The praise of having been the first to lead off in and the most resolute to persist in the anti-slavery reform does not belong to the Christian Church. History will have to record that here she was not faithful to her high commission; that she halted when others advanced; that she was timid and bowed to money power or political expediencies, and that the real heroes of that great movement were men who, in some instances, went out of the Church rather than be a party to her dilatory and vacillating policy. Let the lesson never be forgotten. Let the Church of Christ be spared a second such disgrace."

May we not fear that the leaders of the Church to-day, are too cautious in giving aid to social reform—too slow to lend a hand in the effort to exterminate social evils.

The following statement made by Mr. Powderly may be overdrawn, but the truth in it is worthy of serious consideration. He said: "You can count on the ends of your fingers all of the clergymen who take an interest in the labor problem. We seldom hear a word in condemnation of child and woman labor from the pulpit; and while it may be true that we have the mere passive sympathy of the clergy, they take particular pains not to allow that sympathy to become known to the employers of women and children. When our clergy speak of Sunday rest, they, with few exceptions, do it in a half-hearted, apologetic sort of way. They lack the moral courage to assail the practice of obliging men to work on Sunday all over this land in mines, mills, factories and on railroads. * * If our ministers would have the workingmen of this nation believe in them, if they would draw them to God on Sunday, they must demonstrate that they take more of an interest in humanity in the other six days of the week than they do at present."

That ministers in our great cities are not taking such an active interest in the movements to improve social conditions and to reform existing social and political evils, is manifest in the criticisms offered by the timid when some brave man makes charges and institutes energetic proceedings against gigantic public wrong. The sensation caused by Dr. Parkhurst's attack on Tammany shows how rare a thing it is for a minister to be found in the fore-front of a movement to overthrow political corruption.

It is said that when an attempt was made in one of our large cities to investigate and lessen the evils of the sweating system, and the hope was expressed that the active support of the clergy might be enlisted, "a sincere friend of the Church, a prominent professor, who, from long scientific study of social questions, knows more of the mind of the pulpit towards labor problems than any other man in the country, immediately replied that it was useless to try. Previous attempts in the same city had re-

sulted only in listless well-wishing and passive prudence. They would not put their shoulders to the wheel."

This spirit of extreme prudence on the part of the ministry, of lagging indifference towards public evils growing rapidly and becoming a menace to social order and even our form of government, must give way to a quickened active interest in all that pertains to the well-being of society. The study of books treating on sociological subjects will help to show the magnitude of the questions involved in present-day social life. But books alone will not arouse to an awakened consciousness of existing needs in society. The minister must come in touch with the people. He must mingle with those who are associated for the purpose of bettering the lot of their fellowmen. He must find out what the people are thinking about, if he would help them. He more fully learns his duty to his fellowmen as he coöperates with the movements seeking the correction of abuses in the industrial and political world.

The study of sociology reveals the extent of social evils. We may have a vague sense of the existence of many wrongs in society. We know something of certain evils—some of them of recent growth, others hoary with age, but our knowledge may be very partial and superficial. The facts relating to the great problems and their scientific and practical bearings, may be inadequately comprehended by us. How wide in extent the ground covered by social reform is, we learn as we look out over the different department in which men are working in individual and associated capacity. A mere glance at the list of subjects discussed in a social science congress is a revelation to one who has given the matter little thought. In the proceedings of the English Social Science Association we find such subjects as the following were discussed: "Adulteration of Food," "Crime and Density of Population," "Restoration of the Criminal," "Early Closing," "Drainage of Towns," "Industrial Employment of Women," "The Application of Eminent Charities," "Short Imprisonment," "Prison Dietary," "Prostitution," "Reformation for Convicted Girls," "Adult Evening Schools," "Public Vaccination." The list of subjects discussed at any social science convention

shows us how wide is the field opened to the student of sociology. It is no small task to enter this broad field and undertake the work of gathering facts and principles and make such classification and application of them as shall prove helpful to men as rational and moral beings, but this is the high aim of the student of social problems.

The field is so wide that few can hope fully to compass it and yet the Christian ministry should be well informed on questions relating to public morals and the physical welfare of society, and sociology has to do with such questions. The responsibility of the pulpit in relation to social problems cannot be evaded. The ministry must teach the first and great commandment but the second which is like unto it, viz., "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," demands exposition and this table of the law must be taught with a view to the needs of men to-day.

This suggests another reason why the minister should give attention to social questions. It is that his preaching may not lack the important element of timeliness. True preaching must be adapted to the circumstances and needs of men. Truth is truth forever. The essential nature of sin is lawlessness and the consequences of sin are essentially the same in every community and every age and yet, despite essential sameness, sin is ever changing in form. Thus it becomes the duty of the preacher to present the truth as it is in Christ, who is eternally the same, so as to apply that truth to changed moral conditions. Christ is the sovereign remedy for the moral disorders of the individual and society, but the remedy must be properly administered. In seeking the cure of mammonism, political corruption, intemperance and other evils, individual, social or national in character, a uniform specific treatment must not be adopted. There is a remedy for all these evils, but it must be applied in right manner. The different cases must be carefully studied and only after this has been done is there adequate preparation for the application of the remedy. A question for the serious and prayerful consideration of the ministry is this: "What is the attitude of Christ towards present day problems?" Social and moral conditions

of the world in the nineteenth century are not what they were in the first. To this generation we are to declare the will of Christ—to declare it in such manner as will meet the peculiar needs of the age.

Very forcibly has one said, "Honest Christians have maintained that Christ's command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' is consistent with the law of slavery. You may love your neighbor as yourself and yet reduce him to bondage, was a view which long prevailed among men, although we may be sure it was never the mind of Christ. Can a man love his neighbor as himself and yet take advantage of him in his business transactions? Can the capitalist who sees the men in his mill crushing each other in their competition for work, go to church, listen to the preaching of the gospel and say that he loves his neighbor as himself? If he does so declare, it is the duty of the preacher to say to him that he has not learned what love is. The message must be more definite than 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' What has the Lord to say to the men in the mill? What has the Lord to say to the owner of the mill, who is clothed in linen and fares sumptuously every day, while men who earn his money for him must be content with the bare necessities of life? When this man declares that any wages are fair for which he can get men to work, the Lord has something to say and it is the duty of the preacher to find out what that is and when he has found it out to say it, however much odium or ridicule he may incur, and however often he may be told that he is departing from his proper calling of preaching dogmas, such as predestination and perseverance of the saints."

The preaching of the apostles was effective not only because they had the mind of Christ but because they thoroughly understood the age in which they lived. They were familiar with the vices and virtues of the people of their day. They understood the wants of the people of their time and were diligent in the work of setting forth Christ in such manner as to meet those wants.

Another reason why the minister should study sociology is, that he may be prepared for a social revolution which seems to

be imminent. In changed conditions of society he should be a leader.

The *Westminster Review* says, "It is felt by every student and every statesman that some movement vast and momentous, though indefinite, is passing like a great wave over the civilized world." The *Churchman* says, "It is idle to refuse to admit the fact that modern civilization is in a transition state. * * * There are a thousand evidences that the present state of things is drawing to a close, and that some new development of social organization is at hand."

A vigorous American writer after referring to the great ideas which have ruled the world, the idea of redemption, the master idea two thousand years ago and the idea of liberty in church and state one thousand years ago, says, "A great idea is now leading the world's thought and lifting its hopes. Everywhere are the signs of universal change. The race is in an attitude of expectancy, straitened until its new baptism is accomplished. Every nerve is feeling the first agonies of a great trial that is to try all that dwell upon the earth and issue in a divine deliverance. We are in the beginnings of a revolution that will strain existing religious and political institutions and test the wisdom and heroism of earth's purest and bravest souls; a revolution that will regenerate society with the judgments of infinite love. We must get ready for the change by making strait the way of the Lord Christ into the heart of the social strife, that he may purify it with the hope of justice; by giving him command of the revolution, that he may lead it into a larger redemption of the earth. God honors our generation by bringing upon it the sorrow and trial of seeking a road to social order; of finding a way to something like an equitable distribution of economic goods, a mutualism of the responsibilities and benefits of civilization. The idea of brotherhood, co-operation, unity, is both destroying and recreating the world. The feeling that men were made to stand together, that the race rather than the individual is the unit, is widening and intensifying. The belief that sacrifice and not self-interest is the social foundation, that the Golden Rule is natural law, is everywhere gaining disciples and power.

Men are beginning to see that the welfare of each is the responsibility of all, and the welfare of all the responsibility of each. Whether it be for good or ill, whether foolish or wise, the socialistic idea is leading the world. Whether the passion for oneness works the weal or woe of society depends entirely upon the reception or rejection by the Christian Church."

The relations between working people and their employers are strained to the highest tension. The interests of the two classes are found to occupy no common ground. So strong is the antipathy between them that there is a continual struggle for the advantage and mastery, the workingman eagerly laying hold upon all he can get for his labor and the employer giving the least wages possible. The laborer has become more intelligent than in former years, and learning that two hundred thousand persons control 70 per cent. of the national wealth—that one man in three hundred receives \$70 out of every \$100, and two hundred and ninety-nine men receive \$30, averaging ten cents a piece, he is dissatisfied. He knows that his condition has not improved in proportion to the general material progress of the country. He sees frequently men of his own class begging for work while their wives and children are begging for bread and clothing. He knows that men and women are working in sweatshops sixteen hours a day for wages that scarcely pays for food sufficient to prevent starvation. He knows that while wedding festivities and balls, costing \$50,000, and even far in excess of that amount, are in progress, thousands of hungry people are living in tenement houses unfit for stables. He knows that the workingman is despised by many of the rich and that legislation is frequently shaped to the demands of the capitalist.

The defiance or evasion of legislative enactments on the part of monopolies and trusts, the dictation of tariff schedules, the rapid flowing of the nation's wealth into the coffers of the few, the indulgence of all forms of luxury and the arrogant pride of the very rich over against the increasing poverty and degradation of industrial toilers have produced popular distrust and discontent. Doubtless there is blame on both sides. Selfish interests are in conflict, but the capitalist is the greater sinner.

Too many have followed the rule which some one has given for becoming a millionaire, viz.: "You must devote your life to the getting and keeping of other men's earnings, you must care little or nothing about other men's wants or sufferings or disappointments. You must not mind it, that great wealth involves many others' poverty."

The minister of Christ must investigate this sociological question so that he may lend a helping hand in its solution, for apart from the force of the truth in Christ, proclaimed by his ambassadors, there is no power that can settle any question right. The teaching of the sermon on the mount must be applied in solving the great problems of our day. No true reform, no real readjustment of social conditions can be effected apart from the controlling influence of Christianity. "Surely," says Dr. Strong, "if the new era is to mark an advance in the coming of the kingdom, the multitude that is being quickened with a new life and is to fashion our unfolding civilization must be brought under the power of Christian truth."

The Christ whom we preach is the teacher and exemplar of the truth that service and not greed, love and not competition, are to regulate the conduct of men in their relations with one another.

An earnest student of social problems makes this forecast and his words are worthy of serious consideration: "As I look anxiously and prayerfully into the future, I see the men who work and the men who own labor and capital, marshaling themselves upon opposite sides of a conflict that may bring woe to all that dwell upon the earth. As the hosts anger and strengthen, I see one like unto the Son of Man moving down the gathering lines, to bind all the conditions and interests of human life in the mutualism of the justice of the kingdom of God. I see him reach to clasp the hands of strife in a federation of love, which is the realization of the freedom of God in humanity.

And then the question arises, what shall we do with Christ? Shall those loving hands be pierced with the hate of selfishness? Shall the unbelief of society again refuse the kingship of the Son of Man? Shall a false church and a secular state, Pharisee

and Atheist, join hands once more to crucify him as a destroyer who comes as a Saviour? Shall we crucify the Son of Man afresh? This is the heart of the social question.

"Our great work is to make our life an interpretation of the cross as the law and order of God. We are sent to bear the cross into the unfaiths and antagonisms of the world as the sign of their healing and peace. And though men misread and hate the sign, as we press it upon the problems of our day, and we fall early in the conflict between the false order and the true, apostolic hearts will receive the cross and bear it on to the consummation of the ages in a human society that shall be an eternal incarnation of Christ."

ARTICLE IV.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND THE MASSES.

BY REV. J. F. SCHERER, A. M.

Much has been written in recent years concerning the "Church and the Masses," the burden of which has been an attempt to answer the query, "How can the Church reach the masses?"

That this is an important question, none who are at all concerned about the growth of Christ's kingdom on earth, will deny; for while we may not be inclined to the pessimistic view held by some, that the Church is losing its power with the people, yet we must admit that there is an alienation which bodes no good for the success of the Church in the future.

That many theories have been advanced,—some of which at least can scarcely lay claim to divine origin,—all know who have been at all attentive to this subject; that the question has not yet been satisfactorily answered for all, will be readily conceded; that any suggestions which have in them the elements of helpfulness to a solution of this vexatious but important problem, are worthy of consideration, will doubtless be admitted.

It is in view of this, coupled with a large degree of interest in the question itself, that we venture to offer a few thoughts, bearing more specifically on the relationship between our Lutheran Church and the unsaved masses.

It has always seemed to the writer that this question of reaching the masses, must be considered chiefly from the *local* standpoint. Conditions and environments largely determine the influence which individuals and organizations can wield in a community.

Then, too, it must be remembered that the evangelization of the world is to be brought about, not by the conversion of humanity *en masse*, but by bringing people to Christ *one by one*.

We would not detract from the importance of the general work of the Church as a whole, but we would emphasize the thought that it is by *personal contact* that we must expect to do the most good. To act intelligently in this matter, we must then, first of all, understand the cause of this alienation in our individual localities; for while there doubtless are some general causes which have a bearing upon the work everywhere, yet it remains true that the principal cause of this alienation is to be found in local conditions and environments. Clearly then, the first duty is to ascertain this cause; the second is to remove it, if possible; and it is self-evident that, if this is done in *all* communities, the problem is then solved *universally*.

Notwithstanding what has just been said in reference to this problem in connection with its solution from the local standpoint, it yet remains true that there is a fault of universal extent and a correspondingly universal remedy for it. This fault is to be found in the *unattractiveness of much of the church services*; and if this be true the remedy suggests itself.

The term "unattractiveness" is used deliberately, meaning by it such services as are calculated to enlist neither eye, ear, nor voice, and therefore fail to reach either mind or heart.

The argument is briefly this: If the Church wants to win the masses, she must make her services of that character that will attract and hold them to her. By this is not meant "sensationalism" in any form, for not only is everything of that character in Christian worship wrong; but because it is wrong, it does not constitute a lasting or permanent attraction—it fails to win the people to the church.

The masses outside of the Church thoroughly understand

that such things are not right, are not churchly, and that they are used only as a "bait" with which to draw them in, and the words of the martyr President—"you can fool some of the people sometimes, but you can not fool all of the people all of the time,"—are thoroughly applicable here; the people recognize in these sensational church methods a political trick, and if they do sometimes appear to be captured by them, yet they have in their hearts only contempt for the Church which uses them.

True attractiveness in Church services consists in close adherence to pure, scriptural forms of worship, including the plain, practical preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Again and again has the writer been told by men and women of all degrees of intelligence, "We do not go to church to hear lectures or stories; nor to listen to a choir render operatic music; but we want to worship God, and hear his Gospel."

But what has this to do with the subject of this paper? Only this, *Genuine Lutheran worship comes nearer satisfying the needs and the demands of the masses than does any other form of church service.*

Is this a bold statement? None the less it is a true one. The writer has had, in some particulars, a special opportunity to learn the opinion of the "common people" on this subject, and he has become fully convinced on a few points, viz:

1. *Genuine Lutheran worship is attractive to the masses through its liturgical service.* Whatever may be said in certain quarters concerning this matter, the fact remains that the great body of the people want such a service in connection with their public worship. True, they do not want this to be so lengthy as to displace the sermon, nor to unduly protract the services, so as to cause them to become wearisome; but they do want something in which they can have a personal and definite part. This our Lutheran form of worship gives to them, and because of its combined simplicity, comprehensiveness, and richness, it appeals to and satisfies their mental and spiritual demands.

2. Lutheran worship is attractive to the masses through its *plain practical preaching of the word of God.* This is indeed one of the glories of Lutheranism, viz., that its preachers are *ex-*

pounders of the word of God. With rare exceptions, this is pre-eminently true of the ministry of our Church, and this is that which the people want. They want the sermon to be instructive to both head and heart; and because our Lutheran worship possesses this quality, it attracts to itself the most substantial people of all communities. It is no argument against the truth of this statement, that other churches sometimes have larger membership or larger attendance at their services than our own; local, or personal environments will explain this condition when it exists, and the fact remains that, other things being equal, the Lutheran Church will attract the largest numbers whenever and wherever genuine Lutheranism is preached and practiced.

3. The Lutheran Church is attractive to the masses through its polity. While we must admit that there is here yet much room for improvement, it remains true that with all its imperfections in practice, the principle of the Lutheran polity—liberty under the law of love—is decidedly popular and satisfying to the great “common people.”

In view of these facts—for such they certainly are—we need not look far for a satisfactory answer to the question of the relationship between the Lutheran Church and the masses. We need only to be thoroughly Lutheran if we would reach the people and win them to Christ and the Church.

It is true, there has been a cry raised in certain quarters, that our prosperity depends upon conforming to other churches around us; that we must abandon our distinctively Lutheran practices and forsake our distinctively Lutheran doctrines. If this position be the correct one, then Lutheranism has run its day, and is no more deserving of a place in the visible Church of Christ; its usefulness is at an end, and it has no defense for its existence.

But, is this position correct? Most decidedly, *no*. Lutheranism is neither dead nor dying. Indeed it has never been quite so much alive as at the present time, it has never abounded so largely in good works as now; its growth and evidences of prosperity have never been so manifest as to-day; and it is

equally true that Lutheranism in America has never before been so distinctively Lutheran as it now is.

It certainly cannot be difficult to trace the cause and effect here. In those days when our Church was ashamed to take an unequivocal stand on the grand Augsburg Confession of Faith; when our ministry, as well as our laity, were largely willing, nay, even anxious to unite our forces with those of other churches to the obliteration of our own; when men apologized for being Lutherans, then our Church did not prosper, then she did not reach the masses, and, indeed she failed to hold those of her own household. But with the awakening of Lutheran consciousness, with the restoration of Lutheran confessionalism, with the open and bold avowal of her distinctive doctrines and forms, she is prospering so marvelously as to surprise herself, as well as all her friends and foes; and whilst this is but the beginning, the first streak of the dawn of the glorious day which is before her, the results have been sufficient to demonstrate that pure Lutheranism will reach the masses.

That there may be no misunderstanding here, we define pure Lutheranism to be the Lutheranism of Luther, Biblical in doctrine, scriptural in methods, churchly in worship, not given to sensationalism, nor pandering to the emotional, not temporizing with the world. We mean the Lutheranism which trains the children *in the Church*, instead of casting them adrift that they may *perhaps* some other time by sensational methods be brought back to that in which they should always have dwelt, the Lutheranism which is thoroughly Christocentric in all its doctrines and methods.

Here is a duty laid upon the ministry of our Church: we should place this great truth—that the Lutheran Church is pre-eminently qualified to reach the masses—upon the hearts and brains of our laity; we should impress them with the fact that upon thorough loyalty to distinctive Lutheranism depends our future success as a Church. We must educate the people to know what this distinctive Lutheranism is, and rest assured of this, as they understand it better, they will love it more. Doing this we do not denounce others, but we exalt our own; we do

not become selfish nor exclusive; but as members of the first and greatest of Protestant Churches, with profound humility towards God, we glory in the rich heritage of faith which has been transmitted to us; we bless God for the marvelous opportunities opened up to us, not only to save our own, but to win the unsaved masses around us as well; we magnify his name who led by his Spirit those who formulated our doctrines and fashioned our methods; we rejoice in the attractiveness of our worship; and whilst above all things we bless God for our redemption through Christ—that we are *Christians*—we likewise bless him that we are *Lutherans*.

If we need any evidence from the daughters of the mother church of the Reformation that our methods are best calculated to reach and save the masses, we find it in the zeal with which these daughters are patterning after us. There is to-day no Protestant denomination of any considerable strength or influence but that is introducing a liturgical service in its public worship; and those who a few years ago were making merry of our Lutheran practice of saving the children to the Church by catechisation, are now declaring that their only hope is in adopting a similar practice.

We assert with all boldness that the failure of Lutheranism in the past in this country was because of the failure of ministry and laity to emphasize our distinctive doctrines and methods, just as the present marvelous growth of our Church is found in the revival of this pure Lutheranism.

As I stood not long ago near the "Thomas Circle" in the City of Washington, I was impressed, as I looked upon the statue of the "Rock of Chickamauga," with the thought that upon one man's firmness and resoluteness hung—in all probability—the destiny of our beloved land; then turning, I looked upon the statue in Luther Place, of the "Rock of Protestantism," and with renewed power there came to me the truth that, under God, upon this man hung the destiny of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ; and I felt the fitness of having him who was the forerunner of civil and religious liberty placed with those who saved their country from disruption; and I blushed that some

who bear his name are so false to their vows and professions, that they would exalt all other doctrines and practices above his doctrines and practices.

The solution of the problem of reaching the masses, in so far as we as a Church are concerned, lies in thorough-going loyalty to historic Lutheranism. We need not seek for new methods, nor try new devices; we need not attempt new doctrines, nor strange teachings.

Back to Luther, as Luther went back to Christ,—let this be our shibboleth,—faithfulness to Lutheran conservatism and Lutheran confessionalism, and we need have no fear but that our part in the evangelization of the masses will be accomplished. Not *less*, but *more*, of emphatic, distinctive, faithful, earnest, loving, loyal, consecrated Lutheranism is the “one thing needful” to us as a Church—this, not because it is of Luther, but because it is of Christ.



ARTICLE V.

JEROME OF PRAGUE.*

BY P. FELTS, D. D.

From a marshy tract of land in the northern Adirondacks a tiny streamlet begins a journey of three thousand miles to the sea. At first it pursues a devious course among the mountains—now flowing sluggishly along under the hemlocks or amid the spruce, anon rushing down through dim hollows and wildly dashing against rocks, it breaks the silence of the woods with a song. Having received supplies from many a mountain rill and tumbling brook, it finally emerges from the wilderness a stream of no inconsiderable size. On reaching the open country larger tributaries contribute to its growth by which it becomes a navigable river, and one of the great arteries of commerce of the Empire State. And now its sweep is through verdant meadows and fields of blushing clover and golden corn, or amid hills vine-

*A lecture delivered at Hartwick Seminary by appointment of the Board of Trustees.

clad, and mountains rock-ribbed, beautifying by its touch both country and town. At last the little lonely brook of the wilderness, with banks crowned with rich and populous cities, enters the sea, a mighty river floating upon its bosom ships of commerce from all parts of the habitable globe. Such is our own majestic Hudson—ours geographically, but practically belonging to every maritime nation under the sun.

Now in this river we possess a striking and beautiful symbol of men—men who have originated and directed the great currents of thought, which have made the world's history what it is. In childhood and in the home, like the brooklet in the marsh; in manhood and in the Church or the State, like the river pouring into the sea.

It is well known that great things, and things pre-eminently important, are usually unique. While multitudes of smaller streams are running in all directions through the great State of New York, within its boundaries is found only one Hudson. As with rivers, so with men; here and there appears one of great magnitude. It has been remarked that one-talent men are a multitude, two-talent men not numerous, and five-talent men extremely rare. And yet the demand for five-talent men has always found a supply. There has been no age without its heroes—no nation without its leaders—no cause without its champions. When the clock of destiny struck the hour for the march through the wilderness, Moses appeared as the liberator, leader, and lawgiver of his people. When the years of their tent-life were at an end, Joshua was ready to lead them to the conquest of the land and settle them in cities and in houses. When the time for the introduction of Christianity into the refined and cultured cities of Europe had arrived, Saul of Tarsus, great in scholarship and profound in thought, was prepared for the undertaking. When the Church, corrupted both in doctrine and in practice by the papacy, demanded a reformation to prolong its very existence, Luther arose to champion the cause and make it a success. But men like these belong not simply to their own age and nation, but to every succeeding age and to all nations.

The world justly lays claim to them as its true heroes and benefactors.

It is among the names of men like these, whose reputation and influence are world-wide, who are renowned for heroic deeds and moral worth, we find that of Jerome of Prague, to whose life and character your thoughts will now be directed. Our purpose is to view him in the threefold light of a Christian Scholar, a Christian Reformer, a Christian Martyr.

Jerome was one of those luminous characters that are easily known and read. He burned not only like a fire in the furnace, but, like a beacon, cast his blaze afar. Both friends and foes always knew where he stood. He let his light shine, which was clear and beautiful in its shining, when we consider the corruption of the age in which he was born and the Church in which he was reared.

He was born in the City of Prague about the year 1365. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but as he was about ten years the senior of John Hus, the above date is probably correct. He was a descendant of a noble Bohemian family, whose name was Faulfisch—a name in no way savoring of sweetness. But then

“What’s in a name? that which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet.”

There was a sweetness about his character and his life, however much of unsavoriness might be attached to his name.

Jerome’s educational advantages, even from childhood, were superior. His birthplace was a university town, and the capital of a nation noted for intelligence and enterprise. It was in this city that the German Emperor had his palace, and reviving art and literary culture a home. Prague, at this time, was the foremost city in Eastern Europe. It is said that “her situation was one of the most beautiful and magnificent in the world.”

The environment of nature has a wonderful influence in the unfolding of an active and thoughtful mind. The scholar apt in deciphering the hieroglyphics of nature,

“Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

Jerome's surroundings, no doubt, created in him an aspiration to scholarship, through the attainment of which he was equipped for his future work.

Grand results have been accomplished through very humble instrumentalities, as, when God is a factor in an enterprise, success is sure. But he who reads history must know that the world's best work has been done by educated minds. Moses did a magnificent work in his day, but then he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." The same may be affirmed of Saul of Tarsus, but he had enjoyed the privilege of sitting at Gamaliel's feet. So may it be said of Augustine, but he had been taught in the best schools of Carthage and Rome. So with Wickliffe, and Hus, and Luther, and Calvin, and Farrel and Knox, and Wesley, but all these were university students. For his best work, the Divine Sovereign has chosen the best minds best educated. And if the sentiment of Byron, "The best of prophets for the future is the past," be true, then we cannot expect that he will deviate from this method of the past in the years to come. Not that we in any way would question the power of Deity, even to the repetition of the miracle of making a dumb ass to speak, but who would voluntarily become an ass for the sake of having a miracle wrought through him?

Jerome's superior advantages for the attainment of a ripe scholarship were well improved. Hence he was known throughout all Europe as a man of letters. He was a shining light in educated circles—being alike noted for his linguistic, philosophic, and theologic culture. Not only do we find him in his pursuit of knowledge in the university of Prague, but likewise in those of Paris, Koeln, Heidelberg and Oxford. As a scholar he was by far the superior of Hus. In a letter written by his countrymen to the nobility of the state it is said that he was "indisputably a flowing fountain of eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, as well as an illustrious philosopher." In oratory he had few peers. "Jerome," remarked one of his bitterest enemies, "was an orator. Nature had made him such. All the various learning of the age had helped to furnish his mind and discipline his powers." Poggio, an Italian prelate of high repute for learning,

wrote concerning his defence at Constance: "I confess I never saw one who approached so near in pleading his own cause—and that a capital one—to the eloquence of those ancient models which we regard with such admiration. It was wonderful to see with what language, what eloquence, what arguments, what countenance, what oratory, and with what confidence he answered his persecutors, and summed up in his own defence."

But what gives a greater luster to his name than his mere literary attainments is that he laid himself with all his learning and eloquence at the Master's feet, praying with Saul from his heart of hearts, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Herodotus in his writings tells us of a Lydian prince, who made an exceedingly costly offering to the temple at Delphi. It consisted of a large number of couches decked with gold and silver, goblets of gold, vestments of purple and precious things to a fabulous amount. So great was the stream of melted gold that ran down from the altar that from it a massive lion was cast. But how meager such an offering to what our hero laid upon the altar of that Deity who had called him to be his servant. Not material possessions, but himself with all his learning, and pious zeal, and heart-experience, he gave a willing sacrifice to the Lord. He was a scholar, and more, a Christian scholar, and therefore he became a CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

Christianity is true. Whatever opposes it is false. Its author said of himself, "I am the truth." Christianity therefore as it came from its author could not have had in it any admixture of error. It was pure; for all truth is pure, wherever found. Hence whatever untruth we find connected with science, philosophy or theology, must be of human origin. God has made the flowers, the rocks, the sea, the stars, the soul of man vehicles of truth. But how often have men, through intellectual pride, made them vehicles of error. Hence we have atheistic science and agnostic philosophy—a world without a God, a soul profoundly ignorant of its Maker. Thus man corrupts the truth. Nor has he dealt more justly with religious or Christian truth than with that which is scientific or philosophic. Purer than the breath of the morning, or the aroma of the lilies, or the

snow upon the mountains ; aye, pure as the light beaming from the countenance of him seated on the rainbow-encircled throne was our blessed Christianity as given the world. And so would it have remained had not the human attempted to improve upon the divine. God makes, man unmakes. God builds up, man pulls down. God sends a blessing, man turns it into a curse. Therefore a pure Christianity is polluted by his unholy hands. A few centuries roll by and the pure, evangelical faith is buried in darkness beneath the rubbish of error. Gospel truth is superseded by the commandments of men. The only foundation upon which the superstructure of a Christian manhood could be built was being rapidly demolished. And "if the foundations be destroyed what can the righteous do?" In the present age prejudice prevails against doctrinal preaching and clamors for that which is alone practical. "Doctrine," it is said, "is the skin of truth, stripped off, dried, and set up empty : give us the living body, not the dry skin." But such prating only shows the ignorance of the praters. By what means can the spiritually dead be revived, edified, fitted for companionship with angels, and for service in the kingdom of heaven, other than the truth? We are "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." By the same means we are sanctified. "Sanctify them by the truth," prays the Master for his disciples, "thy word is truth." And this truth stated in clear, intelligible propositions is doctrine. It is not less, but more doctrine, that is needed in the Church at the present day. The theological student best versed in dogmatic theology, and best skilled in its use is best prepared, if otherwise well endowed and instructed, for efficiency in the pulpit. Attendance must be given to doctrine.

The Church of Rome having abandoned "the faith which was once delivered to the saints" for a mass of dogmas invented by misguided reason, opened a floodgate through which poured the foulest streams of moral impurity. In the age of Jerome, as for several preceding centuries it was a hot-bed of iniquity. "The vital doctrines of Christianity had almost entirely disap-

peared, and with them the life and light that constitute the essence of the religion of God." The Church founded by him who was "the life," and which in its purer days vitalized whatever came under its influence, now lay "an exhausted, enfeebled and almost lifeless body." Never were darker pictures painted than by some of the clergy who preached before the council that condemned Hus and Jerome to the stake. One of them asserted in a sermon that "almost the entire clergy is under the dominion of the devil;" while the council itself he represented as an assembly of Pharisees playing the game of religion and the church under the mask of devotion. "In the world," added this same preacher, "falsehood is king, among the clergy avarice is law. In the prelates are found only malice, iniquity, negligence, ignorance, vanity, pride, avarice, simony, lust, pomp, hypocrisy. At the court of the pope there is no holiness. It is a diabolic court." Another one of their number declared that the clergy squandered their money on buffoons, dancing girls, dogs and birds, instead of using it in charity to the poor; that they frequented taverns and brothels, and went from the society of the most profligate characters to mass without any scruple. Of the convents he said, "It is a shame to speak of what is done in them; more a shame to do it." And yet in all these abominations he unhesitatingly declared that the court of Rome set the example. What could be expected of the laity when their religious teachers, those of highest authority in the Church, had thus corrupted their ways? Like priests, like people.

It was at this period, when Hus and Jerome were actively engaged in work of reform, that the Church was divided into two obediences—the one adhering to a pope in Italy, the other to one in France. In order to reunite the schismatic body, a council assembled early in the fifteenth century at Pisa, which, after charging both of the reigning popes with schism, heresy, perjury, and other unmentionable forms of wickedness, deposed them, and elected Peter Philargi, Cardinal of Milan, to that office, who assumed the title of Alexander V. And now the Church boasting infallibility presented the anomaly of a body with three heads, as all three asserted and sought to maintain

their claims to the papal chair. Instead of warring with evil they warred with one another—each one assailing the other two with excommunications, reproaches and maledictions. Professing to serve the Lord, they served him, as one remarked of a certain people, “as if the devil were in them.”

Notwithstanding this miserable condition of the Church, yet some earnest Christians, both among clergy and laity, were to be found, but so few in number that they could do no more than sit at home and mourn in the silent chambers of their hearts. Occasionally one arose of unwonted daring, who, moved by a holy indignation, would utter his complaints against the corruption of the times, and attempt a defence of “the truth as it is in Jesus,” but his lips were speedily silenced by torture or by death. Although Wickliffe, one of this class, was permitted to die a natural death, yet his bones were not permitted to be unmolested in the grave. Above forty years after his death they were disinterred and burned to ashes. Such the animus of Rome—such her guilt and shame!

It was from Wickliffe’s writings that Jerome received many of his advanced ideas both in philosophy and religion. He greatly admired this English Reformer. Several of his books were translated by him while at Oxford, which were on his return to Bohemia introduced into the University of Prague. Through the writings of Wickliffe, and a careful study of the Holy Scriptures, a zeal for the defence of the truth and the overthrow of error was enkindled in his soul, and constrained him to openly engage in the work of reformation in his native city. In apprehending gospel truth and in denouncing Romish error, Jerome was in advance of Hus. By him was the reformatory movement in Bohemia begun. Jerome was the teacher, Hus the pupil. The voice heard in Bethlehem Chapel was that of Hus, but the sentiments proclaimed were those of Jerome. As co-laborers they were eminently fitted to each other, especially in the work of reform. Jerome possessed great strength of intellect; Hus of heart. Jerome was impetuous, inclined to excess; Hus moderate, never given to extravagance. In beauty and symmetry of character uninspired history acquaints us with

no superior to John Hus. "We could scarcely wish him to have been," says a certain author, "other than he was. Even without the crown of martyrdom, we should have been constrained to pronounce him brave and true,—the possessor of a manly, noble nature." With such a nature, and aided by the superior learning of Jerome, and incited by his impetuous spirit, Hus was the stronger and the more useful man through the influence of his friend. "Two are better than one."

The Christian character of Hus was so sweet, so Christ-like, that he never seemed resentful, no matter what the provocation. His sole dependence was upon the truth. Jerome was inclined to supplement teaching with works of a questionable character, as mock processions, the singing of derisive songs and ballads, the reviling and persecuting of the friars, and destroying of their relics. On one occasion he caught up a priest and threw him in the Moldan, who, had he not received timely assistance, would have drowned. His strong impulses paved the way to the doing of some acts that cost him bitter tears, and inclined him to an extravagance that injured the cause he most zealously espoused. But in all his acts we must credit him with an honest purpose. He was a true patriot and for the weal of his country toiled and suffered. He was a faithful Christian and for the glory of the Christ, and the good of his Church gave his life. Like his adorable Lord he lived and died for others. His life was grand—his death noble.

"The noblest death for man to die,
Is when he dies for man."

How sad the thought that some of the brightest lights in the Church of God have been quenched with blood—their own blood, shed by those who thereby sought to conceal their own evil deeds. Jerome was in advance of his age. Of him the world was not worthy. Roman Catholicism could not endure the purity of his life and teaching. Hence they were concealed by the pall of death. He died a CHRISTIAN MARTYR.

The Council of Constance before which the Bohemian reformers were cited and by which tried and condemned, assembled in Sept. 1414. In November of this same year, Hus ar-

rived in the city, and at first was permitted to enjoy no little liberty. But soon the spirit of persecution, bitter, unrelenting and unscrupulous, was aroused against him, which resulted in his arrest and imprisonment. Jerome, having heard of the cruel treatment of his friend at Constance, resolved to go thither himself, thinking that he might possibly be to him of some service. "There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Such a friend was Jerome. But unable to render any assistance to Hus, he withdrew from the city with a heavy heart, and was on his way homeward when waylaid and arrested on the 25th of April, 1415, and on the 23rd of the succeeding month, was delivered a prisoner to the Council—a council whose proceedings are written in blood, and read in the light of the fires of the stake.

For want of time we pass by the history of his prosecution. Suffice it to say that through all his lengthy trial he maintained himself as a hero. His bearing was noble. He was master of the situation. He was a true knight. He stood upon the rock of truth, unmoved by the maddened waves of mockery, sarcasm, persecution that were hurled against him. When amid noisy shouts he heard the cry, "Jerome must be burnt;" he answered apparently without emotion, "Well, if you wish my death, let it come in God's name."

But an evil day awaited him. Evil, not because of the persecutions of his enemies, but because of the imperfection and weakness of his own heart. The trouble was from within, not from without. Jerome was not perfect. The sun has dark spots upon its disk. The purest of human characters are not free from stains. Of the God-man alone is it said, he "did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." Another like him the world has never seen.

Jerome, for a long time having been kept in close confinement, and treated with the greatest inhumanity, was thrown into a violent fit of sickness. When in an enfeebled state of health, he heard of the martyrdom of his friend. The effect of such intelligence upon one in his physical and mental condition was appalling. His imagination wrote on his prison walls in letters

of fire, "No hope except in submission." Depressed in spirits, and with an exhausted energy, he was brought before the Council, and there, under the terror of being burned, was he called upon to abjure his errors, and acknowledge that the execution of Hus was just. Had his past conduct been taken as a prophecy of his decision on that occasion, none would have thought for a moment that he could have been moved to comply with such demands. Hitherto he had shown himself resolute, chivalrous, fearless, heroic.

But Jerome, like St. Peter, was self-reliant, and because of this weakness, fell. "Under the impulse," says one, "of conscious strength, he rushed too recklessly to the hazardous encounter. By sore trial he had to learn the lesson that taught him to be a better man, and a nobler because a Christian hero. The hardships of his imprisonment had unnerved him—had made the bold man fear and quail. The terrors of a cruel death awed him to a base submission. Human weakness prevailed. The promises and threatenings of the Council shook his purpose. He signed a paper by which he declared his submission to the Council, and approved the condemnation of Wickliffe and of Hus."

"How are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph."

But Jerome soon saw the unwisdom and criminality of what he had done. It was the occasion of an exceedingly bitter experience. It made him intensely wretched. Conscience kindled hotter fires in his soul than ever consumed the martyr's flesh at the stake. Because of a similar experience he knew how intense must have been the sorrow and hot the tears of the apostle Peter when he went out of Pilate's Hall into the darkness "and wept bitterly."

It was on the 23rd of September, 1415, that his retraction in his own hand-writing was presented to the Council; wherein he acknowledged himself in error, and consented to the sentence pronounced by the Council against the doctrines of Wickliffe and Hus, and against their persons. By so doing he was not

only unjust to himself, but unjust to his friend, for whose martyrdom he was in part responsible. But had the shade of the murdered Hus stood before him a greater pallor would not have settled upon his countenance, nor greater trembling shaken his frame.

But we pity rather than censure him for his defection amid this trying ordeal. It brought him down in deep penitence before the mercy-seat, and when from that low posture he arose he was in the best sense "a new creature." He arose like Aphrodite from the foaming sea, full-grown, unhampered by puerile weakness, combining in himself all greatness belonging to our race—the strength of man and the love of woman. His defection put him in the fire, but he came out thoroughly refined. It was a painful process, but man struggles upward through pain. In pain he is born into the kingdom of nature, in anguish of soul into the kingdom of grace, and in pain he passes through the portal of death into the kingdom of heaven.

When on the 27th of April, 1416, Jerome for the last time was brought before the Council, he was prepared for any emergency. Before that august body he stood, as Minerva is said to have leaped from Jupiter's brain, full-armed. He had "put on the whole armor of God." Supported by an approving conscience the frowns and threats of the Council had no more impression on him than scattered rain-drops on the flinty rock. Having been condemned for heresy, Sunday, May the 30th was the appointed day for pronouncing sentence against him. On that memorable day he was brought from the dungeon in which he had been kept with hands, arms and feet loaded with irons. Once more every possible effort was made to induce him to recant. "I will abjure," was his reply, "If you demonstrate to me from the Holy Scriptures that my doctrine is false." How noble a stand to take. One hundred and five years roll into eternity and the echo of these words is heard ringing in the ears of those constituting the Imperial Diet at Worms. "I will abjure," says Jerome, "if you demonstrate to me from the Holy Scriptures that my doctrine is false." "Prove my doctrines to be erroneous from the word of God," shouted Luther, "and I will

willingly retract and renounce them." How alike in sentiment are these memorable utterances! How they witness to the power of God's word over the believing soul! Here we see how strong to suffer men may become, how brave to face danger, how willing, if need be, to sacrifice life, when comforted, emboldened and sustained by the "exceeding great and precious promises" of the Holy Scriptures.

It was on the morning of the Lord's day, and at the time that the crowds of people, eager to behold the scene, should have been assembling in the churches for worship, that he was on the way to the gates of flame, through which he believed he would pass to the communion of the Church triumphant in heaven. Before he left the Council, a high paper crown, like the one worn by Hus on a similar occasion, on which were pictured demons wrapped in flames, was brought in. As soon as seen by him he removed his hat from his head and placed thereon this mock-crown, at the same time exclaiming: "Jesus Christ, who died for me, a sinner, wore a crown of thorns. I will cheerfully wear this for him." And wearing it he went to the stake with a firm step, eyes uplifted to heaven, face shining like that of an angel, and with the songs of the church upon his lips. While being bound to the stake, and the wood, mingled with bundles of straw, was piled about him he sang the hymn—"Salve feste dies." As the executioner approached from behind to apply the torch, he cried out, "Come forward boldly, apply the fire before my face. Had I been afraid, I should not have been here." Just before his voice was lost in flame and smoke he was heard to say, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit," and then to utter a short prayer for forgiveness. Although after this no audible voice was heard, yet his lips could be seen moving in prayer until out of the dissolving tent the ransomed soul in a chariot of fire was born beyond the reach of bigoted, persecuting, hell-inspired enemies. And that no track nor trace of him might remain, whatever belonged to him, every article of apparel, even the bed upon which he slept in prison, was thrown upon the blazing pile and consumed. And when all was over, his ashes were carefully gathered up and thrown into the Rhine

that they might be borne away, and lost in the depths of the sea.

The workman dies, but the work goes on. Had they attempted to dam the Rhine with the faggots and straw piled about his stake, the undertaking would have been no less foolhardy, than their efforts to suppress the truth to which his divinely inspired lips had given utterance. Truth like the gush of the morning light will go forward. Its power is irresistible. The very river into which the ashes of our hero were cast, becomes a highway to facilitate the dissemination of the truth to which he was a martyr. A century rolls by, and to its banks came a man of like spirit, of like faith, of like knowledge, a confessor of the same sublime truth, who would sooner die than confess a lie. One greater, in some respects, than Jerome has arisen to champion the cause of gospel truth. Jerome is dead but Luther lives; and hard by the Rhine he stands "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might," battling for the truth.

"And there he stands! in superhuman calm,
Concentr'd and sublime, * *
Crown'd with the grace of everlasting truth,
A more than monarch, among kings he stood."

And by his confession on that occasion of the same truth for which Hus and Jerome died, he gave to it an impetus which is still operative in its dissemination among those nations and peoples "that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." "All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away! but the word of the Lord endureth forever." Its march is onward; and like the rising sun it will pursue its journey until there is no shore laved by the ocean's surf, or no land where trees wave and shadows fall in this great world of ours, that is not made glorious by its celestial radiance.

ARTICLE VI.

A FRENCHMAN ON LUTHER AT WORMS.

Translated from the French of François Auguste Marie Mignet, by
HON. WILLIAM M. ROBBINS.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, November 10, 1483. His father, John Luther, was a miner in the mountains of Saxony. The surroundings of his early life were hard and poor, but they contributed, like those of all great men, to fit him for his destiny. The oak was then thrusting into the ground those roots which enabled it afterwards to defy the storms.

Luther's mother, a thoughtful and pious woman, superintended his early training and made it thoroughly religious. When at school in Magdeburg and Eisenach, he was obliged to eke out his means of support by reciting prayers and singing ballads before the doors of the gentry. His voice was very fine; and he remained always fond of music, which in youth had been a relief to his poverty.

When eighteen years old he went to the University of Erfurt. There he learned the scholastic philosophy and studied ancient history and jurisprudence. Endowed with great quickness of comprehension, he learned at once whatever he undertook, and never forgot what he learned.

At Erfurt he first read the Bible, which impressed his mind by its simplicity and grandeur and made him still more deeply pious. But what decided his vocation was the death of a companion at his side stricken by lightning. At once he forsook the world for the cloister and turned from legal studies to theology. He became a mendicant monk and joined the Augustinian order, observing the rules, fulfilling the obligations, and undergoing the hardships of the monastic life with rigorous austerity. This man, who was soon to fill Europe with his name and with a stupendous revolution, devoted himself with humble

submission to the most abject duties of his monastery, for this cause even leaving off the reading of St. Augustine and St. Paul, his favorites respectively among the fathers and the apostles of the Church.

In 1508 he was sent by John Staupitz the provincial vicar of his order to the University of Wittenberg, lately founded by the Elector of Saxony, that he might perfect himself in philosophy and theology. He had learned Greek and Hebrew, which in that age were the two great instrumentalities in promoting innovation. The study of these languages, then restored to favor, led him to new fields of thought by opening to him the treasury of ancient ideas ; and by giving him a better knowledge of the original text of Scripture, conducted him step by step to primitive Christianity and began to alienate him from Catholicism.

He made a journey to Rome in 1510 in the interest of his order. It was then that he imbibed that dislike of the opinions and manners of the Romish clergy and that hatred of the pomp of the pontifical court supported, as it was, by tribute from Germany, which he kept hidden in his bosom for seven years, but which burst forth in a sudden explosion in 1517. After his return he was made Doctor at the expense of Duke Frederick, who had taken a great liking to him, because the renown of his learning and his lectures drew the German youth to Wittenberg and gave distinction to the rising University. As Luther loved controversy and feared no antagonist, however formidable, he first attacked Aristotle ; and when the contest about indulgences arose, he attacked the pope.

When he engaged in this conflict he was thirty-four years old. He was of medium stature, somewhat corpulent, with a broad forehead and eyes full of fire, energy and daring. Beneath this vigorous exterior there was a strong intellect, an indomitable heart, an earnest, ardent soul. Luther was energy itself. He united in himself the most opposite qualities ; violent and kind ; austere and cheerful ; impulsive and adroit ; persuasive and imperious ; possessing Christian humility combined with the loftiest self-assertion. His energetic nature, which had acquired a reserve force under the restraints of the cloister, was able to do

two things,—either of them enough for renown,—to overturn and to reconstruct. He secured free inquiry and yet knew how to maintain obedience; he led a revolution, yet upheld law; he awoke in the hearts of men passions that had slept for ages, and still he restrained within the limits of his designs the passions and ideas he had aroused.

Catholicism had been the most beautiful, complete, poetical and imposing of the structures built up by Christianity; it had carried farthest the spirit of self-abnegation and of unity, most happily blended human art with divine sentiment, developed most highly the power of man, and done most for the organization of society. It had made Europe. From one end of the continent to the other, it had established that homogeneous civilization which demanded unity of thought under unity of rule, submission of will to law, and of political to ecclesiastical authority, in order to repel so many invasions, curb so many barbarians, transform so many peoples, subdue so many passions, and overcome so many disorders. But after having done this grand work for the unity of Europe and the safety of civilization, it had lost its energy. At that moment the genius of Luther assailed and shattered it; and his blows upon that powerful unity were destined to shiver all the old institutions of the world and cover it with their fragments.

Luther first attacked the sale and merit of indulgences, in his sermons and essays against the Dominican Tetzel. But the contest soon extend to other points of Catholic doctrine as well as this and shifted from the Dominican Tetzel to Pope Leo X. During three years he continued to separate himself more and more widely from the court of Rome by the publication of his opinions and his obstinate disobedience. He accepted as the sole standard of doctrine the text of Scripture and not the decisions of the Holy See. In vain Leo X commanded him to retract and be silent, and sent Cardinal Cajetan to Augsburg to bring him to obedience. The cardinal having condemned without refuting him, he appealed from the cardinal to the pope. The pope having in turn condemned him without a hearing, by his bull of Nov. 9, 1519, he appealed from the pope to a general council.

At length, the pope seeing from his book on "Christian Liberty" that he was sinking deeper and deeper in heresy and separating himself from the Church, fulminated against him the bull of June 15, 1520, which condemned forty-one propositions contained in his works, demanded that he retract these within sixty days and forward his retraction to Rome, and if this were not done, the pope declared him excommunicated and delivered over to the secular arm, ordered that his books be publicly burned, and placed under an interdict all countries which should afford him an asylum.

As soon as Luther heard of this bull, he wrote: "The die is now cast. I scorn the fury of Rome as I have scorned her favor. I will neither be reconciled to her nor longer observe useless forbearance towards her. Let them condemn and burn my writings; I, too, will condemn and, if fire can be found, will burn every pontifical decree." He preached at Wittenberg and wrote against the bull. Finally, on learning that his books had been burned at Rome, in some ecclesiastical states of Germany, and in the low countries, true to the pledge he had made, he solemnly burned the pope's bull and the canon law on the 10th of December in the public place of Wittenberg, in the presence of an immense assemblage of people who were enthusiastic for his doctrines and in raptures at his courage.

Thus he separated himself from Rome irrevocably by an act till then unparalleled. After this step it was inevitable that Luther must triumph over the Holy See or perish. He was about to begin a new conflict, with the secular power, sworn ally of the ecclesiastical authority, which enjoined upon the former to suppress by force those whom itself condemned in the name of religion. The emperor, to whom the pope, Leo X, then addressed himself, was called upon to become Luther's adversary.

That emperor was Charles V. He was then twenty-one years old and the mightiest sovereign of Europe. In 1506 he had acquired the low countries; in 1516, the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; in 1519, the states of the house of Austria; and he had just then acceded to the throne of the Empire. Christopher Columbus, Fernando Cortez, and Francis Pi-

zarro had added almost a whole new continent to his European dominions. Four great houses,—those of Aragon, Castile, Burgundy, and Austria,—were united in him. Neighbors of France and alarmed at her aggrandizement under Charles VII, and Louis XI, and her conquests under Charles VIII, those houses had allied themselves by intermarriages and left Charles V. as heir of their power and of their apprehensions. Born of a train of political alliances, he was in himself a coalition. The royal lines combined in his person had bequeathed him not only their possessions but their characteristics. He possessed the skill and dissimulation of the house of Aragon which had produced in Ferdinand the Catholic the most politic and astute sovereign of his time; the gravity and melancholy of the house of Castile that became extinct in Jane the Simple, which prompted him afterwards while yet alive to assist at his own funeral; the valor and enterprise of the house of Burgundy which expired at Morat and Nancy with Charles the Bold; the thrift of the house of Austria which came into Germany in the thirteenth century with nothing but its sword and in the sixteenth century had become the mightiest there. He was young, brilliant, earnest, adroit, brave, full of eclat and of projects. His possessions he regarded merely as means to further acquisitions. Austria, the low countries, Spain, Italy, were like strong pillars on which for twenty years he strove to rear a stupendous edifice of universal monarchy.

Charles V. was crowned at Aix-la-chapelle Oct. 21 and convoked the first Diet of his reign at Worms. The pope wrote him to execute the sentence which had been passed against Luther, and he addressed the Elector of Saxony, notifying him that he had been often requested by the pope's nuncio to cause the books of Dr. Martin Luther to be burned throughout the Holy Empire and that he had already ordered this in his hereditary dominion of Burgundy. But he added that out of respect for the Elector he wished to hear Luther before proceeding against him and he desired the Elector to bring him to the Diet of Worms to be examined there.

The Elector wished to learn the intentions of Luther and to

know if the fate of John Hus would not deter him from obeying this perilous summons. Spalatin his private secretary therefore wrote and asked Luther if he would go to Worms upon the Emperor's order. He responded Dec. 21, 1520: "If summoned to Worms I would go even if sick. If the Emperor wishes to use violence towards me, as such a citation might lead me to suspect, I would leave the matter to God's guidance. He still lives and reigns—he who preserved the three young men in the fiery furnace. Should he will not to preserve me, my life is a little thing; and this is not a question of what I may fear or of what may befall me,—it concerns the Gospel. Our adversaries must have no room to say we dare not confess what we teach and that we fear to shed our blood for our faith. Moreover, I cannot tell whether my life or my death will be most beneficial to the cause of the Gospel and of the commonwealth. I only trust and I pray God that the Emperor may not stain the beginning of his reign with my blood. I would prefer, as I have often said, to perish by the hands of the Romans only and not see him an accomplice in the business. You know what misfortunes overwhelmed the Emperor Sigismund after putting John Hus to death. He had no more prosperity; he died without heirs; his grandson Ladislas perished; his name became extinct in one generation; his wife proved a dishonor to her sex and to all queens. But should it come to pass that I must be delivered up not only to pontiffs but to kings, God's will be done. Now you see my purpose and know my heart. Expect everything from me rather than flight or retraction. May the Lord Jesus Christ confirm me in this resolution."

Meanwhile the court of Rome, informed of the convocation of that sort of secular council and of its objects, was unwilling that the civil authority should encroach upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Therefore Leo X. took care to pronounce his final sentence. He launched against Luther an irrevocable bull of excommunication, and commanded all priests solemnly to declare in the presence of their congregations, with the bells tolling, the standard of the cross unfurled, and all tapers extin-

guished, that Luther and his adherents of all ranks, even the highest, were excommunicated and accursed.

The nuncio Alexander, who had for several months opposed calling Luther before the assemblage at Worms, then demanded of the emperor the prompt execution of the pope's sentence. He was admitted before the Diet, on Feb. 13th, to urge the justice and necessity of the bull, spoke three hours against Luther, and demanded that his writings be immediately burned and himself banned from Christian fellowship. He said that Luther revived the condemned heresies of John Hus and Wickliffe; that he assailed not merely the pope and the court of Rome, but the chief tenets of the Christian religion; that his heresy by denying the sacraments destroyed the means of grace and salvation; that by giving to every Christian the power of absolution it destroyed the priesthood; that by making every individual a judge of the faith it destroyed the authority of the Church as the interpreter of Scripture, and would produce as many religions as interpreters; that by proclaiming the freedom of the faithful, it threatened the safety of princes, after overthrowing the power of the pope; that it would bring confusion into the world, which must remain without law or hierarchy or obedience if this pestilent heresy, which the court of Rome had vainly struggled for four years to extinguish, should not be suppressed along with its author. He finished by declaring himself against the proposal to summon Luther and hear him and grant him a safe conduct, and urged the emperor to issue an edict ordering the immediate execution of the pope's sentence.

The emperor, unwilling to displease either the Elector, who was not present at that sitting, or the nuncio Alexander, partly satisfied both. He decided to call Luther before the Diet prior to burning his books and decreeing his banishment; but at the same time he would call him there solely to ascertain whether he was in fact the author of the propositions condemned by the bull and whether he still maintained them. He hoped that fear of the imperial authority would extort from Luther a retraction which he had refused to the distant menaces of the court of Rome. Should he now refuse, Charles V. was resolved to act.

Luther, therefore, was summoned to Worms, not to hear his doctrines examined there, but to disavow them or receive his condemnation.

The following letter was written him March 6, 1521: "Charles the Fifth, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, ever August, etc., to our honorable, dear, and pious Dr. Martin Luther, of the order of the Augustines:

"Whereas, we and the estates of the Holy Empire now assembled here, have, by reason of the doctrine and books published by thee some time ago, proposed and resolved to come to a decision concerning thee, we now grant thee and send with this letter our free and imperial passport by which to report thyself here and safely return:

"Desiring thee to set out at once and report thyself to us within twenty-one days, in the manner specified in the passport, and to come without fear of violence or injury, we will hold firmly in hand the rigid observance of the terms of said passport, and we persuade ourselves that thou wilt come. For if thou fail, thou wilt render our judgment severe."

The letter and passport of the emperor were sent to Luther by the imperial herald Gospard Sturm who was charged to protect him on the journey. Luther unhesitatingly obeyed the orders of the Emperor and Diet. Some of his friends, not sharing his fearlessness and thinking his life at stake, tried to dissuade him from his purpose by reminding of the fate of John Hus. He said to them: "If they should build a fire sky-high between Wittenberg and Worms, I would go."

So he set out in an open carriage furnished by the town council of Wittenberg. Duke John of Weimar provided for his expenses on the journey. Luther was accompanied by two of his pupils, Justus Jonas and Nicholas Amsdorf, and by Jerome Schurf, counsellor-at-law. The imperial herald with his coat of arms preceded him on horse-back. On the whole route he was the object of popular curiosity and enthusiasm. They gave him a magnificent reception at Erfurt. The rector of the University came to meet him two leagues from the town, followed by a con-

siderable company on horseback and on foot. Though he was forbidden to preach, he yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants of Erfurt and went into the pulpit of the church of the Augustines. Everywhere the multitude crowded to see him, moved with awe and admiration. At Oppenheim, Spalatin sent to advise him to consider well before going on, but he replied: "I would go to Worms if there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses." At Mayence, they counseled him to withdraw to the castle of Ebernberg where Francis of Sickingen offered him an asylum through Dr. Martin Bucer whom he had sent to meet him with some cavaliers for his escort. But he constantly answered that he would go whither he was summoned.

On the 16th of April he entered Worms in his open carriage, clad in his monkish gown, preceded still by the imperial herald and followed by over two thousand persons. This procession, swelled by the inhabitants of the city, accompanied him to the hotel of the Teutonic Knights where he alighted. He was visited the same day by several dignitaries of the empire and a great many German gentlemen. Every one wished to see the man who for four years had faced single-handed the papal power and become renowned over all Europe for his learning, piety, and courage. His friend, the poet Ulric von Hutten, the ingenious and sarcastic author of "*The letters of obscure men*" in which he had satirized the monks of Germany, wrote him to stand firm in his bold resolutions. His letter which was addressed, "To the theologian and evangelist, Martin Luther, my devout friend," closed with these words: "In this juncture, my dear Luther, be confident and steadfast; you can count upon me. If you remain firm I will stand by you to my latest sigh."

The next day, April 17th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Luther was brought before the Diet by the marshal of the empire, Ulric von Poppenheim, and the herald Gaspard Sturm. An immense crowd filled the streets and covered the housetops. Such was the press that Luther was obliged to go through the houses and gardens to reach the place of assembly. As he was passing through this crowd they gave him words or tokens of

encouragement on every side. When he arrived at the door of the hall, George Frundsburg, one of the most distinguished soldiers of Germany, slapped him on the shoulder and said, "Little monk, you are going to face a danger such as neither I nor any captain ever encountered on the field of battle. But if your doctrines are true and you are sure of it, in God's name stand firm and he will not forsake you." His person and his cause inspired universal interest.

The Diet was very full when he entered. Most of the electors, princes, and deputies of the imperial states, were seated upon the benches assigned to the three estates of the empire, each according to his rank and with the decorations and orders appropriate to his dignity. They were all drawn to this sitting by lively curiosity or secret sympathy. The emperor presided, seated upon his throne in all the splendor of his power, and surrounded by his ministers and the chief dignitaries of his court. Over five thousand persons occupied the hall or crowded its entrances. Luther appeared before this august assembly with modesty and deference in his bearing, but without embarrassment. He felt himself raised above all fear of man by the mission to which he believed himself called.

The marshal of the Diet notified him not to speak till he was questioned. His books were there on a table. After a brief silence, John of Eck, chancellor of the electorate of Treves who had been appointed to interrogate him, said: "Martin Luther, the emperor has caused you to be summoned that he may know whether you acknowledge the books published under your name." The counselor-at-law, Jerome Schurf, who was by his side, read their titles, and Luther admitted he was their author. Being then asked if he was willing to retract their contents, he replied: "As this inquiry concerns the faith, the salvation of souls, and (greatest of all things in earth or heaven) the word of God, it would be rash in me to give an unpremeditated answer. By so doing I might say too little for the interests of my cause and yet too much for the interests of truth, and I fear I might incur that anathema of Christ, 'Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven.'

Therefore, I humbly pray your imperial majesty to give me time to consider of this, so that I may be able to answer without deviating from God's word.

The emperor granted him twenty-four hours. He said on going out: "That man will not return a heretic." The modesty of Luther, whose friends had advised him to curb his impulsiveness, did not impress the mind of the young emperor, who had expected more self-assertion and eloquence in such a bold and renowned innovator. The delay asked for by Luther was regarded by some as a sign of weakening and gave them hope of a recantation.

Next day towards evening Luther was brought before the assembly. The hall was lighted with flambeaux. The chancellor of Treves having asked what his decision was, he responded in these terms: "Most illustrious emperor, serene electors, and gracious lords and princes, I return under the orders given me yesterday evening, and I pray your majesty and your lordships to hear with favor my just and true cause, and please pardon me if I have not given to each one of you his proper title. I am but a poor monk, reared in the solitude of the cloister and not skilled in the usages of courts. In all I have taught and written, I have had in view nothing but the glory of God and the salvation of Christians, whom I wished to lead back into the way of truth. This I can conscientiously assert."

After this opening, he remarked that his writings were of several kinds. The first related to faith and good works, and he could not disavow these without condemning the endorsement they had received even from his enemies. The second denounced the papacy and the teachings of the papists, who had perverted Christianity and oppressed the world, Germany especially, by insupportable exactions; and he would not disavow these for fear of giving free course to the rapacity and tyranny of the court of Rome. The third had been written against the opponents of his opinions, and he would admit that in several controversies he had been too bitter and vehement towards them and had gone farther than became his profession. But he did not pretend to be faultless nor a saint. In this matter, however,

it was not his personal character that was involved, but his doctrines. And these he solemnly declined to disavow.

Coming then to the special defence of his books, he said: "I cannot defend myself better than by imitating my Master, who when stricken by one of the high-priest's servants while speaking, turned to him and said, 'If I have spoken amiss, show me wherein I have spoken amiss; but if I have spoken well, why smitest thou me?' He who could not err did not disdain to hear a mere servant's argument against his doctrines. As for me, who am but dust and ashes and can so easily be mistaken, I ask if any one will bear witness against mine. I therefore beg your majesty and your highnesses, and every one, whether of lofty or of humble station, to be pleased to convince me by the words of the prophets and apostles that I am in error. Let this be proven and I am quite ready to retract my errors and will be the first to cast my books into the fire."

He added that he had not espoused this cause rashly, nor did he persist in it through pride; that he had weighed its importance, foreseen its perils, and knew what disturbances it must bring into the world; but that he did not shrink from them, because the truth could not be victorious without conflict; that his Master had announced this to mankind by saying he came not to bring peace but war; that this was the effect, the course, and the fortune of the word of God. He besought the Diet not to draw down unmeasured misfortunes upon Germany through persecution and thus open under sorrowful auspices the young emperor's reign. He finished by asking the protection of the emperor and of the assembly against the violence of his enemies.

When he had concluded, the partisans of the Holy See in the Diet, and especially the Italians and Spaniards of the emperor's suite, who had been listening impatiently to Luther for over an hour, murmured loudly and reproached the chancellor of Treves for not having stopped him. They complained that after he had been called upon to simply identify his writings and recant his doctrines, he had been unwisely permitted to uphold and defend them. Upon their demand, the chancellor of Treves said to Luther that he had not responded to what was asked of him;

and he then summoned him in the name of the emperor and the Diet to say whether or not he would recant.

Luther replied: "Since your illustrious majesty and your highnesses require of me a categorical answer, I will give it plainly and without evasion. Until I shall be convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by satisfactory argument, (for I cannot yield to the decisions of the pope and the councils merely, when it is clear they have often been wrong and even contradictory,) I hold fast to my faith which rests upon the word of God. Therefore I neither can nor will recant, for it is not safe nor right to go against conscience." And then he added, "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me."

Thus Luther solemnly refused the recantion they required of him. He would no more retract at the demand of the emperor than of the pope. He was then led out of the hall by two officers of the Diet who accompanied him to his lodgings. By his courage, sincerity, and eloquence he had won the favor and admiration of a great many members of the Diet. The old duke, Eric of Brunswick, sent him a silver goblet filled with Eimbeck beer, having first tasted it himself. On receiving it Luther exclaimed, "May God remember duke Eric in his final hour as he has this day remembered me." The hotel of the Teutonic Knights was thronged continually. "Doctor Martinus" (as they called him throughout Germany) "during his stay at Worms, had more visitors"—(thus wrote Spalatin), than all the princes. I saw with him, besides a great many counts and barons, the Landgraf Philip of Hesse, Duke William of Brunswick, Count William of Henneberg, and my gracious sovereign the Elector Frederick who was delighted with the Christian response of Doctor Martinus before his imperial majesty and the estates of the empire, though he could have wished it less bold." As it was feared that after his positive refusal to submit Luther would be exposed to the same fate as John Hus, four hundred German gentlemen banded themselves together to defend him, and Francis von Sickingen, whose castle was situated in that neighborhood, held his troops in readiness to march to his rescue.

These testimonials of his popularity did not affect Charles V.

He had resorted to the intervention of the Diet merely for form's sake and hoping thereby to satisfy Germany. On the next day after the above described sitting, he announced to the estates of the empire that he had decided to order Luther to quit Worms at once; to maintain on his route the terms of the passport; but as soon as the stipulations of this passport were fulfilled, to have him proceeded against as an open heretic wherever he might be found.

The emperor's declaration was the subject of a very lively debate in the Diet. Some of the ecclesiastical princes and even the Elector of Brandenburg himself advised a disregard of the pledge of safety guaranteed to Luther in his passport. In support of their opinion they cited the decree of the council of Constance which authorized breaking faith with heretics, but this proposition was indignantly rejected by most of the temporal princes. The Elector Palatine and duke George of Saxony, though the latter was an avowed adversary of Luther, said they would not allow the first Diet held by the emperor to be covered with such disgrace nor German honor to suffer such a stain. The dispute between the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg became so hot that they even drew weapons, so Luther reported. On his own part, Charles V. was very far from such odious perfidy. He would condemn Luther in the interest of the Holy See and for policy's sake, but he would not stain his reputation by treachery.

The putting of Luther under the ban of the empire met with scarcely more favor in the Diet than the proposal to violate the passport. This body feared the consequences to Germany and much preferred recovering Luther to proscribing him. To give a chance for that, it prevailed upon the emperor to tarry yet some days at Worms; and during this interval the archbishop of Treves with several bishops, doctors, and temporal princes, sought private conferences with him and urged him to yield, but all to no purpose. Luther was inflexible, and said to the Elector of Treves on taking leave of him: "It will turn out in this case according to Gamaliel's prediction to the Scribes and Pharisees. If my cause is not of God, it will come to naught in two

or three years ; but if it be of God, you cannot prevail against it."

Luther having declined, after several interviews, to yield either to persuasion or authority, the emperor sent him an order, through the chancellor of Treves and an imperial secretary, to quit Worms. He granted him twenty-one days of immunity. In speaking of this outcome of the Diet, Luther said in a letter to his friend Louis Kranach, the famous painter, of Wittenberg: "I had expected the emperor to call upon some doctor, or maybe fifty of them, to vanquish fairly one little monk. But the only inquiry was this, 'Are these your books?' 'Yes!' 'Will you recant them?' 'No!' 'Away with you then!' O blind Germans that we are!"

On the morning of April 26th Luther bade adieu to his friends and left Worms. The multitude that thronged about him as he departed were moved at the risks he was about to run. He had nobly defended his cause and shown himself frank, sincere, eloquent, and fearless ; he had preferred proscription to recantation ; he was going into exile, and after twenty-one days would be allowed no refuge in Germany. These thoughts stirred all hearts and attached them to the heroic reformer.

Thus the revolution in favor of his opinions was won through the sympathy inspired by his misfortunes.

When he arrived at Friedburg, in Hesse, on the 28th of April, he wrote to the emperor and the estates of the empire thanking them for having kept their faith with him ; and considering himself now safe, he dismissed the imperial herald and took the road towards Saxony. His intention was to go and visit his family and friends in the county of Mansfeld ; but after he passed Eisenach and was not far from Altenstein, on the borders of the Thuringian forest, he was surrounded by a troop of cavalry placed there in ambush. These horsemen, who were in disguise, took him out of his carriage, put him on horseback, conducted him into the forest, and pushing forward through it, brought him, at about eleven o'clock in the night, to a castle built on the loftiest crest of the mountains. This castle had been formerly the residence of the Landgraf of Thuringia and

was called Wartburg. Here was the asylum contrived for Luther by the Elector of Saxony.

That prince, having become more and more attached to him, resolved not to abandon him when he was put under the ban of the empire. But to harmonize this design with the obedience he owed to the decree of the Diet, he determined to rescue him from his persecutors and yet not protect him openly. He therefore ordered Spalatin to provide him a refuge in his states, and still to keep this asylum secret even from himself. Spalatin carried out his orders to the letter, by having Luther conveyed to the castle of Wartburg, where he laid aside his monkish habiliments and donned the costume of a gentleman, and the better to avoid recognition changed his name of Doctor Martinus to that of the Chevalier George.

After Luther left Worms, the Diet turned its attention to the sentence that should be passed on him. The nuncio Alexander had been selected to formulate it; but many of the princes, unwilling to participate in it, left Worms before it was pronounced. Among these was the Elector of Saxony, who wrote to duke John his brother, on the 5th of May: "Know that not only Annas and Caiaphas have declared themselves against Martinus, but also Pilate and Herod."

The emperor's edict was published in the cathedral of Worms on the 26th of May; though it was dated the 6th, so that it might appear to have been done in a full Diet and been approved by all the princes of the empire. Charles the Fifth, in whose name the edict was promulgated, declared that in execution of the sentence of the sovereign pontiff who was the lawful judge of this cause, Luther was excommunicated from the Church and banished from the empire. He forbade every one, on pain of perpetual exile, from harboring him, furnishing him food, or rendering him any assistance. He ordered that he be imprisoned, his writings burned, his partisans and abettors arrested and their property seized; and he prohibited the printing of any book thereafter without license from the bishops.

This edict produced more discontent than alarm in Germany.

Men were indignant at the proscription, in the name of a German Diet, of a religious man who, while upholding his own opinions, had also defended the property and liberty of his native land from the exactions and oppression of the court of Rome. Ulric von Hutten, giving expression to the sentiments of his countrymen, wrote: "Because he would not recant, they condemned the man of God. They sent him away with the injunction not to preach God's word. Oh! outrage deserving God's implacable wrath! Oh! shame of my country! The time has now come when we shall see whether Germany yet has princes or is ruled by dummies in fine clothes!"

After the publication of the edict, the Diet dissolved. The Emperor Charles V. left Germany and returned into his hereditary provinces of Spain which were then agitated by a formidable movement in favor of independence. He believed he had suppressed the heretic by proscribing him, and stayed the progress of free thought by putting it under the control of the bishops; but he deceived himself. Luther was mightier than he; for when the thought of a man meets the needs of an age, it is irresistible. Accordingly, soon after the emperor's departure, Luther came forth from his temporary hiding-place triumphant, and what had been at Worms but the opinion of an innovator became the creed of a whole people.

Thus, about one and the same epoch, Columbus opened the seas to man's enterprise, Copernicus the heavens to his researches, Luther the boundless realms of truth to his unfettered intellect. These three grand pioneers of modern progress gave to the human race—Columbus a new Continent, copernicus the law of the spheres, Luther the right of free thought. This last and most perilous achievement was the prize of an indomitable will. Summoned for four years to submit, Luther for four years said, No! He said to the legate, No! He said to the Pope, No! He said to the emperor, No! That heroic and pregnant No! bore within it the liberties of the world.

ARTICLE VII.

PRAYER: REASSURING AFFIRMATIONS OVER AGAINST
CERTAIN NEGATIONS.

BY REV. WILLIAM E. FISCHER, A. M.

In an article of more than common merit, some one has recently called attention to the frequency with which the Scriptures speak of prayer. The writer brings strongly into the clear the fact of the very atmosphere of God's word being an atmosphere of prayer. The patriarchs in their wanderings were not unmindful of prayer. The lives of all of God's true servants were regulated by it. The Psalms are but an inspired manual of prayer and praise, fitted to every condition of human life. Prophecy is reiterative in its exhortations to the blessed duty of prayer, from Isaiah to Malachi. The perfect Christ was a constant example of prayer. The parables of Luke are largely illustrative of the character of prayer. In the gospel of John, the last discourse of our Lord gives no less than six magnificent promises to prayer, promises so great, that we do not see how words could possibly make them greater. In the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles, we see everywhere the prevalence of fruitful prayer, and the richness and abundance of those spiritual blessing which it brings down upon the suppliant and upon the whole Church of God. No means of grace is made more prominent, than genuine prayer.

With all the recorded results of faithful prayer, and with the oft-recurring command and exhortation to pray, we conclude that it is not possible to overstate its power and unspeakable value. It is the infallible sign of every true saint. And trite as is the declaration, it is yet none the less true, that as no man can live naturally without breathing, so no man can live spiritually without praying.

It is moreover, a matter of history and experience, that prayer is the great outlet of fear, sorrow and anxiety. It brings de-

liverance from the sorest trials, and opens a way of escape from the greatest difficulties. And it is also the inlet of heaven's choicest blessings. We know of no virtue, grace or consolation in the Spirit, that may not be granted in answer to prayer. It is the *via sacra* of communication between God and the soul—the beautiful ladder by which we rise up to the truest and sweetest fellowship with God, and reach higher and higher into the divine life.

But the feeling is growing more and more with many devout souls,—reaching indeed to the depth of a strong conviction, that the supreme importance of prayer is not sufficiently felt by believers. God in his word sets his seal to its profound significance and power. History and experience have added their splendid array of proof to its practical value. That should end all controversy about it and bring men more and more to make use of it. We should more carefully and intelligently study the Scriptures that we may understand whatsoever is revealed with respect to it. And we should no less avoid most carefully everything that might neutralize its power. It goes for the saying, that there is much to neutralize the power of prayer. The multiplication of Satanic devices to hinder our approach to God is no more amazing than it is alarming. And if these hindrances are not removed, the result must inevitably be unbelief, and the very thought of prayer will be laughed away. The various hindrances to prayer, have also done no little in the way of mystifying men, and leading them into most serious mistakes concerning it, and this will either rob them of its blessed privileges, or at least deprive them of the comfort and help it might otherwise bring. It is no new thing therefore, to hear, from the lips of even men who are set up as spiritual guides, expressions that have in them the poison of insinuating doubts as to the real value of prayer. Not only the wicked, who in their prosperity forget God, say, "What profit should we have if we pray to him?" but the professedly good man is tempted sometimes to give utterance to the same scornful doubt contained in that question. And this is peculiarly true of the man who does not take God with him in all his scientific investigations.

We may not be able to write anything strangely new on the subject before us; but we feel sure, that some may find, in the restatement of a few old truths along this line of discussion, much that will be helpful to them in the way of recalling those truths, as it has been strengthening to us.

It has been urged, with much show of logic and positiveness, that

1. The fixedness of the laws of nature make any real answer to prayer impossible. Now we are ready to acknowledge our indebtedness to science for every impulse she has given toward a nobler advance in the world. True science and religion are never at war. But a godless science finds nature supreme, or makes her so. All scientific research has led men to see more clearly that the laws governing the universe are steadfast and unvarying, and therefore we must draw the inference that prayer is altogether in vain. There can be no reason in praying for anything that is determined by natural law. The weather is subject to the constancy of certain well-known laws. To pray for rain or fair weather is therefore preposterous. The recovery of the sick depends on conditions of the body which are under the unvarying movements of the laws of the natural body. Therefore, "to pray for the recovery of the sick is a waste of breath." All this is said with such an air of certainty by those who insist on the fixedness of natural laws, that the believer in the efficacy of prayer is therefore laughed at.

This is tantamount to saying that nature is clothed with an autocratic independence—that the Creator has nothing to do with her working—that he can in no sense or particular make her assist or correct herself or make her serve his higher creature,—man. But is this true? Is the universe locked off from intelligence? Is natural law supreme? It seems to us, that one thing which is left out of view in the dogmatism of a Godless science is this—that among other laws there is none clearer than *the mighty force of a personal will*. And in the exercise of this personal will there need be nothing miraculous. The age of miracles may be no longer necessary. Supernatural science may be no longer wrought in the forms in which they once

astonished mankind. There may be no more need of any public and popular attestation and authenticity of Christianity, such as was demanded in its initial history, for the perpetual establishment of its august claims. And yet, if we may have personal communion with an unseen and spiritual God; if blessings and benefits may be obtained directly from a personal will, which no effort of our own can secure, and no mediation of our fellowmen can procure; if we may, beyond the shadow of a doubt, discover divine interposition in the affairs of our daily life, and recognize the invisible hand by the unerring tokens of a guarding, guiding and governing presence,—then we have a perpetual miracle in our own lives, a permanent proof of the supernatural, that convinces and overwhelms us.

Now, as a matter of fact, it is by means of the exercise of a personal will, measurably mighty in its working, that effects are produced which natural laws would otherwise not have produced; and these effects are, by this personal will, so modified as to become subservient in working out results that we should never have looked for. To illustrate. The descending bolt is arrested and made to serve, instead of destroy. The water, that by a natural law would seek a lower level, is made to flow upwards. The field, that under the working of undisturbed, natural law, is an unsightly wilderness, is turned into a garden, glorious in its golden grain. The steamship, that men once said could not be built to carry sufficient coal to counteract the law of gravity, now proudly ploughs across the great deep. These and a thousand other things around us, testify to the force of personal will and constructive intelligence, working out through natural laws that which alone these natural laws could never have done.

It is therefore reasonable to inquire, whence these laws came and who maintains them. And it is just as reasonable to answer—"They are of God, and by him are they upheld." We believe in God as Creator. We believe he has infinite wisdom, unfailing resources and innumerable agents that do his bidding, and that he has almighty power to carry out his designs. In the light of well-known facts, men are not slow to ascribe great power to the human will as it touches and turns the laws of na-

ture into a relieving helpfulness. And if the personal human will works such wonders in the world, shall we hesitate to allow the Creator that personal will he gave to his creatures? "He that made the eye, shall he not see? He that made the ear, shall he not hear?" And he that made man's will to be so mighty a power in the world, shall not his own will to fulfil his own high purposes, be infinitely higher and mightier? It is but reasonable to believe, that the law of prayer is one of those moral laws that move side by side with the laws that pertain to nature. If precept and promise encourage us to make known all our requests to our Father in heaven, so does law. As a matter of fact, men believe in the inflexibleness of justice. And yet, their belief in inflexible justice does not deter them from seeking redress in our courts of justice. On the contrary, the very steadiness of the purpose of law is a stimulus to petition. If a man knows that his claim for redress is just, he not only expects justice, but he *sues for it*. And if he does not get it in the lower court, he seeks for it in the higher court. So we believe that God is merciful and that all the laws that operate in nature, though they are unalterable, are yet the orderly laws of a Father who loves his children, and that their stability and unchangeableness is the stability and unchangeableness of a wise and all-comprehensive and loving administration that is meant to be helpful to the obedient and hurtful to the rebellious.

We grant, therefore, that nature's laws are uniform and steadfast. But over against this admission we set the fact, that man's will does nevertheless make these laws work in lines they otherwise would not follow, and produce results they otherwise would not produce. And it will be conceded, that if man's will can do this with what is called the fixedness of the laws of nature, then the claim is not too great when we say, that God, who made nature with her laws, and who gave the law of prayer, can, by his supreme will, give us answers to our prayers, if those prayers are made subject to his will concerning us.

2. Another philosophical objection to prayer is, that God is himself unchanging and unchangeable, hence prayer is useless. It might be sufficient to reply to this objection, that the fact of

God's unchangeableness is the best reason for our praying to him. He has commanded men to pray. His will is that men pray. He has promised to hear and answer prayer. He must therefore cease to be God, if he break his promise. But he can not, he will not change or break his promise or his command as related to prayer. In this he is as unchangeable as in any other department of his nature and purposes.

God is our Father. The earthly father who is just and true and constant in his relations with his child, is sure to awaken confidence and desire in that child. A child with such a father, knows the will of that father, knows what will please him, and expects to get what it desires of that father. The friend who is constant, begets expectation and hope. The master who is just and constant in his requirements of his servants, inspires confidence in his servants. The man who is unbrokenly consistent in character and life awakens expectation and hope. These expectations and hopes are the very food of desire and of prayer. Men have little desire if they have no hope of realizing their desires. Our desire to possess is the only thing that can justify our request to obtain. Without expectation, therefore, there is no prayer worthy the name, and the believer's expectation in prayer rests upon and grows out of God's constancy and unchangeableness. We agree, then, that God knows all things and that his purposes are fixed. But we do not, on that account, lose faith in prayer any more than does the farmer in the tilling of the soil. He believes that the unchangeable God will work with him as he plows and sows. So he labors on. In every department of activity we act that God may act. God's acting for us is conditioned on our acting with him. We are reasonable, therefore, when we believe that God will, in our material life, put forth his almighty power for us to do certain things on certain conditions. And we are just as reasonable when we believe that God will work with us and for us when we ask him in prayer. There is no more difficulty in harmonizing the unchangeableness of God's purposes with the utility of man's labor, than with the efficacy of man's prayers.

And we believe that, as a rule, men who deny to prayer, in

view of God's unchangeableness, any efficacy whatever, are men who do not see his presence and power in the world about them. They are men who do not recognize the living God, but only a blind mechanism which they call nature, in any or all of the wonderful and mysterious processes which challenge their interested attention. And there is but a step from Deism to Atheism. There is little difference in believing in a God who will not hear prayer, and not believing in a God at all. The effect is, in either case, the same, and either attitude is philosophically absurd. The hungry child does not discuss the metaphysics of the question when it wants bread. So the man who feels the need of God's help in saving blessing, will not pause to discuss how it is possible that an unchangeable God will answer prayer; or how, without disturbing his fixed arrangements, he *can* answer prayer. He simply and reasonably believes this word: "Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you; ask, and ye shall receive." He knows God is unchangeable, therefore he knows that God can not and will not lie. He reasons, that if his own exertions in life benefit him, then God's exertions, in answer to prayer will help him, especially when God has commanded prayer as a means of securing assistance from him.

The mystery of the divine purposes in connection with the efficacy of prayer, we do not pretend to explain. Nor do the objectors to prayer pretend to explain the equal mystery of those purposes in connection with the value of their own exertions. Yet, with the problem unsolved, *they* work on. So we persist in praying on. "But how will their efforts for their own well-being, rise up at last to condemn those who neglected prayer under a pretext which their every action in daily life disowned!"

3. A third misapprehension of prayer, is that current philosophy of the matter that confines its benefits to an *inner subjective value*. This view of prayer makes it have no objective efficacy. There is no good from it but a good that is the working of natural results entirely within the suppliant. This is a view of the matter that would seem to place God in the attitude of a

disinterested or indifferent witness to our praying. It gives to prayer only a sort of gymnastic value. The influence is only secondary. Our feelings can, by prayer, be kept pious, and we ourselves kept humble by an ever-present sense of dependence. But who would pray if deprived of all hope of an answer to prayer? We are taught to believe not only that *God is*, but that he is the *rewarder* of all them that diligently seek him. We are not only to believe that God exists, but also that he does answer prayer. Both are essential to successful prayer. All secondary benefit in prayer rests on the possibility of receiving a *primary* and *direct* benefit. The expectation of the *objective good* prompts the act which produces the subjective benefit.

Newman Hall illustrates it thus: "As well might a physician advise to walk every morning to drink of a certain spring, the real benefit being the walk, which, at the same time, he stated would not be found, as the spring was dry. The exercise of prayer, this walk of faith, is incalculably beneficial to the soul; but it is essential to prayer that there should be expectation of obtaining that for which we pray." Take another illustration. A man is made conscious of vicious tendencies, through bodily appetites, toward intemperance and gluttony; he is fired with an unholy ambition; he feels himself to be vicious in temper and disposition—feels that he is very low and mean and malicious. An impulse to rise above these things stirs in his soul. He conceives a high idea of character and self-control, and he sets this idea up before him as an ideal, and, to reach it, he bends every energy of his being. He believes in the positive, objective power of prayer. So he retires in seclusion, and alone with God, he makes this grand self-conquest the subject of earnest wrestling with God. He believes God hears him, and that he receives a higher divine help and strength. He comes out of his self-imposed retirement, consciously stronger, and in course of time is actually a transformed man. His appetites are now his servants—no longer his masters. He is no longer vexed by the devil of greed. His unholy ambitions no longer incite him with insane desires for place and power. He becomes gentle and generous, meek and unselfish, and renewed in the whole tenor

and temper of his being. His change is remarked about by all who know him. But he attributes it all to God working in him, in answer to his wrestling with him in prayer. But see! A transcendental philosophy says—"Nonsense! But then if the poor man is comforted in his belief, let it be so. The delusion is harmless. But God has nothing to do with it. It is simply a case of self-culture. The man, by a course of introspection discovered certain moral deformities, and that set him to correct himself. He has an ideal before him, perhaps that of some great, heroic soul, and by this, he was inspired to a noble victory over self." On this wise a modern naturalism would account for all spiritual greatness attained by communion with God in prayer. What the best man is, he is as the result of self-scrutiny, self-conquest, self-culture, under some lofty ideals of character and destiny.

Now as far as this goes, it is true. But it does not go far enough. It is a half-truth, and half-truths are often most dangerous errors. The Scriptures affirm a positive advantage in prayer. "The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and delivereth them out of all their troubles." Ps. 34 : 17. God does hear and answer. When the Ethiopian can change his skin, then can self-culture and introspection effect the marvelous transformations we see in men once given over to darkest iniquity. When men can explain by self-conquest and self-culture the august and awful interpositions of what the Scriptures call the "Angel of the Lord," then indeed may prayer be brought down to the level of natural philosophy. Until then, there must remain in these mysterious interpositions in answer to prayer a supernatural factor. Any one who doubts the objective value of prayer, and is seriously anxious to have his doubts removed, needs only to study the history of Israel. And every true Christian has had ample proof of the objective efficacy of prayer, an efficacy that comes from God, and is therefore most real. Even association with the good and great of earth has its objective value. Association and converse with God, the greatest Good, does make men great *in soul*.

4. Prayer is frequently regarded as a meritorious work. It

is made to be a sort of saviour. The grace of God is supposed to be merited by it. The soul in its lost condition often puts prayer in the place of Christ—salvation being sought and expected from its exercise. We have heard of one, now an earnest, useful Christian, who, burdened with a sense of his guilt, prayed much for peace. Prayer had become a heavy task. He felt the weakness of his efforts, and wished that he could offer “but one real good prayer.” That once accomplished, as he said, he was sure he could “get through.” But this view of prayer, as already said, begets trust in prayer instead of trust in Christ. And it is a view not wholly confined to the poor and illiterate. To no small extent, it prevails among the better informed classes. It was an enlightened lady, who some time ago, had worked herself into a very frenzy of prayer. For a whole night she cried out for mercy, and hoped she would obtain it. To her pastor she said: “I will pray, or perish; so I will pray till I die.” Again, as often before, it was pointed out to her, that her union with Christ alone could bring salvation. She was told to fix her thoughts, not on her prayers, but on Christ, and that when she looked to him in her heart, she might know herself saved. She learned the lesson at last, and found peace. Afterwards she regarded prayer as a privilege, but not as a work of merit. And this is a point that needs emphasis now as much as ever. The temptation is to rest satisfied with a well-said prayer. It is made an *end*, instead of a *means* to an end. It must not take the place of Christ. Nothing must come between the soul and its only Saviour. Christ in his finished work, Christ in his office as mediator at God’s right hand, Christ in his free promises, Christ in his willingness and power to save to the uttermost—here, and here alone, is the resting place of every weary anxious soul.

“I have no refuge of my own,
But fly to what my Lord hath done
And suffered once for me.”

And, as an opposite error, faith and prayer are sometimes put in contrast, and prayer is disparaged, because faith is the instrument of salvation. But we need to remember that prayer

is the voice of faith, just as activity is the work of faith, and that it is also a means to its increase. "Lord, increase our faith," cried the disciples of old. Faith in the heart, brings prayer to the lip. The two are forever knit together. Paul says: "The Scripture saith, whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed. * * For the same Lord is rich unto all that call upon him; for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved," Rom. 10 : 11-13. We pray in faith. God shows in some way that our prayer is answered, and thus we can go on to pray more joyfully and hopefully.

5. Once more. No small amount of error prevails as to the *scope* of prayer. We are told, that "somethings are beneath God's notice, therefore we should not waste words on them." This is a most serious error, and much good is lost to men by reason of their being influenced by it. We fail to properly appreciate the "*debilitating* power of little things," and how much little things enter into and make up the sum of life. Temporal matters must not manage themselves. Paul in writing to the Philippians says: "Be careful for nothing; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known to God." Temporal things and spiritual things, like soul and body, are so interrelated, that we need God's constant guidance and help with respect to them. Our troubles, our friends, a journey of any distance, these, and a thousand other things, may influence life and give it an impetus in the right or wrong direction that may prove helpful or hindranceful as long as we are in the flesh. There it is most wise to bring everything to our Father in prayer. No step should be taken without God's direction; no sorrow should be met, without his aid; and whatever we dread, whatever threatens or blocks our way, to him let us fly that he may avert the evil or prove our Refuge when it comes. The great Beecher was once asked whether he would encourage men who are in debt to pray that God would help them to means with which to discharge their indebtedness. "Yes," was his reply. "Any trouble," he continued, "that a man would go to his earthly father about, he may go to his God about." "But," said his questioner, "would

not this contravene the laws of political economy?" Said Beecher in reply: "If a man has used his uttermost means and trusts in God, then God uses his means to control all laws for that man's benefit. I know that if I succeed, I must succeed, not because I have my father's name, but by putting forth my own exertions. I know that I must make my own way in life, and I undertake to do it. But if I come to a point where I am shut up, held back, so that I cannot go forward, and I do not know what to do, I may go to my father for help. It is not for the sake of throwing off burdens, it is not with the expectation that he will contravene natural laws that I go to him. I go to him because I have used up my stock of knowledge of natural laws; and I say to him, 'You are older and larger than I am, can not you use your knowledge of those laws so as to help me?' And he says, 'Yes, I can.' And he does. And nobody thinks there is anything strange in it. Everybody understands that a father can use his knowledge of natural law without violating those laws. But when you speak of God's helping men in their secular affairs, people are aghast, and say, 'Do you suppose God is going to stop the laws of nature for the sake of enabling men to keep their bank account running?' I understand that God helps men, not by stopping natural laws, but by using them better than we can use them for ourselves. And if there is anything justified, it is prayer for help in secular affairs by those that love God. I should feel almost as though I were an orphan, if that doctrine were taken out of the world." An illustration along this line of thought is afforded in the life of the father of the famous preacher. Coming home one night from a long journey, in the dead of winter, his wife met him at the door, and said: "We have just enough fuel for this evening, but none for to-morrow." The father of the great preacher was often in pressing straits from lack of money. In this instance he had none, and did not know where to get any. In telling of it he said: "I felt like a child, and inwardly I prayed God to help me." His prayer was scarcely finished when a farmer, who had never been very friendly toward him, drove up to the door with a load of wood, which, he said he "took it into his head he would like to

give to the parson." Was this answer to prayer in this case? Do not the circumstances point so strongly in that direction that we are right when we say it was? The case of a young and pious lawyer is also in point. He was fully qualified to practice his chosen profession, but had no work to do. A pious old lady asked him if he ever prayed about it. His reply was that he always prayed for God's guidance and help. "But you ought to pray for parchments," said the old lady. Her advice was taken with the result, that work soon came, and the young barrister was ever afterwards kept busy. And there is no doubt that the lives of God's people, who commit everything to him, are full of similar examples. And where there are no such startling interventions of Providence, we are sure that God nevertheless takes our prayers and works them into the warp and woof of our every day life, so that, in truth, the whole current of life is being guided and directed according to his infinite wisdom granted in answer to our prayers. Not a day passes in which each event, great or small, has not in it a Father's love that respects the desires and supplications of his children.

The only limits to our desires are God's will and our highest welfare. God will not withhold any *good thing* from them that ask. We often know not what we ask. We should never pray for anything without remembering that we are very blind as to the future, and that God alone can choose wisely for us. In heaven it will be our joy forever to look into the great mystery of prayer, and to praise God for the bounty which has ever flown forth in streams of mercy from his throne above.

Anna Shipton's call to the soul is as sweet as it is earnest and true:

"Lean not on Egypt's reeds ; slake not thy thirst
At earthly cisterns. Seek the kingdom first.
Though man and Satan fright thee with their worst,
Have faith in God !

Go ! tell him all ! The sigh thy bosom heaves
Is heard in heaven. Strength and grace He gives,
Who gave Himself for thee. Our Jesus lives.
Have faith in God !

ARTICLE VIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF SANCTIFICATION.

BY REV. JOHN TOMLINSON, A. M.

The Third Article of the Creed reads as follows: I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.

In this article of the Apostles' Creed, our Church teaches that sanctification is the work of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is the Third Person in the Holy Trinity, the true Eternal, Almighty God, with the Father and the Son, sent from the Father and the Son into the hearts of believers, called, therefore, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, to enlighten, sanctify and work faith in them by the word, and glorify Jesus Christ, and make them partakers of all Christ's benefits, comfort and preserve them in the true faith to eternal life. What is the teaching of the Divine Word regarding the Holy Ghost.

I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh. Is. 44 : 3 ; Hosea 2 : 28. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. Is. 61 : 1. The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue. 2 Sam. 23 : 2. I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplications. Zech. 12 : 10. When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me. John 15 : 26. I will give you my Comforter and he shall abide with you forever. John 14 : 16. If children, then God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts. Rom. 8 : 15. Your bodies are temples of the Holy Ghost. 1 Cor. 16 : 19. After ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our redemption. Eph. 1 : 13, 14. Whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Eph. 4 : 30. Hereby we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath

given us of his Spirit. 1 John 4 : 13. Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost. Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God, Acts 5 : 3, 4, said Peter to Ananias.

How may a Christian know that he has the Holy Ghost?

1. By true faith and the knowledge of God. The Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord shall rest upon him. Is. 11 : 2.

2. By the love of Christ. No man can call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost. 1 Cor. 12 : 3.

3. By Prayer. Rom. 8 : 15. Whereby we cry, Abba Father. The Spirit of God is a Spirit of prayer.

4. By real comfort in affliction, of which the Spirit is the source. John 14 : 16.

5. By the word of God. My Spirit and my word shall not depart from thee. Is. 59 : 21.

6. By the fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, &c. Gal. 5 : 22, 23. The Lutheran doctrine of sanctification contains four articles, namely, the Christian Church, the congregation of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and eternal life. John Arndt.

Art. I. treats of the Christian Church. The Holy Christian Church is the assembly of believers called by the word of God and the sacraments, by the Holy Ghost, by whom they have been gathered and regenerated, know God and believe in Jesus Christ whom alone they recognize as their Saviour, Mediator, Redeemer and Eternal Head, from whom alone the fullness of the body proceeds and all gifts, light and comfort, joy, peace and righteousness, life and salvation, which Christ, as head and king, will protect against the gates of hell to the end of time, and as her only and exalted high-priest, will teach, bless and preserve, enlighten by his Spirit, comfort and make everlastingly happy.

The teaching of the word of God in regard to the Holy Christian Church :

The Psalmist says, Ps. 46 : 4 : The city of God shall be made glad, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. And

in the 84th Psalm he says: How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts. Also in Ps. 27 : 4, he says: One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to inquire in his temple. And again, in Ps. 76 : 2, he says: In Salem also is his tabernacle and his dwelling-place in Zion.

Christ himself says: Upon this rock (Peter's confession, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, Matt. 16 : 18) I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. And again he says: My sheep hear my voice, John 10 : 27. Christ is the head of the Church, which is his body, Eph. 1 : 23. Paul says: Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, Eph. 2 : 20. St. Paul also writes in Eph. 4 : 11: He gave some apostles; some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.

What is meant by Communion of Saints? Some say: It means the congregation of saints.—John Arndt and the Book of Concord, published forty years after Luther's death. Others say: We are one body in Christ, under one head, namely, Christ, and are all members of one body. We have all the benefits of Christ in common, the word, sacraments, Holy Ghost, the merit of Christ, redemption, salvation. One has no better baptism or Lord's Supper than the other. Though there are different gifts among believers, they should all be employed for the glory of God and the edification of the Church; for to this end have they been bestowed, that each one may serve the Church with them, whether they be temporal or spiritual.

Hear the teaching of the word of God on the communion of saints:

Paul says, Eph. 4 : 4–6: There is one body (church) and one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in you all. St. John says, 1 Ep. 1 : 3: That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us:

and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son, Jesus Christ. St. Paul says: Ye are come unto Mt. Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, Heb. 12 : 22.

Art. II. of the Pardon of Sin: I believe, etc. How is this article to be understood? Answer: God, for Christ's sake, forgives us all our sins, original and actual, without any merit or worthiness in us—without any of our works, past, present or future—only for the sake of Christ's perfect satisfaction, are our sins forgiven. Our own works must not be mixed with this article at all. The pardon of sin is conditioned by faith and not by works.

2. God forgives and forgets all our sins. He will remember them no more, because Jesus paid all the debt. By his life and death he satisfied the justice of God. No matter how great or numerous our sins may be, they are all blotted out for Christ's sake.

3. God has remitted eternal punishment, eternal death and damnation, because Christ has expiated our guilt on the cross.

4. The Lord now acknowledges and declares us righteous and innocent, as though we had never sinned—that the pardon of sin is our righteousness before God. For where sin abounded grace does more abound. The merit of Christ takes away the guilt of sin and justifies before God.

What is the teaching of the word of God in regard to the pardon of sin. Ans.: God himself by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, 1 : 18, says: Come, now, and let us reason together, though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. And again: By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities. Is. 53 : 11. Also: Thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities. I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for my own sake, and I will not remember thy sins. Is. 43 : 24 and 25. The prophecy of Jeremiah contains the following: This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: after those days, saith

the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts: and I will be their God and they shall be my people. I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more. Jer. 31 : 33, 34.

Micah (7 : 18), says: Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage; he retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. In the prophecy of Ezekiel, you will find the following text, namely: As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel. Ez. 33 : 11. God by his own existence solemnly swears that he hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked.

Art. III., of the resurrection of the dead. I believe in the resurrection of the body. The resurrection is the work of the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It will take place when Christ comes to hold judgment over all men and by his omnipotent voice will awake the dead and summon them to judgment. Each one will arise with his own body and be reunited with his own soul, and the bodies of believers shall immediately be glorified with incorruptibility, immortality and spiritual qualities, power, honor and glory. The living will be translated in the twinkling of an eye, from mortality to immortality. Then will follow the triumphant ascension, both of the resurrected and translated, to meet the Lord in the air, to be forever with the Lord.

Attend, now, to what the divine word says about the resurrection of the dead. The Prophet Isaiah says: Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust. The Lord will swallow up death in victory. God will wipe away tears from off all faces. Is. 26 : 19; 25 : 8.

The Prophet Ezekiel (37 : 2) speaks of dead bones, which the wind caused to live. Job says: I know that my Redeemer

liveth, (19 : 25). Daniel says: Many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, (12 : 2). Jesus said, John 5 : 28, 29 : Marvel not at this : for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth ; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life ; and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation. Martha said to Jesus : I know that he (Lazarus) shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day. John 11 : 24 and 1 Cor. 15th chap.

Art. IV., of eternal life : I believe, &c. What is eternal life. Eternal life consists in being with God forever, in seeing him by sight, face to face, beholding his glory in joy and peace, never to lose sight of him any more, where the vision of the Lord will be the feast of the soul—where all is perfection. Righteousness will be perfect—joy, glory, knowledge, love and wisdom, *all* will be perfect and eternal. Well might St. Paul say : Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. 2 : 9 ; Is. 64 : 4. The Psalmist says (16 : 12) : In thy presence is fullness of joy and at thy right hand are pleasures forever more. Paul says (1 Cor. 13 : 12) : Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face. Peter says (1 Pet. 1 : 8) : Ye shall rejoice with joy unspeakable. Christ (John 17 : 24), prayed, saying : Father I will that where I am, they also may be with me, which thou hast given me, that they may see my glory, which I had with thee before the world was. Jesus Christ the true God, is eternal life, 1 Jno. 3 : 20.

Doctrine : I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, or come to him, but that the Holy Ghost calls me by the Gospel, enlightens me with his gifts, sanctifies and preserves me in the true faith unto eternal life.

Sanctification will now be considered in a more restricted sense.

What do the Symbolical Books teach on the subject ?

1. According to both the Smaller and Larger Catechisms, published by Luther in 1529, sanctification includes four things,

namely, 1. The Christian Church, or the congregation of the saints. 2. The pardon of sin. 3. The resurrection of the body. 4. Eternal life. Where these things are, there is sanctification; where they are not, there is no moral purity, no holiness. These four things contain all there is to be known about sanctification in this world or in the world to come. All we realize and experience in this world, is only foretaste of more to follow in the world to come. The song of the saints in heaven will be, more to follow, more to follow.

2. The Book of Concord, Ex., pp. 2 and 3, contains the following: To such as are justified by faith, through the only Mediator, Christ Jesus, the Holy Ghost is further given, to renovate and sanctify them and beget in them love to God and man; but their renovation is not perfect in this life, but only begun, Rom. 8 : 30; 1 Cor. 1 : 30; Rom. 6 : 6-14. These words are also found in the Book of Concord, namely, justified believers first obtain the imputed righteousness of Christ and then the incipient righteousness of new obedience, Rom. 3 : 25; Heb. 9 : 14; 1 John 3 : 3; *i. e.* inherent righteousness.

Your attention is now called to what some renowned authors say on this subject.

1. John Arndt says: Sanctification is the work of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost causes in us pious affections, Gal. 5 : 22, 23, and also destroys the works of the flesh in us, Gal. 5 : 19-21.

2. Calovius says, x., 582: Sanctification is the work of the Holy Trinity, by which he consecrates us body and soul, as his temple, filling us with all manner of excellencies, expelling from us every form of vice and bestowing upon us the grace of God and the kingdom of heaven, 1 Cor. 6 : 11.

3. Hunnius (Epit. Cred., 556,) says: The sanctifying renewal of man, is the delivering of him from his sinful state, the process of his restoration to his original goodness, to the end that he may know God, put off sin from his mind and members and honor and serve the Lord in righteousness and true holiness.

4. Martin Yoskisch (1775) says: Sanctification includes, 1. Divine adoption obtained in regeneration. 2. The renewal and

restoration of the likeness of God in us and the destruction of the image of Satan. 3. Strength and power to live a holy and godly life. 4. Preservation in holiness to the end.

5. According to Martensen, sanctification is the second part of the order of salvation, the whole order consisting of regeneration and sanctification.

6. Dr. S. S. Schmucker defines sanctification as follows, viz.: It is a progressive conformity to the divine law, with an increasing ability to fulfill its requisitions wrought in the faithful believer, by the Holy Ghost, in the use of the means of grace.

7. Bretschneider says: The consequence of faith is twofold, namely, *objective* (justification), and *subjective* (sanctification).

8. Dr. M. C. Pfaff says: Sanctification is the fruit of justification.

9. Brastberger (1758) says: Justification and sanctification are inseparably connected with each other. Sanctification begins the moment justification takes place.

10. The Apostle Paul says: Sanctification is the fruit of justification—see the sixth chapter of the Romans. Paul is emphatically Lutheran on this subject. True Lutheranism is Christianity. Paul in the sixth chapter of the Romans discusses sanctification and not the mode of Baptism. The proofs of this assertion, viz.:

1. Those who are justified are dead to sin. Rom. 6 : 1–4. What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death?

2. They are risen with Christ. Rom. 6 : 4, 5. Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory (power) of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life (in a new life of holiness). For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection (our dying with Christ to sin, implies our resurrection with Christ to God, to live a godly life).

3. Their old man is crucified with Christ. Rom. 6 : 6, 7.

Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth, we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin.

4. They live with Christ. Rom. 6 : 8 and 13. If we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him.

5. They are not under the law but under grace. Rom. 6 : 14 and 15. Sin shall not have dominion over you : for ye are not under the law, but under grace. And it is reigning sin that damns and not indwelling sin.

6. If they were to give themselves to the service of sin, they would be the servants of death. Rom. 6 : 16, 17. To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey ; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness.

7. Those who are delivered from sin are servants of righteousness. Rom. 6 : 18, 19 and 20. Being made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. As ye employed your members heretofore in the practice of sin, ye should hereafter employ them in the practice of holiness.

8. The fruits of sin are miserable and scandalous, Rom. 6 : 21, namely, death, temporal, spiritual, and eternal.

9. The fruits of righteousness are blessed and glorious, (Rom. 6 : 22), namely, increasing holiness and increasing usefulness and happiness.

Those who have been justified, should live holy lives. This is most certainly true.

1. They are bound by baptism, the grave of sin, to do so.

2. Their resurrection with Christ to a new life, is a reason why they should do this.

3. Conformity to Christ and fellowship with him in his life, sufferings and death, bind us to a life of inward purity and outward holiness.

4. Their state also obligates them to this. They are no longer the servants of sin, but the servants of God.

5. They are not under the law any more, but under grace, and hence should be holy.

6. Another reason why they should do so, is this, viz. : The

object of redemption is that they may become holy and love and serve God.

7. The fruit of sin is death, and the fruit of faith and obedience is life, hence they (believers) should live holy lives.

Mark the difference between sanctification and justification. It is of vast importance to distinguish between the two.

1. Sanctification follows justification. The Psalmist says: There is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared, 130 :

4. Christ redeemed us from all iniquity, that he might purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works, Tit. 2 : 14.

2. Sanctification takes away the pollution of sin ; justification takes away the guilt and punishment of sin, Ez. 36 : 37 ; Ps. 32 : 1, 2.

3. Sanctification takes place gradually and imperfectly, justification instantaneously and perfectly. Baumgarten.

4. Sanctification takes place in man, internally, when God takes away the heart of stone and gives him a heart of flesh, Ez. 36 : 25, 26. Justification takes place outside of man, externally, in the judgment of God, Mic. 7 : 18, 19. Justification is absolution from the guilt and punishment of sin.

Notice, also, the characteristics of sanctification.

1. It is initial (regeneration). The new birth is the beginning of holiness in the mind, John 3 : 3. Regeneration is our initiation into the invisible Church.

2. It is progressive. Sanctification is growth, conformity to the law of God, and cannot be instantaneous. There is no such thing as instantaneous manhood. There is childhood, youth and manhood. There is no such thing as instantaneous day. There is twilight, dawn and day. There is no such thing as instantaneous harvest. There is seed time, summer and harvest. So there is no such thing as instantaneous sanctification, except in an initial sense.

3. It is visible. Grace in the soul is not, but the effects are, Gal. 5 : 22, 23. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, etc. These good works are visible.

4. It is complete. 1 Thess. 5 : 23. The very God of peace sanctify you wholly ; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. It will be perfect in the resurrection. The Psalmist says, (17 : 15), I will behold thy face in righteousness : I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness. Only the image of Christ will satisfy us fully and completely in the morning of the resurrection.

The means of sanctification are the word of God and the sacraments.

1. The word of God. (1.) The Law, and (2.) The Gospel. Rom, 1 : 16.

2. The sacraments. (1.) Baptism and (2.) The Lord's Supper. The former the sacrament of regeneration and the latter the sacrament of sanctification. The word of God, however, includes all other means of improvement, *e. g.* Catechetical instruction, Sunday School, Prayer-meeting, &c.—all the agencies employed for the salvation of the world.

QUESTIONS.

1. When does the Holy Ghost begin this sanctification in us. Ans. In Holy baptism.—Freelinghuysen. Christianity begins in baptism. Matt. 28 : 19. Go make disciples of all nations, &c.

2. Is regeneration, the beginning of holiness in the mind, necessarily tied to baptism ? I answer, no. There are some persons mentioned in the Scriptures, who were regenerated before baptism and some in whom it took place afterwards, *e. g.*, first, the dying thief. Jesus said : To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise—but he was not baptized. Secondly, Cornelius was regenerated before baptism. He was a devout man, (Acts 10), and had received baptism by the Holy Ghost, before the baptism of water. Thirdly, Simon Magus was baptized, but not regenerated. He proposed to buy the Holy Ghost with money. Fourthly, Hymeneus, Phygellus, Hermogenes and the transgressors so severely censured in the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, were all baptized. It is not pretended that these men

were all regenerated. Regeneration may take place without baptism and baptism without regeneration. Every one who is baptized, is certified of his right to all the blessings of the Christian Church, but he must fulfill the conditions of the covenant, namely, repentance toward God and faith in Christ.

3. How restore those who have fallen from their baptismal covenant? Luther says: By conversion. But repentance and faith are the principal things in conversion. This is St. Paul's order of salvation. The specific idea of repentance is sorrow for sin. The specific idea of faith is confidence—that confidence in Christ which will lead us to act upon what he says as a certain fact. John 6 : 37 and 47.

4. Are baptized children members of the Church? Ans. They are and have a claim to all the social and moral rights of members, and likewise assume all the social and moral obligations of members. Acts 2 : 39. The promise is to you and to your children.

Baptized children are delivered from the guilt and punishment of original sin, and obtain a claim to that eternal salvation which the Lord procured for man. Hence baptism is called a baptism for the remission of sins. Acts 2 : 38. It is one of the appointments for obtaining this blessing.

Baptized children receive the Holy Ghost, *i. e.* the aid of the Holy Ghost in order to their reformation, and that thus their regeneration may be promoted. John 3 : 5. In baptism, God apprehends the child until the child is old enough to apprehend God. And now finally sanctification is growth. 2 Pet. 3 : 18. Grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In confirmation and illustration of this doctrine the writer appeals to a classmate of blessed memory, namely, C. A. Stork, D. D., of Gettysburg, Pa., whom, to adopt the language of another, he "shall ever remember as the Holy Ghost man, so filled with the Spirit, so anointed with the unction of the Holy One from on high. Charles Augustus Stork, just before his soul, so bright and *pure*, took its heavenly flight, while his fingers were stiffening under the icy touch of death, and the light from the opening of the everlasting gates was streaming

upon his upturned face, arose from his bed, seized his pen, and wrote as his last message to his fellow-men, *The Growing Life with God*, from which I take these words: 'We are continually forgetting that the growth in union with Christ comes from communion. We think that doing Christian work, cultivating Christian tempers, caring for our conduct, is the way to deepen this union; but it is not. All these things come after; they are the fruit, not the root. So if we find it necessary to abridge anything, it is the mystical part we give up, it is the hour of communion, not the hour of work, that we are apt to sacrifice. We think we can do with less devotion, less communion with God, less study of the character of Christ. We can afford better to spend a day in which we have not been alone with Christ, than a day in which we have done no outward work for him. We think it better to cultivate the little strip of new life we already know, than to explore more deeply the great realm he opens to us in the knowledge and fellowship of himself. What a mistake! And the greater the stress of work calling, the more apt we are to fall into it. The outward call is so much louder than the inward.'

"All who knew the busy life of Dr. Stork, knew that this was the mistake he tried the hardest not to make; and one could not be with him long, without learning that his life was a revelation of the secret of 'the growing life with God.'"

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

History of Christian Doctrine. By George Parke Fisher, D. D., LL. D.
8vo. pp. 583. \$2.50 net.

This fourth volume of the "International Theological Library," is the book we have been looking for, and the need of which we have keenly felt. We are grateful for the realization of our hopes and, especially, for the preparation of the work by one universally recognized as capable of producing something thorough and satisfactory in this sphere. Dr. Fisher's attainments are in advance a guarantee of the mastery of

the subject in all its parts, while his accuracy as a scholar, his candor as a historian, and his simple, attractive and vigorous style combine to fit him in an eminent degree for an achievement which but two Americans have heretofore undertaken.

His method of treatment differs from that formerly in vogue among the Germans, making a distinction between general and special history of doctrines, neither does it make prominent, like the great work of Thomasiaus, the living movement or inner necessity by which doctrines have been shaped, the natural and normal unfolding of Christian truth as a vital principle, and the organic interrelations of its development. Dr. Fisher presents, rather, the doctrines of individual theologians separately, exhibiting the systematic unity of their teachings, as, for instance, the theological system of Augustine, the theology of Luther, the theology of Calvin, &c.

The great Reformer never fared better at the hands of a non-Lutheran historian. His personal development and his doctrinal system appear to be throughout familiar to, and appreciated by Dr. Fisher. He says: "It is possible to trace the progress of Luther's mind, step by step, from the year 1513 until he reached a distinct perception and firm grasp of the doctrine that salvation, from beginning to end, is an absolutely free gift of God's grace," and he writes as if he had personally traced this progress, and afterwards continued most carefully to study the Reformer's doctrinal growth.

It is refreshing to find in one who has no other interest than the objective and impartial attestation of the truth, not only a faithful exhibit of the salient doctrines of Luther, which all historians ascribe to him, but also unambiguous and decisive testimony on points which have been in dispute among Luther's own followers. "Luther, moved by the purpose to magnify grace, &c., had asserted," we are told, "the Augustinian doctrine of the will, carrying it beyond the limit set by Augustine himself." He "taught that there might be a nascent faith imparted to infants." "The Reformers—and this remark applies to Calvin as well as to Luther and his associates—make personal assurance a part of saving faith." So far from making word and sacrament two factors of unequal rank, "it is the word and promise of God which gives to the ceremony the character of a sacrament." "The Church is not the hierarchy, not the organized institution, but is really and primarily 'the communion of saints'—a phrase synonymous with the 'holy Catholic Church.'" It is surprising that Dr. F. does not add here the fact that this is the general definition of the Church in the Protestant creeds of the sixteenth century.

What the latest history of doctrines has to tell us on the Lord's Day is undoubtedly of peculiar interest to some of our readers. "The Westminster Confession declares the fourth (third) commandment in the decalogue to be a positive, moral and perpetual commandment" and

adds that "the Sabbath was changed into the first day of the week." "The Reformers, Knox as well as Luther and Calvin, held that the Lord's Day is not to be identified with the Old Testament Sabbath. They considered that the fourth (third) commandment was a part of the ceremonial law." "The substance of the Sabbath," says Calvin, "is not in one day but in the whole course of our lives." "The opinion that one day in seven is an injunction still in force, he puts among the 'dreams of false prophets.'" "Melancthon teaches that in the commandment there is a moral part which still remains. The part relating to the seventh day is abolished. But the moral part requires that 'on some day the people should be taught the gospel and the rites divinely ordained to be observed.'" "The command is broken by servile labor, sports and vicious pleasures." The Puritan or "Sabbatarian" view was promulgated by Dr. Bound in 1575 in a sermon which after being printed was suppressed by Whitgift.

But we have transcended our limits and we hastily conclude with an earnest commendation of the work to every student who is not able to read the *Leitfaden* of Loofs, or the priceless *Dogmengeschichte* of Thomasius.

E. J. W.

Agnosticism and Religion. By Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University. 12mo. pp. 181. \$1.00.

Not for many days have we read anything more stimulating than the three addresses which make up this little volume: Huxley and Scientific Agnosticism, Philosophical Agnosticism, and Spiritual Religion, its Evolution and Essence. The shortcoming of the apostle of Agnosticism, his intense bias and onesidedness, his polemic spirit and destructive aims are impressively laid bare, while no man knew more than he "of the tests and standards of physical science, few men knew less of the postulates and principles of human conduct and life."

Of "the colossal dogma, that the human mind is incapable of apprehending God," President Schurman says: "It is a dogma that rests on no evidence whatever." "A man who can intelligently frame that proposition should be called, not agnostic, but omniscient." It appears that Huxley picked up the tenet from an essay of Sir William Hamilton, which he read as a boy. "And his boyish credulity remained with him to the end of his days."

We are not convinced however, that our author understands Christianity any better than the Agnostic whom he so ably criticizes. It may be that "if the Bible were annihilated, the religion of Christ would be approved and verified by the religious consciousness of Christendom," but if "the historical trustworthiness of the Jewish scriptures" be overthrown, the testimony of Jesus must go down with the ruin, and if the Light of the world be darkened, faith is eclipsed forever.

Furthermore, if Jesus of Nazareth is conceded to be "the miracle of

miracles," "the wonder-worker of human history," then it is as unscientific as it is undevout to impeach the credibility of a volume whose one purpose and aim is the testimony of Jesus. E. J. W.

The International Critical Commentary: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. William Sanday, D. D., LL. D., and the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, B. D. 8vo. pp. 450. \$3.00 net.

Many shortcomings may be forgiven Biblical scholars who in the noontide of the Higher Criticism have the hardihood to say: "There is no criterion of style or of language which enables us to distinguish a document from the interpolations, and we should be compelled to make use of a number of writings which we could not either trust or criticize. If the documents are not trustworthy, neither is our criticism."

Yet we cannot be blind to what strikes us as serious deficiencies. The authors fail in fact, so the critic thinks, to grasp the inner spiritual and practical import of what Schaff calls "the Magna Charta of the Evangelical system." This failure is doubtless due to the methods of interpretation adopted. The laudable aim to make the exposition of the Epistle historical, to assign to it its true position in place and time, is pursued so one-sidedly, that its momentous significance for all places and times is largely overlooked.

After the admission of "the historical fact, that the spiritual revivals of Christendom have been usually associated with closer study of the Bible," and that "this is true in an eminent degree of the Epistle to the Romans," the joint authors make, it seems to us, an egregious mistake when they rule out from their commentary all dogmatic and practical matter. It sounds like a burlesque on Exegesis, when in the Preface to a Commentary on Romans we are told that Dogmatics are excluded by the plan of the Series, and indeed also by the conception which the authors have of their "duty as Commentators." This is assuredly a case of Hamlet, with the character of the Prince of Denmark left out. It is an example of the grammatico-historic exegesis being overdone. "The expositor," says Kurtz, "must have appreciation of the writer's spirit, as well as have acquaintance with his language and the customs of his age." This canon is confirmed by the testimony of this volume to Luther, that by grasping some of Paul's leading ideas, "he produced conditions of religious life which made the comprehension of part of the apostle's teaching possible."

In justification of these strictures it is well to recall that the first Protestant Commentary on this Epistle is the historic foundation of Protestant theology. Out of Melancthon's Lectures on Romans grew his "Loci Communes," which although "written in the interest of practical Christianity rather than scientific theology," became the pioneer

of modern dogmatic treatises, marking "an epoch in the history of theology."

In the field of critical scholarship this volume will be found a valuable aid to students and clergymen for the understanding of the text. Each section is introduced with a paraphrase which presents in a luminous form a summary of its contents. And extensive Detached Notes on a number of the principal subjects treated in the Epistle, make up in part for the omission of dogmatic matter from the textual comments. The Index to these subjects and the Index to the Greek words will make the student prize it very highly as a work of reference. E. J. W.

A Lady of Quality. By Frances Hodgson Burnett.

This is without question the strongest of the many books that have come from Mrs. Burnett. This must be admitted even by those who do not approve of it and who do not find the reading of it pleasant. The stirring action, thrilling plot, most dramatic situations and peculiar characteristics of the characters, combine to make it a novel that is entirely extraordinary. Taking as the heroine a hoydenish child without any training, the daughter of a roysterer, who lives the most questionable life, she suddenly converts her at the age of fifteen into a proper young girl, who finally develops into a woman of magnificent physical and intellectual qualities. The period of this novel is the seventeenth century, and the heroine has for her friends "Mr. Addison and Mr. Steele, Dr. Swift and Mr. Pope," and the writing is in the literary style of that period. Were the reader to question the possibility of so rude, profane and passionate a young woman developing, with no other assistance than her own instincts, into the most gentle of wives and mothers and the most companionable of friends, a ludicrous feature of the novel might be presented; but the majority of readers, we imagine, will be pleased with the transformation. The sweetness and purity of "Lord Fauntleroy" are absent here, and it seems impossible that the same pen should have produced both. Indeed the most remarkable feature, to us, of Mrs. Burnett's authorship, is the great variety of which she has shown herself capable. While "A Lady of Quality" cannot fail to hold the interest of its readers from first to last, yet, on account of the shocking profanity and the tone of the first half of it, we cannot approve or recommend it.

Cinderella. By Richard Harding Davis.

This is not the first appearance of the stories which form this collection. They were first published in the magazines which rank among the best in this country, and they well deserve being put in a more permanent form. Their author is among the best short-story writers of this age and of any country. The book takes its name, as is usually the case, from the initial story, which is bright and entirely original in every detail. There is a touch of pathos in it as there is in so many of

Mr. Davis' stories. The sentiment in all his stories is of the purest and best and, in these days, when so many questionable books are being written, it is certainly gratifying to turn to such a one as this and to have at hand such stories to place in the hands of youthful readers. There is not one of the five which are here bound together which is not unique, but we have found in "Miss Delamar's Understudy" a certain excellence which belongs only to the true artist. Each one is full of interest but when the book is laid aside the reader confesses to himself that it is neither the characters nor plots which have made them so but simply the story-writer's own charming way of weaving his tale. This is one of the books which will find its way into many of the Summer traveling bags and the memories of vacation days will be brighter because of it.

T. AND T. CLARK, EDINBURG.

[Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.]

A History of the Councils of the Church. From the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D. D., late Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. V. A. D. 626 to the close of the Second Council of Nicæe, 787. Translated from the German, with the author's approbation, and edited by William R. Clark, M. A., Hon. LL. D., etc., Professor of Philosophy in Trinity College, Toronto. pp. 472. \$4.50.

The gratification over the appearance of a fresh volume of this monument of learning is somewhat dampened by the announcement that this is the last English volume which will be issued under the auspices of the editor and publishers to whom we owe the English dress of just one half of the work. It is to be hoped that as the value of these earlier volumes will come to be more fully appreciated, such a demand will arise for the history of the Mediaeval Councils, as will encourage some competent translator and enterprising publishers to complete the vast undertaking. The place of Church Councils in the development of Christian doctrine cannot be overestimated, and the church of no age can dispense with the accurate knowledge of their history, if it means to comprehend the relation of its teachings to the confessions and the conflicts of past ages.

Volume V. covers a century and a half of events of exceeding and perennial interest. It opens with the rise of the Monothelite heresy, giving full details of the struggle which culminated in the VI. Œcumenical Synod and closes with the Iconoclast war which was brought to a close in the VII. Œcumenical Synod, the last which has been recognized alike by east and west.

Students of history will hardly be convinced by this volume of the infallibility of either councils or popes. Hefele writes in the interests of history, with a minimum of bias, and his treatment of the case of

Pope Honorius, with which the Vatican Fathers had to wrestle, reveals the embarrassments to which candor and fairness subject the true historian. He admits that "it is in the highest degree startling, even scarcely credible, that an Œcumenical Council should punish with anathema a *Pope* as a heretic." He does not accept the shift of Baronius that said anathema is a *forgery*, nor the evasion of others who claim that Honorius was condemned for *negligence*, not for heresy, but holds it to be beyond doubt that "the Synod actually condemned Honorius on account of heresy." Perchance Councils at that day had not received inspiration touching the infallibility of the bishop of Rome. The dilemma offers only horns. Either the Council erred in condemning a pope, or by its condemnation it stamped the possibility of error on Christ's vicar. Faith must have a better authority than Council or Pope.

Hefele's own attempt at solving the difficulty does credit to his head and heart; Honorius thought in an orthodox sense but unhappily he expressed himself in a Monothelite manner. He also confesses: "I have now modified or entirely abandoned many details of my earlier statements." This was to have been expected after he had publicly announced his acceptance of the Vatican decree, whose dogma he stoutly opposed in the Council. When he credits Leo II. as pointing out the fault of Honorius "with greater accuracy than the Council," he certainly gives away the whole case. Where greater accuracy is possible, infallibility is to be mistrusted.

An exceedingly valuable portion of this volume is a very large list of the corrections and additions to the first volume, taken from the Second German Edition. There is also an alphabetical list of all Synods up to and including the eighth century and a full Index. E. J. W.

From the same British House, through Scribner's, we have received Volume VI. of

The Expository Times, Oct. 1894—Sept. 1895, edited by the Rev. James Hastings, A. M. 4to. pp. 568. \$2.50.

Nothing which comes to our table offers a more varied and enjoyable feast than this solid British periodical. Its genial Notes of Recent Exposition, its great Text Commentary, and its charming Reviews of recent Biblical and Theological works, are but a few of the features which make it invaluable to any wide-awake clergyman. That the editor keeps an eye on America is shown among other things by the amazing admission "American scholars are, as a rule, more advanced than ours." This candid testimony is itself an evidence of the first-rate quality of *The Repository Times*. E. J. W.

We are indebted also to the Clarks, through Charles Scribner's Sons, for

The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, with Introduction and Notes by James S. Candlish, D. D. pp. 132. 60 cts.

It is one of the Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students

issued under the editorship of Drs. Dodds and Whyte, and is evidently the fruitage of careful study, an admirable contribution toward the clearer understanding of one of the richest portions of the New Testament. Simple and intelligible in form, compact and suggestive in method, evangelical and conservative in spirit, it is to be heartily commended to all students of Holy Writ.

Dr. Candlish holds fast to Reformation doctrine on baptism. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that by the washing of water (Eph. 5:26), is meant the sacrament of baptism." * * "In those days, from the nature of the case, baptism usually accompanied conversion to Christ, and was the evidence of that decisive change; and as Paul is speaking of the Church as a whole, he naturally alludes to that ordinance through which Christ brings men into its fellowship of salvation." E. J. W.

SCHULTZ AND BROTHER, BALTIMORE, MD.

The author has kindly sent us a copy of *First Settlements of Germans in Maryland*, a brochure of 60 pages, by Mr. Edward T. Shultz, of Baltimore.

We cannot commend too highly the interest and industry employed in the investigations of the earliest European settlements in this country. Mr. Schultz has placed the public under great obligations in his exploration of a field which has confessedly been neglected, although known to contain treasures of great historic value. Whilst his work is not a church history and is by no means exhaustive in its accounts of the earlier trials of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, it brings out important data such as, for example, the definite location of the "Monocacy" of Muhlenberg and the "Log Church," which he visited in 1747, and in whose Church Book, before he preached, he inscribed in the English language the order and the faith of a Lutheran Church, which the members were obliged to subscribe—"according to the Protestant Lutheran persuasion grounded in the Old and New Testament and in the invariata Augustana Confessione caeterisque libris symbolicis."

The booklet which is elegantly gotten up may be had for fifty cents from Daniel H. Smith, Frederick, Md., Schultz & Bro., 215 W. German St., Baltimore. E. J. W.

The translator, Rev. O. G. Belsheim, of Albert Lea, Minn., has kindly sent us in an elegant English dress the *Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism*. Based on Dr. Pontoppidan's Explanation. By Bishop N. J. Laache of Norway.

The explanation, with the text of Luther according to the new translation of the Joint Committee, makes a brochure of 60 pages. We hail the work not only because of its intrinsic merit, but also because of its testimony to the transition to English through which our Norwegian brethren are passing.

Quite naturally we have compared the little manual with the General

Synod's Catechism, and found a striking resemblance. The former, for instance, says of Baptism, "we therein receive grace and life," the latter, "in this sacrament the Holy Ghost bestows the power of a new life." The former teaches, "the Lord's Day is profaned when we despise or neglect the word of God and when we use the day for labor, or spend it in idleness or worldly pleasure." The latter, "The Sabbath is profaned by unnecessary labor, and also by wordly pleasures and deeds," an exposition in which the advantage remains with the former.

E. J. W.

THOMAS WHITTAKER, NEW YORK.

The Growth of Church Institutions. By the Rev. Edwin Hatch, M. A., D. D. pp. 227. \$1.50.

The sensation produced by Hatch's *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, a work which Harnack honored with a German translation, may have subsided, but Episcopacy has never recovered from the fatal blow which it struck at High Church assumptions. The fierce denunciations evoked by that epoch-making volume did not deter the brilliant author from prosecuting his researches in Christian antiquity and publishing their results, and the *Growth of Church Institutions* soon followed, a volume marked by profound learning and by a popular, readable style.

Among the positions which it takes are (1) that in the Early Church, "in the large majority of cases, a bishop, presbyters and deacons existed for every Christian community," who were "officers not of a district but of a community." "Where there was more than one community in a city, there was, as a rule, more than one bishop." (2) That "all officers, whether bishops, presbyters, deacons or readers were originally officers of a particular community, and their status was not recognized, except by courtesy, outside that community." When such officer was transferred from one church to another, "it involved re-appointment, or, as it would now be called, re-ordination." (3) That the original organization came to be "modified by the transference to the bishop, or the body of the clergy, of many of the proper functions of the whole community."

That such positions are maintained by scholars within the Anglican Church, is a subject for grateful recognition on the part of those who never conceded divine authority to the "Historic Episcopate," and we should think it also an all-sufficient cause for the abatement of claims heretofore made by those within the Episcopal fold, who have converted that man-made institution into an insurmountable barrier against Church union. The slight volume is to be cordially commended to all students of church history and church polity.

E. J. W.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, 66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

Christianity and History. By Adolph Harnack. Translated by Thos. Bailey Saunders, with an Introductory Note. Price, 80 cts.

If there were any doubt as to the attitude of Adolph Harnack toward evangelical Christianity, or as to his rank among the leading minds of Christendom in Christian apologetics, this brief but powerfully condensed statement of his must set all such disquietude at rest—excepting, of course, with that narrow spirit of uncompromising dogmatism, that will not recognize that we are in an age of Biblical criticism, with new problems, and new and wide intellectual adjustments, to correspond. Christianity is having its supreme trial of all time, while its documentary sources and historic environment are being examined into and critically sifted—which process who is there to forbid? A supernatural religion, the religion of the Incarnation, is, as a matter of fact, let down into the currents of human history, and made subject to the law of *development*, which is conceded to be of controlling application in the affairs of men. Christianity is preëminently an historical religion—if the historical element were excised there would be nothing left. Now the scientific method of studying history, which is the distinctive feature of the time in which we live, by following in the lead of the law of development, has wrought wonders, but, in the enthusiasm of splendid scholarly achievements, has imagined itself the key to unlock every mystery coming in its way.

The title of this book, "*Christianity and History*," were better expressed in conformity to our English idiom, by "*Christianity and its Historic Environment*"—since the author aims to repel the powerful attacks made on Christianity—now, by destructive critics—from the basis of the historic element which inheres so largely in it. Those attacks are three-fold: (1) *Development* dominates all history; the Christian religion is but a link in development; and "therefore its founder cannot be allowed any peculiar or unique position," such as has been claimed for him through all these years. (2) Christ is too far back in history to be made "the rock of our life," therefore we are to dismiss all idea of the great founder as a *person*, and interest ourselves only with the *doctrine* or religious *principle* that has come down to us with the impress of his name. (3) The facts about the person of Christ—many of them have been discredited by historical criticism, and all of them share the inevitable uncertainty of all facts of history, and cannot, therefore, be made the basis of our religious belief. Here is a masterly analysis of the three lines of attack upon the Christian religion from the standpoint of historical criticism, and to understand the triumphant manner in which the distinguished Professor meets them, one need only turn over these brief and luminous pages.

What thrills us is the summary ease with which these scholarly onslaughts are repulsed, and, especially, that the old stronghold of the

spiritual nature of man, and the evidence arising out of that, going to sustain, in a long continuity of Christian consciousness, the estimate of the person of Christ in what the author calls the "fifth unwritten gospel" of his immediate times—that this has been in no wise compromised, not in any manner slurred or slighted, in judging of the unique place which Christ claims for himself in the devout affections of men. He claimed to be "more than all the prophets who were before him : the Son of God. Of him alone we know that those who ate and drank with him, glorified him not only as their teacher, prophet, and king, but also as the Prince of Life, as the Redeemer and Judge of the world, as the living power of their existence—*it is not I that live, but Christ in me.*" "This fact, which lies open to the light of day, is unique in history, and it requires that the actual personality behind it should be honored as unique."

This is all on the highest level of spiritual insight inseparable from the evangelical faith, and it is puzzling to know how this great leader should have merited the stigma of dangerous liberality and German unsoundness, among American scholars, who consider themselves a careful consistory for the maintenance of Christian doctrine, pure and undefiled. We are often led to suspect that, where ecclesiastical censorship is unduly rigorous and severe, it is quite uniformly, when thoroughly sifted, the censorship of the uninformed.

W. H. W.

The Education of Children at Rome. By George Clarke, Ph. D., Senior Moderator, Trinity College, Dublin; Principal of Jarvis Hall Academy, Montclair, Colorado. Price 75 cents.

It is well that to the abundant literature on the warlike achievements of the Romans there should be added more on their home life, the education of their children, their methods of business transactions with one another, and other features of private life. The old Roman is quite well enough known in public affairs, both in war and peace, but not enough as a private citizen. This little book on the education of the Roman child, will be a pleasure to every one interested in this ancient people. The purpose of education at Rome is shown, the studies in their elementary and secondary schools, their school buildings, methods of teaching, status of the teacher—in fact the whole ground is quite well covered even though the book is small. It was originally written as a dissertation by Mr. Clarke as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Colorado. He now has the degree and evidently well merits it.

LUTHER LEAGUE REVIEW, 96 TO 98 FULTON ST., NEW YORK.

Luther League Hymnal.

This book has been "issued by authority of the Luther League of New York State," to meet the special need that has arisen from the rapid development of young people's societies in the Lutheran Church. It is not intended to supplant anything, but to supply a want. It may be in-

tended, which would be laudable, to obviate any necessity of resorting to cheap compilations of so called hymns, by furnishing a compilation of appropriate hymns and tunes, such as to give expression to and foster proper devotional feeling.

The Committee in charge have worked along conservative lines, and the use of this Hymnal will in no way antagonize Lutheran Scriptural cultus. The trifling tunes and vapid sentiments so common in the multitudes of song books offered for sale by those who would make money out of them, are not to be found here. If there has been any error it has been on the side of sobriety and solidity. We can commend the book. Besides the hymns with tunes, there are an opening and a closing service, several Psalms for responsive reading and some pages of Collects. It is handsomely printed and bound.

H. L. B.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

For King and Country. By James Barnes.

If the youth of to-day are not well informed it is surely not because anything is left undone which might make it pleasant for them to become so. The history which, to some, might be dull is now hidden in bright, interesting stories and, while the boys and girls are being entertained, they are learning important facts. Such is this story. Its scenes are laid in the Revolutionary period, and, as might be imagined, there is much that is thrilling. Characters that have been met only in the pages of history become here more real and life-like, and facts are imprinted upon the memory which, gotten from the text-book, leave no lasting impression. The story is a very pleasing one, full of motion, entirely lacking dullness, and it will please and profit the young people for whom it has been written.

Madelon. By Mary E. Wilkins.

The character sketches of Mary E. Wilkins have given her a place among the leading writers of short stories, who within a decade, have come to the front. Somehow she seems to fathom the very depths of the human heart and to thoroughly analyze feelings and motives. In the midst of humble surroundings she finds her interesting characters, and she delineates them in such a manner as to make her readers feel that they are well worth her own and their study. In this new novel there is perhaps more of plot and romance than we have found in any other of her novels. The opening chapters give promise of a novel of more than ordinary power, but so many difficulties are removed in such improbable ways in order that certain young people may join their lives into one that they make the closing pages, while pleasing to many readers, a disappointment to those who have learned to expect something unusual from Mary E. Wilkins. It is hardly a nineteenth century novel whose ending may be guessed long before it is reached. It is a book sure to entertain, but is not equal to "Jane Field." A number of errors oc-

cur which, if they came from the writer's pen should not have escaped the eye of the proof reader, such as "preventative," "paying a visit at Dorothy's aunt's there," "master's beside," "sat the bowl down," etc. But while there are points to criticize in it, there is much enjoyment in store for those who have not read "Madelon."

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON.

Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes. By John T. Morse, Jr.

It is certainly exceptional to find two volumes of biography so charming in their way as are these. The subject of them has long been dear to the hearts of thousands of readers and his memoirs have been written in a manner that will deepen the affection of all those who have mourned the writer of the Breakfast Table series. Dr. Holmes was not a letter-writer being not disposed to continue a correspondence and so, as his biographer says, there was not an "*embarras de richesses*" but there are nevertheless many letters which are of fascinating interest. And the story of his life, covering his boyhood, student days, life abroad, the period of practicing medicine, his professorship, literary career and later days is told in a style so fascinating as to make it read like a romance. It has been believed that Dr. Holmes, prior to his death, was engaged upon an autobiography but he has left only memoranda and notes. His biographer might have used these for the construction of his narrative, but we are grateful to him for giving them just as they were left by Dr. Holmes. These reminiscences of his early days are full of delight for his readers who almost feel as though they are permitted to have glimpses into his diary. It is here that a correct idea is gotten of his religious views as well as his opinions on many subjects. He was a many-sided man. To few are so many talents given. And few men keep young their hearts and sympathies as did he—remaining always one of the "boys." No wonder, then, that the biography of such a man, written by a nephew who fully appreciated him, should form a most readable book. The writer's style is so vigorous, his expression so graceful that the mantle of his distinguished relative seems to have fallen upon him.

The Supply at Saint Agatha's. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

There is never a lack of careful, scholarly, artistic finish to anything that comes from Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and this beautiful story is only a new proof of her wonderful creative and painstaking ability. Saint Agatha's is a fashionable city church with fashionable members, and, during the absence of the pastor, a call was extended to an aged clergymen, who had no experience in luxurious living, to supply at Saint Agatha's on a certain Sunday. The invitation was accepted, but exposure caused the death of the man of God, and his dying prayer was, "Lord, into thy hands I commit—my supply." How that pulpit was supplied in a manner most wonderful and mysterious and beyond human

ken, is the story here told, and it is told so sweetly, so beautifully, as to bring tears to the eyes of the reader and to lift his heart upward. The book is bound and illustrated in a style that is in perfect keeping with the story, and within and without it is a white, pure book of which its writer may be assured that it will elevate those who read it, while it will strengthen their admiration for the genius that created it.

By Oak and Thorn. By Alice Brown.

Among the "pens of technique" which Miss Brown declares are so few must certainly be classed her own. The essays she has here contributed to literature are the result of her out-door life in England. Much of this, we infer, was spent in camping and gypsying, and with a true love of nature, a keen insight into her mysteries and an appreciation of her beauties and wonders, her wanderings led her into unfrequented corners and by unknown streams, into such nooks and haunts as are unfamiliar to Baedeker. Her style is as uncommon as were her journeyings and there are constant and graceful surprises in the recounting of her experiences. The wit and pathos and the exquisite descriptions of nature are expressed in language that is truly poetical. Indeed it is the spirit of the poet that breathes from every page. There is here something so truly superior—a something that breathes the true sense of refinement—and constantly throughout the book culture is so much *en evidence* that many persons will have their sense of the beautiful and artistic in literature quickened by reading these very excellent essays.

HUNT AND EATON, NEW YORK.

Moral Law and Civil Law Parts of the Same Thing. By Eli F. Ritter. pp. 212.

Mr. Ritter is a Christian lawyer and has given us here a clear-cut logical discussion. Realizing the indefiniteness as to what constitutes good moral character before our courts, he shows how the lines may be clearly drawn, and how, in the end, the civil law rests and must rest upon the moral law as revealed in the divine word. His illustrative examples from history, largely our own history, are very clear and convincing. What the author says has all the more value because so much of it has come directly within the line of his own experience and observation.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Gerhard's Sacred Meditations. Translated from the Latin by Rev. C. W. Heisler, A. M. pp. 302. Price, \$1.00.

It is enough to say for the contents of this book that, in the depth and warmth of its devotional spirit, it deserves to be classed with Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," Arndt's "True Christianity"

and Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying." For the work of translation it is enough to say that it is thoroughly faithful to the thought of Gerhard while free from the awkward and antiquated language so often found in translations. We think, indeed, that Mr. Heisler deserves special commendation for the excellence of the English in which he has clothed these *Meditationes Sacræ*. It is a book that the Christian will do well to have within easy reach. It will quicken the spirit of devotion, and at the same time help to clearness of thought on the chief doctrines of the holy word.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Talks to the King's Children. Being the second series of Object Sermons to Children. By Sylvanus Stall, D. D. pp. 249.

After the reception accorded to the first series of these short sermons to children, it is not surprising that Dr. Stall has been induced to give to the press a second. The best commendation we can bestow upon this is to say that it is fully up to the first. Dr. Stall has a skill in making subjects simple and pleasing to children, at the same time striking and impressive, that is special and remarkable. It is gratifying that he is using this gift in preparing books that will be so hintful and helpful to instructors of youth on religious subjects.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The following books on our table are held for review in our next issue: *The Threshold Covenant or The Beginning of Religious Rites.* By H. Clay Trumbull. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Annotations on the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and I Corinthians, Chaps. I-VI. By Henry E. Jacobs, D. D., LL. D. Christian Literature Co., New York.

Annotations on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians. By Edward T. Horn, D. D., and Andrew G. Voigt, D. D. Christian Literature Co., New York.

Church Unity. Five Lectures Delivered in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, during the Winter of 1896. By Drs. Shields, Andrews, Hurst, Potter, Bradford. Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y.

A History of the Hebrew People. From the Settlement in Canaan to the Division of the Kingdom. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Baptism and Feet-Washing. By Rev. P. Bergstresser, D. D. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia.

PERIODICALS.

An unusual number of papers on timely subjects appears in the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. They will attract much attention.

Among them are, *The Real Problems of Democracy*; *A Century's Progress in Science*; *Arbitration and our Relations with England*; *The United States and the Anglo-Saxon Future*; *Confessions of Public School Teachers*; and *Young America in Feathers*. The third installment of the *Letters of D. G. Rossetti* consists of a number of very bright and interesting ones. With the fiction of the number in the hands of Henry James, Sarah Orne Jewett, and George W. Cable there can be no question as to its merit. The book reviews and letters in the Contributor's Club are excellent, making all in all a most important number of this magazine.

The *Century Magazine* for June has for its frontispiece an excellent and very welcome portrait of Joseph Jefferson as "Dr. Pangloss." Sargent and His Painting; Lights and Shadows of the Alhambra; Impressions of South Africa; Notes on City Government in St. Louis; The Struggle for Maintenance in the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte; and Humor and Pathos of Presidential Conventions, are among the subjects discussed in this number. Viola Roseboro', Mary Halleck Foote, Winston Churchill and Mrs. Humphrey Ward contribute the fiction of the number. There are a great many fine illustrations, gems of poetry, some bright papers on Topics of the Time and In Lighter Vein, always piquant, is especially so in this number.

Summer housekeeping, never especially desirable, will be made easier for those who have the June number of *Table Talk*. Nora Archibald Smith contributes to it a paper on The Kindergarten in Neighborhood Work. There are papers on Camp Life for Girls and German Markets, but the housekeeper will find her help in the excellent new recipes and the menus for the month. There are admirable suggestions for methods of entertainment, always a puzzling question. A paper on June-day Reading offers many valuable suggestions for summer reading. The department in charge of Tillie May Forney is unusually good this month. We consider *Table Talk* a necessity in every well-ordered household.

Any one who reads or even glances through *St. Nicholas* for July must be impressed with the thought of the many happy hours it will bring to the thousands of boys and girls who will read it during the vacation days of this Summer. The publishers offer prizes for the solution of another puzzle, and it certainly was thoughtful in them to give the puzzle just when their patrons have time to solve it. "Owney" appears again in this number, and a delightful account is given of his Trip Around the World. Toby Hinkle, Patriot and A Word for the Old Fourth will fan the patriotism of the boys and girls on the Fourth of July. There are so many delightful stories, such beautiful pictures, interesting letters, and The Riddle Box is full of entertainment, but we do miss dear old *Jack in the Pulpit*. *St. Nicholas* is certainly the very best of magazines for young people.

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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.
OCTOBER, 1896.

ARTICLE I.

DE BAPTISMO—AUGSBURG CONFESSION, ART. IX.

THE HOLMAN LECTURE, DELIVERED JUNE, 1896, IN THE THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

BY REV. R. W. HUFFORD, D. D.

“Concerning Baptism, our churches teach that it is necessary to salvation; that through baptism the grace of God is offered. And that children are to be baptized, who being by baptism offered to God are received into his favor. Therefore we reject the doctrines of the Anabaptists, who reject the baptism of children.”

The first essential of a Christian confession is that it conform to the teachings of the word of God. If it fails in this, it utterly fails. Such a confession is not intended to set forth the teachings of tradition, or the deductions of philosophy—even though that philosophy be Christian—but the plain teachings of the Bible.

Profoundly true is the declaration of Augustine, that “It matters not what I say, what you say or what he says, but, *what saith the Lord.*” There is no dissent among us to these words of the great bishop of Hippo, who, by a thousand years, simply anticipated the confessional position of Protestantism.

The distinguished author of the "Creeds of Christendom," has fairly and clearly stated this position as follows: "In the Protestant system the authority of symbols, as of all human compositions, is relative and limited. It is not coördinate with, but always subordinate to, the Bible as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The value of creeds depends upon the measure of their agreement with the Scriptures."*

This truth fought for its life, in the person of Luther, at the Diet at Worms, and bodied forth the fruits of its victory at the Diet at Augsburg, in the Confession submitted there. The great principle of the Reformation, the very genius of the evangelical movement of the sixteenth century irrevocably binds our communion to its unqualified acceptance.

The true Lutheran, whatever else he may hold, must enthrone the unchangeable divine word as supreme over all.

We try our creeds by our Bible, not our Bible by our creeds. Recognizing this infallible test, the student of the Augsburg Confession approaches that venerable symbol, profoundly grateful that in this as in all things human, there is a higher court, a court of final appeal. And, if in the examination of the Confession of his Church, he comes to the conclusion that it is a most admirable and faithful setting forth of the great doctrines of the divine word, it does not necessarily follow that his judgment is warped by his ecclesiastical relations, but the rather it may be only another proof, however small, that the men whom God raised up for the work of the Church in the crisis period of its later history, knew their Bible well, and were guided by the Holy Spirit.

The Œcumenical Creeds, namely, the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian, contain no deliverance on Baptism, with the exception that the Nicene has the words, "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. The Augustana is therefore the first of the great symbols of the Church, ancient or modern, to make a comprehensive statement concerning the place of baptism in the system of Christian doctrine and life.

Three affirmations are made in this article, viz.: That baptism, etc., Vol. I., p. 7.

tism is necessary, that grace is offered through baptism, and that children are to be baptized. We shall consider these in their order.

I. THE NECESSITY OF BAPTISM.

“Our churches teach that it is necessary to salvation.”

This doctrine rests on the plain command of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and is supported by the undeviating practice of his inspired apostles.

The last words of Jesus to his apostles, as recorded in the first Gospel, giving them their great commission, a commission beside which the highest mandates of earthly kings are dwarfed into insignificance, reads: “Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Matt. 28 : 19, R. V.

There should never have been, there should never be, any doubt as to the meaning and binding obligation of this command. To one who holds that the words of Scripture are to be interpreted according to the laws of language and their historic connection, there is but one possible conclusion, namely, that of the Confession: “Baptism is necessary.”

It may be syllogistically stated thus:

What the Lord has commanded is necessary.

The Lord has commanded Baptism,

Therefore, Baptism is necessary.

That the inspired apostles understood this command of Christ in its most natural sense is beyond question. On the great day of Pentecost at Jerusalem, when three thousand accepted the risen and ascended Lord as their Saviour, the sign and seal of that infinitely significant and solemn act, was the speedily administered sacrament of holy baptism. Acts 2 : 41. Farther on in the history of the apostolic Church we find no record of any departure from this rule. Converts, alike from Judaism, Samaritanism and heathenism, were baptized. Vide Acts 8 : 12, 36 ; 9 : 18 ; 10 : 48 ; 16 : 15, 33.

It probably did not enter into the minds of those first preachers of the Church to discuss many question that have risen in

later times as to the full significance of this sacrament. It was enough that the Lord had said, "Preach the Gospel and baptize those who accept it." It was theirs to obey. In this they did not err. The confessors at Augsburg, with a singleness of purpose never surpassed, in their effort to restore to their rightful place the teachings of the Gospel, could say concerning baptism nothing less than this: "It is necessary."

The word necessary, however, is not to be understood as synonymous with essential. The failure to recognize this truth has been the cause of considerable misunderstanding and not a little discussion. It is unfortunate that learned, as well as unlearned men, will sometimes read into words a meaning that does not belong to them, particularly when they are dealing with the confession of a sister denomination.

It would be difficult, very likely impossible, to find a theologian in the Lutheran Church who would be willing to accept this article if the word essential were substituted for the word necessary. The change of a single word would destroy the doctrinal integrity of the article.

Hollazius says: "Baptism is necessary, through the necessity of obeying a divine command and of using an appointed means: through an ordinate and not an absolute necessity, inasmuch as we believe that the children of Christians dying without baptism are saved. (Schmid's Dogm., p. 570).

Dr. C. P. Krauth, who is not open to the charge of holding lax views of the sacraments, and who has placed the Church under lasting obligations for the results of his exhaustive study of the whole subject, says: "Our Church regards baptism not as *essential* in its proper sense, but as necessary. That which is properly 'essential' allows of no degree of limitation, but that which is 'necessary' may be so in various degrees and with manifold limitations. The Augsburg Confession says, not that baptism is essential, but simply that it is necessary, to which the Latin, not to show the degree of necessity but merely its object, adds, 'to salvation.'"

"In later editions of the Confession," continues Dr. Krauth, "Melanchthon, to remove the possibility of misconstruction, ad-

ded a few words to the ninth article so that it reads: 'Of baptism they teach that it is necessary to salvation, 'as a ceremony instituted of Christ.' And with such mild expression, even those who were most remote from the Melanchthonian spirit were satisfied. Finally, says Dr. Krauth, the Church never has held, but has always repudiated, the idea that baptism is unconditionally essential or necessary to salvation. She has declared that not the deprivation of baptism, but the contempt of it condemns a man." (Cons. Ref., pp. 562, 563).

God has provided means. His plain command is to use the means provided. It is not for man to provide other means or to ask whether other means could not be provided, or whether it is not safe to omit a part of the provided means. That is not "the interrogation of a good conscience." The interrogation of a good conscience is, "What does our Lord and Master tell us to do?" The "answer" of a good conscience, is, prompt, unquestioning and cheerful obedience.

II. THE BENEFITS OF BAPTISM.

"Through baptism the grace of God is offered."

Grace may be defined as that divine operation by which one becomes a child of God and is built up in the Christian life.

God is the author and source of grace. Man is its object. The divine purpose in the bestowment of grace is the salvation of the soul. Grace bestowed is the Gospel applied. Baptism, as we have seen, is by command of the Lord. Its author is the author of grace. It therefore follows that baptism, because commanded of the Lord, is not an empty ceremony. There are no empty ceremonies commanded of the Lord, nor can there be. Baptism has a purpose. That purpose, worthy of the wisdom and character of its author, is simply stated in the words of the Confession: "Through baptism the grace of God is offered," *i. e.* baptism is a means of grace. God uses baptism in that divine operation by which the sinner becomes a child of God and is developed in the Christian life.

That baptism is a means of grace follows primarily from the fact that baptism is obedience to a divine command. The ar-

gument shapes itself into another syllogism. Obedience to any and every divine command is a means of grace. Baptism is obedience to a divine command. Therefore baptism is a means of grace. Is the major premise in this reasoning questioned—*i. e.*, that obedience to any and every divine command is a means of grace? It is maintained that the words and spirit of the Bible teach it, and the experience of God's people confirms it. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man who built his house upon a rock. Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them not, I will liken him unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand." Matt. 7 : 24. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him." John 14 : 21. Is it urged that faith has no place in this reasoning?

There is no true obedience without faith, nor will faith long exist without obedience, where obedience is possible. The Scriptures are a means of offered grace everywhere and always, but to him who is a hearer and not a doer of the word, they become a savor of death unto death, and not a savor of life unto life. Obedience to God's commands has ever been and ever will be the channel of divine grace. It is therefore safely affirmed that holy baptism, because commanded of the Lord, is a means of grace. The confessors wisely limited the statement to this generic form. They did not say what the grace of baptism is or what it does; simply that through baptism grace is offered.

Luther, in the Smaller Catechism, in a statement far more full and specific says: "It [baptism] worketh the forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe, as the word and promise of God declare."

In the Larger Catechism he further says: "In the second place inasmuch as we now know what baptism is, we must also learn the purpose and end for which it was instituted, that is, its benefits and effects. This we have admirably set forth in the words of Christ: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Mark 16 : 16. Hence conceive of the whole thing as

simply as possible, namely, the virtue, work, use, fruit and end of baptism is to save. For none is baptized in order to become a prince, but as the word says, in order to be saved. It is well known, however, that to be saved implies nothing less than to be liberated from sin, death and the devil, to come into the kingdom of Christ and to live eternally with him."

Anticipating the question, "How can water produce such great effects?" he answers, (and his answer contains the true philosophy and meaning of the sacrament): "It is not the water indeed, that produces these effects, but the word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water, and our faith which relies on the word of God connected with the water. For the water without the word of God, is simply water and no baptism. But when connected with the word of God it is a baptism, that is a gracious water of life and "a washing of regeneration" in the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul says to Titus, According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." Titus 3 : 5-8.

Unquestionably in the judgment of Luther, grace, very great grace, even the fulness of salvation, is offered in baptism. Unquestionably he regarded baptism as a saving ordinance; saving, because commanded of the Lord as the great initiatory rite of church membership, joined in its administration with the divine word to be received by faith, and having the promise of the cleansing and the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit.

It is worthy of remark, just here, that it was he who brought the great fundamental doctrine of justification by faith into a clearness and a prominence it had not known since the days of the Apostle Paul, who likewise emphasized the benefits of the sacraments as few have done in any age of the Church. * * A most striking delineation of the benefits of baptism, is given by Gerhard, one of the two theologians thought worthy by Bosuet to be named with Luther, as follows: "As baptism is not simply water, but water comprehended in, sanctified by and

united to the word of God, it is not used therefore to wash away the impurity of the body, but it is a divine and salutary means and organ, by which the whole sacred Trinity efficaciously operates for the salvation of man. Although the effects of baptism are various and multiform, yet following the apostle, (Titus 3 : 5) we reduce them all to these two heads, that baptism is the washing of *regeneration*, (John 3 : 5) which embraces the gift of faith, (Tit. 3 : 5) the remission of sins, (Luke 3 : 3 ; Acts 2 : 38 ; 22 : 16 ; Rom. 6 : 3) reception into the covenant of grace, (1 Pet. 3 : 21) adoption as the sons of God, (Gal 3 : 26) deliverance from the power of Satan, and possession of eternal life, (Col. 1 : 13, 14 ; Mark 16 : 16) and *renewal*, (Tit. 3 : 5) that is the Holy Spirit is given to him, who begins to renew the intellect, the will and all the powers of the soul, so that the lost image of God may begin to be restored in him, that the inner man may be renewed (2 Cor. 4 : 16) that the old man may be put off, and the new one put on, (Col. 3 : 10) that the Spirit may oppose the flesh and rule over it, so that sin may not have dominion in the body." (Schmid's Dogmatik, 562).

These words are designed to set forth the ideal conception of baptism—the administration and reception of that solemn rite according to the Lord's infinitely perfect will as revealed in the Scriptures. Far too often our conception falls below the ideal, the perfect, which in divine things is always the real. We falter and hesitate to believe that baptism into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost should mean so much and that its benefits should be so great. These are indeed the very gifts of God through Christ to his redeemed and accepted children, living in union with their Saviour as the branches with the vine. But are they conferred through baptism? That they follow repentance and faith and a humble, glad surrender of the soul to Jesus Christ as sovereign Lord and Saviour, cannot be doubted by any who receive the Gospel as the power of God unto salvation.

Let us be just to the old theologians. Undoubtedly they meant that these signs of believing the Gospel and accepting Christ, namely repentance, faith and the surrender of the soul to

his care and guidance, must accompany baptism on the human side even as the divine word and Holy Spirit accompany it on the divine side. They, no more than we, believed that the benefits of baptism are received without repentance and faith. They ever repudiated the idea that the sacrament, *ex opere operato*, confers these priceless treasures of divine grace. Nevertheless it must be said that the language just quoted from Gerhard and to a less extent that of Luther, is open to the objection that it calls attention too much to the means, and too little to the author, of the means of grace—too much to the sacrament and too little to the living Person whom law and gospel and sacrament reveal.

On this phase of the subjects,—the benefits of baptism, another testimony is added, namely that of John Arndt, who, while he is not usually classed with the great dogmaticians, was possessed of such enviable learning, such vast and discriminating knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, such loyalty to true Lutheranism and so sweet an evangelical spirit, that he may well be ranked with the greatest and best. Indeed, his judgment may be even better than that of the dogmatic theologian. The dogmatician may be, and sometimes is, the slave of his system of doctrine. The careful, practical student of the Bible searching for its truths that he may preach them to his fellow men, may avoid dangers to which the other is subject. Be that as it may—the quotation is as follows:

“It is evident that from the passion and death of Christ, proceed both the satisfaction for our sins and the renewing of our nature by faith. Thus the new birth in us proceeds from Christ. And as a *means* to attain this end, holy baptism has been instituted, wherein we are baptized into the death of Christ, in order that we might die with him unto sin by the power of his death, and rise again from sin by the power of his resurrection. Thou believest that in baptism thou receivest remission of sins, the new birth, and adoption as a child of God. Thou believest aright. But unless thou find in thyself the fruit of baptism, the

new birth, the unction of the spirit and the divine illumination thy baptism shall avail thee nothing." (True Christianity, pp. 11, 380).

III. PROPER SUBJECTS FOR BAPTISM.

That adult believers are to be baptized is admitted by all who accept the binding obligation of the sacrament.

The article under consideration declares that—"Infants are to be baptized, who by baptism are presented to God and are received unto his favor."

The Apology explains and defends this doctrine as follows: "It is altogether certain that the divine promises of grace and the Holy Spirit belong not only to adults but to children. Now the promises do not apply to those who are out of the Church, where there is no gospel nor sacrament, for the kingdom of God exists only where the word of God and the sacraments are found. It is therefore a truly Christian and necessary practice to baptize children, in order that they may become participants of the gospel and of the promised grace and salvation as Christ has commanded."

In the Larger Catechism, Luther says: That infant baptism is pleasing to Christ is sufficiently proved by his own acts; namely, God has sanctified many of those and given the Holy Spirit to many, baptized in their infancy. But if God did not approve of infant baptism, he would not grant even a particle of grace from the Holy Spirit. In a word, if infant baptism were wrong, hitherto, down to the present day, there could not have been a Christian on earth. Now since God confirms baptism by the communication of his Holy Spirit, as it is truly perceived in some of the fathers, as St. Bernard, Gerson, John Huss and others who were baptized in their infancy, it must indeed be acknowledged that such baptism of children is pleasing to God. For he cannot be against himself, or favor falsehood and knavery, or grant his grace to this end."

1. The obligation to baptize children, and by so doing to make them members of the household of faith, inheres in the very nature and design of the Church.

The Church is the organism called into being by the Lord

through the covenant of grace and perpetuated by the use of the means of grace, namely, the word and sacraments. Had there been no covenant of grace there had been no Church. Were that covenant annulled the Church would cease to be. Wherever the Church is there are the subjects of grace and there are the visible signs of offered mercy and salvation to fallen man. "It is a faithful saying worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

It is alike true that the Church, purchased with his own blood and perpetuated by his power, exists in his purpose for the same object. It is intended to save sinners, turning them from the power of Satan unto God, and bringing them into his visible kingdom on earth. A priori, it would seem impossible that children should have been excluded from such a church, existing for such a purpose.

Accepting this postulate of the meaning and design of the Church, (If it have not this meaning and design it has none worthy of Bethlehem and Calvary), and it would require a positive divine command, to exclude children from it. Such divine command we can safely say, has never been given. On the contrary, in the Old Testament and in the New, God has given commandments and made provision for the children even as he has for their fathers. In the beginning of the Church, no distinction was made on account of age. Abraham the venerable patriarch and friend of God, and Isaac the circumcised infant, eight days old, were alike members of the Church.

"For proof of this" in the words of Dr. E. Greenwald, "we refer to Genesis, seventeenth chapter, which reads: And God said unto Abraham, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee in their generations. This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you and thy seed after thee: every man-child among you shall be circumcised; every man-child in your generations, he that is born in thy house or bought with money of any stranger which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house and he that is bought with thy money must needs be circumcised, and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant." (Bap. of Children, p. 12).

It is worthy of remark that the child bought with money, the slave child, was to be treated as a member of the family. The covenant was to reach him, even as it did the children born within the household. By the rite of circumcision the Gentile bond-servant became a member of the ancient church and shared in the privileges of the passover and had the promises of the people of God,—mute but significant prophecy of that later day of the higher and broader development of the Church, and declaration of the truth that “there is no respect of persons with him.” From that far off age down through nearly two thousand years to the advent of the world’s redeemer, the covenant of grace continued, the Church existed through various vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, but the conditions of church membership knew no change.

There can not be a reasonable doubt that parents and children were alike members of the Jewish Church.

In the development of this thought it has been assumed that the organization among the descendants of Abraham, of which circumcision was the divinely ordained rite, really was the Church of the living God, and that the covenant with Abraham was the covenant of grace or gospel covenant. In support of this view Dr. Greenwald says: “That the covenant with Abraham was the covenant of grace or gospel covenant, is evident from many passages of Scripture, but we will quote but one, as it is so clear and direct as to be alone sufficient for the purpose.

“In the sixth, seventh and eighth verses of the third chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians we read:

“‘Even as Abraham believed God and it was counted to him for righteousness. Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all the nations be blessed. So then they which are of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.’ Here it is not only asserted that Abraham was a model believer; that all believers, whether Jews or Gentiles have the same blessing in faithful Abraham; but it is especially said that that which was preached to him

was the Gospel; that the covenant made with him was the gospel covenant; that his faith under that covenant was evangelical or gospel faith; and that the blessings that descended to both Jews and Gentiles were based upon the promises and guarantees of that covenant, made to Abraham." (Bap. of Children, p. 10).

The truth is, the covenant of grace before the law and under the law and under the gospel is one. The father of the faithful and the great apostle to the Gentiles were not far apart, the one at the beginning of the old dispensation the other at the beginning of the new. They easily clasped hands—the hands of *faith*—across the gulf of twenty centuries.

"The New Testament lies concealed in the Old. The Old lies revealed in the New." "*Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad.*"

2. This obligation is also set forth in the Saviour's commission to the apostles to make disciples of all "the nations," baptizing them into the name of the triune God.

(1) It is apparent from the preceding argument that children were allowed the privileges of membership in the Old Testament Church—nay, that they were expressly provided for, even as their fathers were, under the covenant of grace. The Saviour's command does not revoke that privilege, but continues it and provides for it, under the same covenant of grace in its wider application in the New Testament or Christian Church. The word "nations," says Dr. Krauth, embraces infants. "The redemption is as wide as the creation, and the power of application as wide as redemption. The 'nations' therefore which God has made, redeemed and desires to gather into his Church, are nations of children as well as adults." (Cons. Ref., p. 576).

Says Dr. F. W. Conrad: "The command thus issued by the Lord Jesus is not specific, directing ministers of the Gospel to baptize men, women and children, but generic, commissioning them to baptize all the nations, and therefore it includes children as well as adults. While the command to baptize is unrestricted to either age or sex, it is nevertheless limited by qualifications demanded as conditions of its reception. The qualifications thus required of adults are repentance and faith, and the requisition

for the baptism of children, is that at least one of the parents be a believer in Christ." (Luth. Doc. of Baptism).

(2) That the Saviour's command was understood by his apostles to *include* and not *exclude* children, is apparent from the following facts.

(a) The apostle Peter declares to the Jews at the first great Christian ingathering, that "the promise was to them *and their children*." (Acts 2 : 39). It was in the white light of that marvelous illumination that accompanied the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in the tongues of flame.

Peter was enabled to see the meaning of things,—of Old Testament prophecy and type, of New Testament teaching and promise, as he had never seen them before. In the very focus of all the rays of divine teachings and providence he saw Jesus the crucified and risen Lord, and preached his Gospel as the only hope of the Jews who slew him, and of the Gentiles who knew not of him. To the agonizing cry of the Jews, "What must we do?" he answered, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins: for the promise is unto you and your children."

Says Matthew Henry in paraphrase and comment, concerning these words: "Your children shall have, as they have had, an interest in the covenant, and a title to the external seal of it. Come over to Christ to receive those inestimable benefits; for the promise of remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost is to you and your children. . . . It was very express, 'I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed,' (Is. 44 : 3). And, 'My Spirit and my word shall not depart from thy seed and thy seed's seed,' (Is. 59 : 21). When God took Abraham into covenant he said, 'I will be a God to thee and to thy seed,' (Gen. 17 : 7); and, accordingly, every Israelite had his son circumcised, when eight days old. Now it is proper for an Israelite when he is by baptism come into a new dispensation of this covenant to ask, 'What must be done with my children? Must they be thrown out, or taken in with me?' 'Taken in,' says Peter, 'by all means, for the promise, that great promise of God's being to you a God, is as much to you and your children, now, as it ever

was.' 'And the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls.'” Says Henry: “They are said to be *three thousand souls*, which word is generally used for persons when women and children are included with men, (Gen. 14 : 21), ‘Give me the souls,’ and (Gen. 46 : 27), ‘Seventy souls,’ which intimates that those who were baptized, were not so many men, but so many heads of families, as with their children and servants baptized, might make up three thousand souls.”

(b) It is certain that the apostles baptized households or families.

Among which are named Lydia and her “household,” (Acts 16 : 15); the jailer of Philippi and “all his,” (Acts 16 : 33), the “household” of Stephanas, (1 Cor. 1 : 16), and though not so plainly stated, yet almost with equal certainty the households or families of Crispus and Cornelius.

It is certain that families are here meant. It is not absolutely certain that there were young children in any one of those families, but it is exceedingly probable that there were. As families exist in this world, at least three out of five contain children. If there were no children in any one of these five families thus reported, we have a very unusual occurrence, and we immediately meet with a second, not less rare—namely the simultaneous purpose of all the grown up members of these families to accept Christianity and be baptized. It is admitted that these things *might* all occur. But it is claimed that such combinations of unusual occurrences are very rarely found. There is just one thing, and only one, that will remove all difficulty in the case, and that is the postulate of infant baptism in the apostolic Church.

(c) The wide prevalence of infant baptism in the early history of the Church.

Says Dr. Conrad: “The Christian Fathers represent infant baptism as a universal custom derived from the apostles. Justin Martyr, born about the time of St. John’s death, says: that among the members of the Church in his day, ‘there were many of both sexes, some sixty and some seventy years old who were made disciples of Christ *in their infancy*.’”

Origen, born eighty-five years later, says : “There was a tradition in the Church, received from the apostles, that children also ought to be baptized.”

Augustine, born about the middle of the fourth century, says : “The whole Church practices infant baptism ; it was not instituted by councils, but was always in use, and that he never heard of any person, either in the Church or among the heretics, who denied the propriety of baptizing infants. In this testimony, Pelagius, who traveled in England, France, Italy, Africa and Palestine, corroborates. Infant baptism can thus be traced from the fifth century down to the first, yea to the very threshold of the apostolic Church.”

If the inspired apostles understood their Lord to forbid infant baptism, it is exceedingly difficult to account for its speedy adoption in the post-apostolic Church and its universal practice throughout Christendom a few centuries later. For these reasons we deem it safe to conclude that infant baptism is of divine origin. In the words of Augustine, “it was always in use.”

“Children being by baptism offered to God are received into his favor.”

That is, they are received into the Church of Christ. It is a privilege to belong to the Church, to come into contact with her treasures of truth, to learn to know them and more and more to use them. The presence of the Church makes the difference between the darkness of heathenism and the light and blessings of Christian civilization. To be in the Church is to be in the favor of God.

This is all that need be said to meet the requirement of these words of the Confession. In this respect, infant baptism is anticipative. It is a providing for the future, by bringing the child into union with that divine institution, in which and through which ample provision is made for its future spiritual welfare on earth and in heaven.

The theologians of the Church, from Luther on, however, have held that to infants, even as to adults, baptism is a means of present grace, being used in the divine plan to remove the

guilt and dominion of sin and to regenerate the soul. This doctrine, it must be admitted, is not free from difficulties. This is readily seen when it is remembered that the grace of baptism in adults is conditioned on the exercise of faith. For this reason it has been thought necessary, by some of the theologians, to assume that baptized infants have faith. By faith, in this connection, however, is not meant *active* faith, in which the mind grasps and accepts the truths of the Gospel in the exercise of the will, but *passive* faith, that condition of the mind and heart in which no resistance is offered to the purpose and work of the Holy Spirit.

Unquestionably a very important and comforting truth is shadowed forth just here, namely, that the grace of God is prevenient, full and free, ever seeking all who will not set themselves against it, and withheld from none for whom Christ died.

It floods the world of sinful man as the light of the sun floods the natural world. Let no obstruction be placed in its way, and it will reach every soul with saving, regenerating power. Even the adult in the exercise of his intellect and will, but makes himself passively submissive to the reception of divine grace.

“Our wills are ours we know not how—
Our wills are ours to make them thine.”
“Thy will be done.”

Can it be safely said that the passivity of the infant is this condition for the reception of baptismal grace,—that the unconscious child, offering no resistance to the Spirit of God is the fit subject for his saving power in the sacrament of baptism?

There is an old rabbinical aphorism, which reads: “*Learn to say I do not know.*” There is ample room for thought and speculation here, none for dogmatism.

I am free to say, that I do not know. And with great respect, even reverence for the ability of learned men, I feel safe in saying, no one else knows. Luther wrestled with the subject in his day, and finally handed it over to the “Doctors” for solution. The Doctors, thus far have not reported any very encouraging pro-

gress, nor are they likely to, save possibly in the grace of humility, arising from baffled powers and the consciousness of human limitations. As to the manner of the Lord's gracious work in the unconscious child we can safely and wisely leave that to him whose resources are infinite and whose commands we are simply to obey. "Thus it becomes us to fulfill all righteousness."

The Scriptures teach that children have been sanctified in their early years, some even from birth. Jer. 1 : 5 ; Luke 1 : 15. And we read that "Jesus took little children ("babes," Luke calls them) in his arms and blessed them, laying his hands upon them." Mark 10 : 16 ; Luke 18 : 15, R. V.

Unquestionably it was a real blessing bestowed by our Lord. We need not trouble ourselves with the question as to how much faith these babes had, or whether it was active or passive faith, or whether they had faith at all. The little ones were brought to him with the tender solicitude of love for their welfare, even as parents bring their children to him now in holy baptism, and he blessed them and said, "Of such is the kingdom of God."

What he did then he can and will do now,—we believe he is doing now, to that far greater number who have been consecrated to his service with earnest trustful prayer and the solemn rite of the sacrament.

And it is to be borne in mind that children are to be baptized not so much to prepare them for death, if the Lord shall call them out of this world in their early years. They are to be baptized in preparation for life.

The baptismal covenant requires the Christian nurture of the child and looks forward to confirmation—the time when the meaning of baptism will be realized in the confession of Christ before men as Saviour and Lord. "Baptism is the Children's sacrament, (Martensen's Dogmatics, p. 432), as the eucharist is the sacrament for adults." The great majority of our communicants were baptized in infancy, and it will continue to be so, more and more as the true idea of the Church prevails, and church life and Christian home-life blend into one.

ARTICLE II.

WOMAN'S MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH.

BY REV. G. U. WENNER, D. D.

Woman's work in the Church is an after thought among Protestants. It is not pleasant to have to make such a confession. The early Church recognized the place of woman in the public service. This is evident from frequent allusions in the letters of St. Paul. And in subsequent church history there is many a chapter that treats of the work of the deaconesses or servants of the Church. In Chrysostom's time, in the fourth century, there were as many as forty employed in the large church in Constantinople.

The monastic orders of the Middle Ages took the place of the institution of Deaconesses, and put an end to the public ministrations of women. After the twelfth century traces only can be found of an office that at one time was as distinctly recognized as was that of pastor or bishop. When the Reformation came, the principles of woman's service in the Church were clearly recognized by Luther, but the conditions of society and the Church were such as not to admit of any practical application. In 1634 Vincent de Paul established the order of the Sisters of Charity and for nearly two centuries the Roman Catholic Church in France enjoyed almost a monopoly of the benefits derived from woman's public ministry in the Church. It is true, there were a few scattered congregations in Holland and along the Rhine where this ancient office was retained, and some indeed believe that Vincent got his ideas from these Protestant deaconesses, but it would be hard to prove this position. Not till the beginning of the present century are there any signs of a general recognition among Protestants of the legitimacy of woman's ministry in the Church.

Our own period has witnessed a restoration of this ancient office and has given to it a significance which it perhaps never

before possessed, not even in its palmiest days. Our age is fruitful in efforts at social progress, and the general interest that is manifest in such subjects is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. But there is reason to believe that among all the agencies for helping and healing humanity in body and in soul there is none that can compare in value with that of the Deaconess work.

In England the germinal moments are probably to be found in the writings of Hannah More and doings of Elizabeth Fry. The latter entered Newgate prison in 1813 and found an indescribable condition of moral and physical wretchedness. She was called a fanatic, but she reformed the prison, and she reformed the public sentiment of England.

In Germany the Napoleonic wars had brought the women together into associations for helping the sick and the wounded soldiers. When the wars were over, the thought suggested itself to continue the societies for the purpose of helping other sick and poor. So it came to pass that when Fliedner began his work in Kaiserswerth in 1833, many earnest hearts had already been considering the problems that engaged his own mind. When the cholera broke out in Hamburg in 1831, Amalie Sievinger sent out an appeal to the women to follow her into the hospital and help to nurse the sick. No one responded, and she entered alone. The world called her a lunatic, but when she came out, it had received a new idea.

But the birthplace of the new deaconess movement was at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. It was an almost moribund parish in a Roman Catholic community. But it was afterward remembered that the seal of his church contained the inscription "The mustard seed becomes a tree." A discharged female convict applied to Pastor Fliedner for refuge. He received her and placed her in charge of Gertrude Reichardt. Other helpers soon came to take care of other helpless ones, sick in body and in soul, and thus the mustard seed was planted.

Within a few years, and apparently from independent motives, other houses were established in Strassburg, at Neuendettelsau a village in Bavaria, in Dresden and in Berlin. The usual op-

position assailed the movement for the first twenty-five years, and then followed the record of its marvelous growth and success. Sixty-six houses on the continent now number more than ten thousand sisters who on more than three thousand stations are giving their lives to the service of Christ and humanity with no inducement of earthly fee or reward.

In England the movement was introduced early in the sixties, although it assumed a somewhat different character there. Many of the sisterhoods of the Anglican Church impose vows upon the candidates, a feature which is foreign to the German idea. In the diocese of London, the deaconess is regularly ordained by the bishop and is assigned to special duties in the churches. Among the reasons for a less rapid progress of the deaconess work in England are first, the institution of trained nurses. This was introduced by Elizabeth Fry in 1840, and it meets to a large extent the want which the deaconess work seeks to supply. Secondly, the distinction of classes prevents the *esprit du corps* or enthusiasm of Christian fellowship which is one of the chief characteristics of the work. In Germany, the Deaconess, whether she be a countess or a peasant, is simply a sister. In England there is a distinction between the ladies and the nurses. The latter are expected to do most of the hard work. But there are a number of institutions also, notably that of Tottenham, London, that are patterned more or less after the German model.

In this country the work has struck root only within the last ten years. As early as 1849 Fliedner himself brought over five sisters to Pittsburg and established a house. The sisters did good work in the hospital and orphans' home. But the institution did not grow. There was as yet no need for such a work it seems. In New York Dr. Muhlenberg established the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion on the plans of the Kaiserswerth House, but the mustard seed has not become a tree, and St. Luke's is to-day conducted by trained nurses and not by deaconesses.

In 1884 the German hospital in Philadelphia requested the aid of deaconesses in caring for its sick. A company of ten deaconesses in Germany responded. The experiment suc-

ceeded. Mr. Lankenau has built for them a house costing half a million of dollars and has endowed it with another half a million. They now number forty and the work prospers. In the meantime a branch of the Pittsburg House was transplanted to Milwaukee and it has attained a healthy and vigorous growth. Swedish and Norwegian houses in Brooklyn, Omaha and Minneapolis, and an English house in Baltimore, bring the number of Lutheran Houses to six with about one hundred and fifty deaconesses. Successful houses have also been established in Dayton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities, many of which are undenominational in character. In several dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church deaconess training-schools have been established, and deaconesses have become a part of the regular ministry. But the palm for most rapid and substantial success belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which in its last report shows for America alone thirty-six houses and three hundred and eighty-nine deaconesses. The flexibility of its methods enables churches of widely differing forms of polity to use it successfully in the promotion of their work.

The deaconess must not be confounded with the trained nurse. Although the nurse deaconess has the same technical training that a trained nurse is expected to have, she differs from the latter in this, that she receives no pay for her services. Besides her food and raiment she receives a small amount for pocket money, in Germany about twenty dollars a year, in America perhaps fifty dollars. Her work also covers a larger field. Many of the deaconesses are teachers of Kindergartens and of primary schools. Some engage in rescue work in Magdalen asylums and in prisons. Others labor in asylums for idiots, epileptics and helpless ones of every degree, where there is need for not merely technical training, but for Christian patience and devotion. Her object, finally, is not merely the care of the body, or the health of society. It has a spiritual purpose. She seeks rather through the ministry of Christian service to carry the message which will bring health to the soul, in the spirit of the motto of Elizabeth Fry, "The soul of charity is charity to the soul." Hence, too, the ideal field of labor of the

deaconess (Gal. 2) is the local congregation where she acts as a co-laborer and helping hand of the minister of the word. Her institutional work is but the preparatory school for this which is considered her best and most important sphere. Some have feared that in this field the deaconess might prove a substitute for the volunteer worker, and hence an obstruction to an important element in every working church. But experience has proved that the very opposite result follows. The example of a trained female ministry has the effect of calling forth the best activity of the other members.

The deaconess must also not be confounded with the members of such sisterhoods of Roman Catholic and other Churches as are bound by vows to the work for life or even for a certain period. Under reasonable conditions they can at any time lay aside their special work and return to home duties; or, if they desire, and are called, they may enter the marriage relation. In point of fact the larger proportion enter upon it as a life work and find in it a never failing inspiration to high and noble effort.

The significance of this work must have suggested itself even in so brief an account of its origin and methods. It means the employment of much waste material, the application of hitherto unused force in the work of the Church. In our ocean steamers it is said that only a fraction of the force derived from the combustion of coal is turned to account. The greater part escapes through the smokestack and is never applied. Hitherto we have lost some of the best mental and spiritual forces of the Church by failing to secure for women an appropriate sphere of usefulness. This work affords to women unbounded opportunities for the doing of just that kind of work for which they are peculiarly fitted, in the healing and helping, the comforting and the rescuing activities of the Church.

But while on the one hand this institution affords to women a fitting field of labor, it on the other hand gives to the Church a force which has never been more needed than at the present time. The relation which the Church sustains to social changes and needs, especially in the larger towns and cities, calls for a

higher organization and a more practical ministry. The addition, not of forty, but of only three or four trained and consecrated women to the working forces of one of our city churches, while it would add but little to its financial burdens, would contribute in a marked degree to its practical usefulness and power. Much of the work that ought to be but cannot be done by the pastor, could be done most effectively by the deaconess. And in her relation to the ailing members of the community, the deaconess would supply in the name of the Church, or rather in the name of Christ, much of that help which is now derived from secular and humanitarian sources. She would lighten many a burden by strengthening the hands of those who bear it, and thus the Church, by a larger and more comprehensive contact with the daily needs of the common people, would prepare the way for him who himself went about "preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people."

ARTICLE III.

WHAT IS THE TEACHING OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION CONCERNING THE LORD'S DAY?

BY REV. T. F. REESER, A. M.

There is an authority of faith; and there is a declaration of faith. By the "authority of faith" we mean, the ultimate cardinal, divine principle, upon which, in the last resort, our faith rests itself as a foundation. By the "declaration of faith" we mean, the practical expression, in phraseology and statement, of that faith as it has been conceived and held in the human consciousness. A clear-cut conception of this single truth enables us at once, to give to the Holy Scriptures—and to all human creeds drawn therefrom—their rightful place and value in systems of theology and in all the practical affairs of Christian life which confront us. The Holy Scriptures *alone* are the authority of our faith, just as in practical life they are the only infallible rule of faith and practice. Creeds are but the declaration of

the way in which the human mind has apprehended and interpreted the fundamentals of faith as it has conceived them to be contained in the Holy Scriptures—the original source, warrant, and authority of faith. Back of the Holy Scriptures we cannot go; back of all human creeds we may go. The one is God's authority; the other is man's authority. The one is infallible; the other fallible. No human creed can stand, therefore, in independency, upon its own foundations as authority, or carry its own rule of authority within itself. After all, the Holy Scriptures are the touch-stone by which every creed, in the last resolve, must be measured, and in the light of which it must be interpreted. This is the very glory of our venerable Augstana, the oldest of Protestant symbols, that it does not carry its own authority within itself, but insists that in every word, line, and letter, it itself is to be measured, tested, and interpreted in the light of the Holy Scriptures. So, it is a mark of loyalty to this symbol, that in matters of symbolic interpretation, we rest ourselves not upon the authority or expression of the symbol itself, but upon the authority of the Holy Scriptures, from which the framers of it themselves drew their authority. And so, dealing with an article about which there has been confessedly much disputation, we cannot hope to find the standard of measurement within the disputed phraseologies of the symbol itself, but our appeal must be to historical Lutheranism, and to the Holy Scriptures, the standard by which the symbol itself enjoins us it must be measured. And to these original sources of authority, we therefore, largely make our appeal.

But, in determining "What is the teaching of the Augsburg Confession Concerning the Lord's Day," let us avail ourselves of the articles that treat thereupon, and the exact phraseology which is used concerning it in the Confession. Although the Sixth Article of the Confession, that bearing upon the "New Obedience," is usually not pressed into the service to do duty for the observance of the Lord's Day—yet in it, it appears to me, lies the norm of the whole matter. In this Article, I find it in these words: "That it is our duty to perform those good

works, which God has commanded." It will become apparent as I run along the line of my argument, why this sixth article necessarily connects itself with the question I am now discussing. For the present, it will be sufficient to say that it teaches us how, in the life of the "New Obedience," we are to regard and hold the commandments of God. Its language is, "It is our duty to perform those good works which God has commanded."

Leaving for the present this article, we go to Article Fifteen, that which treats of "Church Rites." This article, in subject matter, deals precisely with the same matters as Article Twenty-eighth, which is but an amplification, in abuses corrected, of Article Fifteen of the original Twenty-one. In the Twenty-eight Article, we shall find, therefore, all that is contained or implied in this fifteenth article, so that this fifteenth article may be passed over without claiming any further attention from us. Article Twenty-eight with which we have specially to do, treats "Of the Power of the Bishops or Clergy."

The confessors, battling with certain problems which confronted them in their time, aimed Scripturally to define the *civil* and *ecclesiastical* rights of the clergy. So far as it concerns our present purpose we may drop the civil, and look only upon the ecclesiastical side of this power. The disputation was, whether bishops had the right and power of prescribing ceremonies in the Church, such as ordinances concerning meats, holy days, and different grades of ecclesiastical officers or not. Some affirmed they had the power; others denied it. Those who affirmed this power adduced the example of the apostles, Acts 15 : 20, where they prohibited the use of blood and things strangled. In addition to this, they alleged that the Sabbath was changed into Sunday or Lord's Day, contrary to the decalogue, as they considered it; and no example is urged and referred to so frequently as the change of the Sabbath, by which they intend to establish the point that the power of the Church is very great, as she dispensed with the decalogue, and made a change in it.

The opposing party, among whom were the confessors, denied that the bishops had the power to determine and appoint

anything contrary to the Gospel. "It is manifestly contrary to the word of God," said they, "to make or enjoin laws with the view of making thereby satisfaction for sin and obtaining grace; for the honor of the Saviour's merits is tarnished when we presume to merit grace by such human appointments." It is well to observe the principle against which they are contending, and which runs through the whole of this article; viz., that of meriting saving grace through the observance of any such ordinances as might be appointed and observed in the Church. I repeat, therefore, that their protest is against meriting salvation through the observance of any of these ordinances, or as if these things *ex opere operato* were saving. Their thought is, that neither the observance of meats, and ordinances, or holy days, or sabbaths in themselves procure saving grace, but faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in him only. The principle of justification by faith is the principle which they are exalting, and everywhere defending, and also at the same time the principle of Christian liberty wherewith "Christ hath made us free." This point is made clear by the cogent way in which the confessors express themselves when they say: "It must always be retained as the cardinal article of the Gospel, that *we obtain the grace of God by faith in Christ, without any merit of our own, and do not merit it by any works appointed by men.*"

With the matter of ordinances in the Church, the Sabbath question connects itself. Therefore, the confessors ask, "And what are we to believe concerning Sunday, (the Lord's Day), and other similar ordinances and ceremonies of the Church? To this inquiry they reply, "The bishops and clergy may make regulations, that order may be observed in the Church, not with the view of thereby obtaining the grace of God, nor in order thus to make satisfaction for sins, nor to bind the conscience, to hold and regard this as a necessary worship of God, or to believe that they would commit sin if they violated these regulations without offence to others. Thus St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 11 : 5) has ordained that women should have their heads covered in the congregation; also, that the ministers should not all speak at the same time in the congregation, but in an

orderly manner, one after an other." "It is becoming," they continue, "in a Christian congregation to observe such order, for the sake of love and peace, and to obey the bishops and clergy in these cases, and to observe these regulations so far as not to give offence to one another, so that there may be no disorder or unbecoming conduct in the Church. Nevertheless, the consciences of men must not be oppressed, by representing these things as necessary to salvation, or teaching that they are guilty of sin, if they break these regulations without offence to others; for no one affirms that a woman commits sin who goes out with her head uncovered, without giving offence to the people."

Such also is the ordinance concerning Sunday, Easter, Whitsunday, and similar festivals and customs. *For those who suppose that the ordinance concerning Sunday instead of Sabbath, is enacted as necessary, (necessary to salvation), are greatly mistaken.* For the Holy Scripture has abolished the Sabbath, and teaches that all the ceremonies of the old law may be omitted, since the publication of the Gospel. And yet as it was necessary to appoint a certain day, in order that the people might know when they should assemble, the Christian Church has appointed Sunday (the Lord's Day) for this purpose, and to this change she was the more inclined and willing, that the people might have an example of Christian liberty, and that they might know that the observance of neither the Sabbath nor any other day is necessary, (necessary to their salvation). They then further explain themselves by saying: "There have been numerous erroneous disputations published concerning the change of the law, the ceremonies of the New Testament, and the change of the Sabbath, which have all sprung from the false and erroneous opinion, that Christians must have such a mode of divine worship as is conformed to the Levitical or Jewish service, and that Christ enjoined it on the apostles and bishops to invent new ceremonies which should be necessary to salvation."

At some length I have now set forth nearly all that this article teaches concerning the Sabbath—both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbath or Lord's Day. How now are we to understand these teachings? If the language of the Confession is not

clear enough, then we must go to the original authority upon which the Confession bases itself, and to which itself recommends us. And that the language of the Confession is not self-interpreting is clear from the widely diverging—almost diametrically opposite—views which are held concerning the teachings of the symbol. However other branches of the Lutheran Church may interpret this article, and however firmly we may have believed it to have been settled among ourselves, yet among us of the General Synod, because of the practical issues that have confronted some of the synods in the ordination of young men to the ministry, the question has assumed a necessary and practical interest, even if not new. The question is, can young men be consistently ordained to the ministry of our Church who repudiate the General Synod's official utterances concerning the divine obligation of the Sabbath day, *i. e.* the Christian Sabbath, or is the General Synod wrong, and is it necessary for it to repeal its own official utterances? What is the teaching of the Augsburg Confession concerning the Lord's Day?

In appealing this question to the Scriptures, our first inquiry shall be, Whence does the world date its Sabbath? Two views here meet us: the one, the generic Sabbath of creation when God rested upon the seventh day from his labors and blessed and sanctified it; the other, the specific Sabbath of the Jews, enjoined upon that people, at the time of the giving of the Law upon Sinai.

In support of the first view, that of the generic creation Sabbath we might gather much history of an overwhelming character—but for which we do not have the time here. It is sufficient to say that Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Barbaric Greece, and many other nations, in their unearthed records, have all left unmistakable evidence of the observance of a seventh day, a Sabbath day, behind them. We refer any one desirous of gathering up this historic testimony to the works of W. W. Atterbury, Wilbur F. Crafts, and to an article entitled "Extra-Biblical Evidence of the Primitive Sabbath" by Jesse W. Brooks. But the question is, is there any Biblical warrant for primitive Sabbath observance previous to the giving of the Law upon Sinai by

Moses? I think no one can read over the fifth chapter of Exodus, where Pharaoh imposed the heavier burden upon the Hebrews of making bricks without straw, and where the king chided them for being part of the time idle, without having suggestions come to him, that Moses and Aaron were either among a Sabbatized people or were trying to Sabbatize them. But passing this strangely suggestive chapter by, with its inferences pointing to a Sabbath, we come to clearly affirmed certainties. In the book of Exodus, where the first giving of the manna is described, we have these words: "And it came to pass, that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for one man: and all the rulers of the congregation came and told Moses. And he said unto them, this is that which the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over lay up for you to be kept until morning." And on the morrow, the seventh day, Moses is represented as saying: "Eat that to-day which ye have laid up; for to-day is a Sabbath day unto the Lord: to-day ye shall not find it in the field. Six days shall ye gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none." Now, the law of Moses was not given until some time afterward, so we have here certainly a Sabbath before the giving of the Law. But the attempt has been made to explain it prophetically, of which our own Dr. Valentine says: "One feels reluctant to characterize the expedient in this suggestion as it deserves."

Nor is this all. The first word of the third commandment becomes significant in the light in which we are now surveying this question. Why the word "remember" before the commandment which enjoins the observance of the Lord's Day? Dr. Hodge says: "The language used in the third commandment, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, naturally implies that the Sabbath was not a new institution. It was a law given in the beginning, that had doubtless in a good measure, especially during the bondage in Egypt, become obsolete, which the people were henceforth to remember and faithfully observe.'"

Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Baumgarten and Buddeus all essentially agree that "God, after his six days of creative work, because his Sabbatismos could become the Sabbatismos of his creatures, made for that purpose the seventh day, by his blessing, to be a perennial fountain of refreshment, and clothed that day by hallowing it with a special glory for all time to come."* And what say the Reformers? Luther: "The Sabbath existed before the law of Moses came and had been, indeed, from the beginning of the world."† Melancthon, the author of the Confession, in speaking of the laws contained within the Decalogue, says: "They sounded at all times in the Church, even before Moses."‡ Gerhard, on "remember" in the commandment, says: "Since immediately at the creation a Sabbath was sanctified by God, so the memory of this is renewed by a word of recollection."§ Calovius, emphasizing "the consecration of the seventh day to divine worship from the sabbath of creation," declares that this is the position "undoubted among our (Lutheran) theologians, who here agree with one consent."|| And Quenstedt asserts and defends the position, that "the sanctification of the Sabbath was not instituted first at the time of Moses, when the Decalogue was promulgated on Mount Sinai, but was ordained immediately from the creation of the world."¶ Dr. C. P. Krauth, with his vast knowledge and wide research, affirms: "We can not for two centuries after the Reformation find a solitary theologian, rigid as was their adherence to the Confession, who did not reject the idea that the words in Gen. 2 : 3 were put there by anticipation, (by anticipation of the Mosaic Sabbath). All of them contend for a primitive Sabbath."** He says well, therefore, "The inference is resistless that the confessors did not teach nor imply that the devotion of one day in seven to God, was of Mosaic origin."

The Jews did, however, receive a special code of laws for the

*Quoted from Hodge's *Sys. Theol.*, vol. iii., p. 326.

†Com. on Ex. 16 : 23.

‡Loci Communes, 1545.

§Loci Theologici De Lege, 123.

||Biblia Illustrata, 1 p. 56.

¶Theol. Did. Pol. De Lege Dei, 1., 2.

***Ev. Review*, Jan. 1857.

government of their nation, and for theirs only, and with this came the *specific* Jewish Sabbath. This code was of a threefold nature: civil, ceremonial, moral. What was civil and ceremonial was for the government of their nation solely, as for example, the prohibition of fire on the Sabbath in a warm country where no fire was needed; or, the manner of conducting their worship and the sacrifices which they should offer upon every Sabbath day as prescribed in Numbers 28 : 9, 10. But the moral law contained in the Decalogue was binding upon them not as Jews, but as men—binding them only as primordial laws bound them—and bound all the other rational life of the world. Hollazius on this point says: “The Primordial moral law and the Sinaitic do not differ in substance of doctrine but in the mode of revelation.”* Gerhard says: “The moral law is summarily comprehended in the Decalogue.”† It is however generally recognized that in the third commandment there is a ceremonial or specific feature. It is the designation of the specific seventh day as the Sabbath of the Lord, in contradistinction from the eighth or ninth or any other day. This particular feature is very generally admitted and even insisted upon by Lutheran theologians to be Jewish and ceremonial. Melancthon, the writer of the Confession, here again says: “The genus which is embraced in this commandment is moral and perpetual. As regards this genus, Christians are bound by this commandment. The genus is immutable, and is the chief thing in this command. But as regards the species, that is the observance of the seventh day, it is ceremonial.”‡ And with him stands Chemnitz, Gerhard, Calovius, Quenstedt, and the whole line of the early Lutheran dogmatists. The specific Hebrew Sabbath demanded the seventh day; the generic Sabbath the seventh of time. And so our confessors uniformly teach, that the seventh of days is ceremonial; but the seventh of time is moral. And they teach also that what is ceremonial has passed away; but what is moral abides and must abide.

Holding firmly in mind, now, the attitude of the confessors

*Quoted in Schmid's Dog., p. 517. †Quoted in Schmid's Dog., p. 517.

‡Catechism for Youth, Corp. Reformatorum 23, p. 134.

toward the generic Sabbath, with its moral requirement of the seventh of time, I wish to recall to mind the phraseology in our article which says, "The Holy Scripture has abolished the Sabbath." In what sense now are our confessors here to be understood? Why certainly in the sense of what they have elsewhere written upon the same matter. Rightly understood, there lies a sublime truth in these words of the Confession; and wrongly understood, they strike a vital blow at that divine institution which Justice McLean, of the United States Supreme Court, has called "*the conservator of the Christian religion.*" The Scripture upon which the declaration of the "abrogation of the Sabbath" rests itself, is Ephesians 2 : 15, which reads as follows: "Having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace." And again, Col. 2 : 16, 17: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days: which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." And yet once more, Rom. 14 : 5: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Holding in mind now that the author of the Confession and the subscribers thereto, were men who believed in a generic creation Sabbath of universal obligation and perpetually binding—with a generic seventh of time as sacred to God—what of necessity must be their interpretation of these Scriptures? Could they say in one breath, the Sabbath is perpetually binding and good for all time, and in the next say, "The Holy Scripture has abolished the Sabbath?" Absurd the conception! These men were not fools. Nothing could have been further from their conception than that this generic Sabbath which they believed to be universally and perpetually binding, and which the Saviour, as Lord of the Sabbath, had cleansed from all human excrescences, and had declared made for man," should have suddenly and wholly come to an end with the incoming of the era of grace into the world. And yet this is just precisely the contradiction

we must attribute to, and charge upon them, if we accord to the Confession, and the language contained therein, the full complete abrogation of the Sabbath day, in the sense that the world no longer has a generic Sabbath. The abrogation to which they refer is not moral but ceremonial; for there is, there can be, no abrogation of moral law. Jewish ritual was abrogated, and with it the ceremonial Sabbath. And in the light of their own writings, in the broadest and fullest sense, to our mind, that is precisely what they meant in the Confession by the abrogation of the Sabbath. In reference to the Scriptures above quoted, Dr. Valentine says: "It is absolutely certain, and evident upon its very face, that the apostle in these passages had no reference whatever to the Lord's Day, but to the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath and other holy days." Of it Canon Cook says: "The very language used is absolutely decisive." And Dr. Hodge says of them: "They have no reference to the weekly Sabbath, which had been observed from the creation, and which the apostles themselves introduced and perpetuated in the Christian Church."*

Knowing their views, therefore, as we do—gathered up in ample measure from their other writings—when they say as they do in the Confession, "Neither the Sabbath nor any other day is necessary," it ought not to be difficult—can not be—to gather up the ellipsis (necessary to salvation) which ran through their mind. And all the more so, because in the very next sentence they explain their meaning when they say: "There have been numerous erroneous disputations published, concerning the change of the law, the ceremonies of the New Testament, and the change of the Sabbath, which have all sprung from the false and erroneous opinion that Christians must have such a mode of divine worship as is conformed to the Levitical or Jewish service, and that Christ enjoined it upon the apostles and bishops to invent new ceremonies which should be necessary to salvation." The simple supply of the ellipsis will make their meaning unmistakably plain. And to show that this ellipsis was in their mind, and must be supplied, we need only go to the

*Sys. Theol., vol. iii., p. 332.

language of the Confession itself. Article xv., which treats of this very matter in hand, after speaking of "rites and ordinances," says: "It is taught on this point, that all ordinances and traditions of men, for the purpose of *reconciling God and meriting grace*, are contrary to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ; wherefore, monastic vows, and traditions concerning the difference of meats, days, &c., *intended for the purpose of meriting grace and making satisfaction for sins*, are impotent and contrary to the Gospel." And, if we need anything further on this point, we may go to the language of the Apology of the Confession where the confessors state the point clearly and unmistakably. In discussing the use of ordinances, they say: "The inquiry is not: shall human ordinances be observed on account of external discipline and tranquillity? *The question is altogether different; it is: is the observance of such human ordinances, a divine service by which God is reconciled*; and can we be righteous before God without such statutes? THIS IS THE CHIEF INQUIRY, and when this shall have been finally answered, it will be easy to judge whether the unity of the Church requires uniformity in such ordinances."* The question put in this way by the confessors themselves is scarcely liable to misconception and shows precisely the errors against which they combatted.

Again, the Apology of the Confession, in its treatment of Article iv., under the head of Justification, after declaring that their adversaries employed the ten commandments only for the purpose of building up an "external piety of good works," uses this language, showing the true light in which the confessors regarded the Ten Commandments—not nine of them, but the ten: "We, however, hold and assert of external piety, that God *requires and demands* such a correct life; and that on account of God's commandment, *we must perform the good works prescribed in the Ten Commandments*."† There is here, it will be observed, no hint of the complete abrogation of the third commandment, but the unquestioned evidence that there were ten commandments to be observed and obeyed, not nine. And so again,

*Apology, Book of Concord, p. 223.

†Book of Concord, New Market Ed., p. 161.

under the head of human ordinances, after speaking of the evil consequences of a "pompous display of holiness" upon the part of their enemies, the confessors say: "Moreover, the really good works, which God requires in the ten commandments, are (it grieves us to say) wholly suppressed by such hypocritical acts." The point I am pressing here is, that the confessors regarded the binding force of the ten commandments as a DIVINE REQUIREMENT. The third carried this element within itself as well as the other nine. The third commandment with the generic principle of seventh of time rests precisely, in their mind, upon the same basis as all the other nine. There is, therefore, in making these commandments a divine requirement, no escaping the logical conclusion that they regarded the Sabbath, *not as a human ordinance but a divine institution*. I might go on multiplying evidences from the Apology, but it is enough. Including, as they did, the third commandment in the ten, and declaring ALL THE TEN to be of DIVINE REQUIREMENT, we do not see how, unless by a most reckless interpretation or a wilful disregard for historic principles, the confessors can have contributed to their language used, either in the Apology of the Confession, or the Confession itself, the full complete abrogation of the moral element of the third commandment. When our confessors say, therefore, as they do in the Confession, "Those, then, who are of opinion that such institution of Sunday instead of the Sabbath, was established as a thing necessary, err very much," their meaning is: that the change of Sabbath was not made from the Jewish Sabbath to Lord's Day as a thing necessary to salvation: and when they say that "neither the Sabbath nor any other day is necessary," they mean precisely the same thing, *i. e.* necessary to salvation. They mean that our salvation hinges solely upon Christ, and apart from saving faith in him, the observance of no day, the doing of no deed, and the observance of no law, are *per se* saving—a proposition to which we would all most heartily, without exception, assent. And when they speak of the abrogation of the Sabbath, they mean simply the Jewish ceremonial, not the moral element of the third commandment, the generic Sabbath of creation—which they believed and declared to be universally

binding upon all men, in the principle of a generic seventh of time—and perpetual to all the ages to come.

Moreover, another matter gives strength to the position we are here maintaining. It is well known that the "Editio Princeps" was the only document subscribed and sealed.* "Luther knew no other Augsburg Confession in the German than this." Vossius writes: "I know also that the princes of Germany, who adhere to the Augsburg Confession, acknowledge no other except that exhibited to Charles V., in 1530."† "It was received into the bodies of doctrine of the whole Church," writes Dr. C. P. Krauth.‡

Turning now to this recognized text of Luther, and of the Church during his lifetime, let us see what this, which should be the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, teaches. In literal translation it reads as follows: "For the Church has not displaced or annulled the Sabbath, but God himself has taught that we, in the New Testament should not be bound by the law of Moses. Therefore have *the apostles* let the Sabbath fall, to remind us thereby that we are not bound to the law of Moses. And yet since it is necessary in order that the people may know when they should come together, to determine a certain day, they (*i. e.* the apostles) have ordained Sunday, that men should therein hear and learn the word of God." And nothing can make clearer to us what constitutes the proper sanctification of the Lord's Day than the words of Luther in his Larger Catechism, when he says: "Since then, so much depends on the word of God, that without it no Sabbath day can be sanctified, we should know that God desires to have this commandment strictly observed, and that he will punish all who reject his word and are unwilling to hear and learn it, especially at the time appointed for this purpose. Therefore, not only those sin against this commandment, who grossly abuse and openly profane the Sabbath day, as those who, on account of avarice or wantonness, neglect to hear the word of God, or lie in taverns, full and stu-

*Hist. Introd. to Augs. Conf., p. 51.

†Hist. Introd. to Augs. Conf., p. 51.

‡Dr. Krauth's Introd. to Augs. Conf., p. xxxiv.

pid like swine ; but those, also, who listen to the word of God as to idle talk, and attend preaching merely for the sake of fashion ; and when the year is gone by know as little as they did before."

But if these "Abrogationists" can not wrest the hands of the confessors from the grasp of the permanent obligation of the Sabbath day, and the generic principle of one seventh of time to holy worship and rest, they ask us for our authority for observing the first day of the week instead of the seventh. They challenge our authority, in the New Testament, for the change and warrant for such observance. Again, the confessors, reformers, and dogmatists shall speak for themselves. Luther: "I believe that the apostles transferred the Sabbath to Sunday, otherwise no man would have been so audacious as to dare to do it. And I believe that they did it especially that they might tear from the hearts of the people the imagination that they were justified and holy through the law, and in order that men might be surely and steadfastly persuaded that the law is not necessary to salvation. But the apostles were moved thereto by the resurrection of Christ our Lord, and the sending of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost."* Again, he says: "As the Sabbath is now changed for us into Sunday, and other days are work days; Sunday is a day of rest, or holy day, or sacred day." "And would to God that in Christendom there were no holy day except Sunday, and that all the festivals were put upon Sunday."† In his Larger Catechism, in his comments upon the third commandment, he uses this language: "God will have this commandment strictly kept, and will punish all those who despise his word, and will not hear or learn it, especially at the time appointed therefor." And one may well stop here to inquire: Was Luther illogical enough to believe one in danger of sinning against a commandment of God which he believed to be perfectly abrogated, and to be of no binding authority whatever upon men? It is a strange contradiction, indeed, to teach that a man may sin against a commandment which has no binding authority in the least upon him.

*Tischreden, Erlangen Ed. 60, p. 388.

†Sermon on Good Works.

Melanchthon says: "The apostles changed the day, for this very reason, that they might show an example of the abrogation of the ceremonial laws of the Mosaic polity in the seventh day."[†] And he is equally zealous with Luther in cautioning the people of not sinning against God by disregarding the moral obligations of this day.

Gerhard asks: "Why, in the New Testament, has the first day of the week been appointed in the place of the Jewish Sabbath?" And he answers: "It was set apart, by the apostles for the exercise of divine worship, chiefly on the ground that on this day Christ rose from the dead. There is a Christian Sabbath, since according to the constitution of the apostles, the first day of the week has been set apart for the public assemblies of the Church."[†]

Calovius says: "The divine sanctification of the Sabbath both separates it from profane use, and consecrates it to sacred uses.

* * The two opinions (one that Christ, the other that the apostles changed it into the Lord's Day) are reconciled without difficulty, if we say that Christ by his resurrection on this day and by his example consecrated it, * * but the apostles, by the divine authority with which they were endowed, sanctified and instituted the first day of the week in the ordinary Christian Sabbath."[†]

Further: "It ought not to be doubted that one day in seven has been retained by virtue of the divine commandment, only the Lord's Day has been substituted for the day of the Sabbath." "It is disputed," however, "whether Christ or the apostles substituted the Lord's Day, but all agree easily in this, *that the observance of the Lord's Day derives its validity not from custom alone or human constitution, but has been sanctified by divine constitution, since those things which the apostles sanctified by apostolic authority, are to be esteemed as divine institutions.*" And so Walch, whose introduction to the Symbolical Books has been styled a classic, says also of the Confession, after quoting its words: "If these words are so understood as if the Lord's

[†]Expos. Nicene Creed, Corpus Ref., xxiii., 565.

[†]Loci Theologici, xiii., 139.

[†]Biblia Illustrata, i, 412-415.

Day was regarded by our fathers as a human institution, we confess they can by no means be approved. For, it is established beyond a doubt, that the celebration of the Lord's Day is not a human, but a divine institution." And so we might go on multiplying authority, but it is enough. From all the foregoing, we now proceed to draw our conclusions.

1. That the confessors and leading dogmatists uniformly held to a generic Creation Sabbath, which was universally and perpetually binding upon all men, and good for all time to come.

2. That the confessors held, that while the Sabbath was not necessary *ex opere operato* to salvation, *i. e.* its mere observance *per se* without faith in Christ was not saving, yet, it was necessary to the life of the "New Obedience" because it is a commandment of God which Article VI. enjoins upon us to obey.

3. That the confessors and leading dogmatists held, that while the ceremonial of the Sabbath was abolished, the remaining moral element of the third commandment was equally as binding upon the conscience as any of the other laws of the Decalogue.

4. That the confessors and leading dogmatists held, that the generic seventh of time, and not the specific seventh day, is the moral element of the third commandment which has not been abrogated, and which must abide for all time.

5. That the confessors and leading dogmatists held, that the change in the Sabbath from Jewish Sabbath to Lord's Day, was not made by human authority, or specifically by the authority of the Church, but by Christ and the apostles by virtue of the divine authority which they possessed as Lord and inspired apostles.

6. That the confessors and leading dogmatists held therefore, that the Lord's Day was not a human ordinance, but a divine institution.

7. That our General Synod is therefore in harmony with historical Lutheranism, and with the Lutheran understanding and interpretation of the Scriptures, when it says in official utterance that it "maintains the divine obligation of the Sabbath."

8. That ordination should not be given those who are not in harmony with this, her clearly defined position.

9. That the outcome and fruitage of the two interpretations given to the Confession—the one resulting in the Anglo-American Sabbath, the other in the Continental Sabbath—is itself God's own demonstration as to which is the true interpretation.

10. That in the recognition of the Sabbath as a divine institution lies the only hope of its better observance, and in a significant sense, the welfare and prosperity of God's kingdom which he has established here upon the earth.

ARTICLE IV.

SOUTHERN LITERATURE SINCE THE WAR.

BY REV. J. A. B. SCHERER, A. M.

NOTE.—Acknowledgment is made of especial assistance rendered by Stedman & Hutchinson's invaluable Library of American Literature, and Louise Manly's Southern Literature.

It has been difficult always to distinguish between ante- and post-bellum writers. For example, the literary activity of John Esten Cooke and Augusta Evans Wilson has extended to both periods. Generally, the principle of predominance was allowed to decide. Another and greater difficulty has been to determine whether certain authors are "Southern" or not. Lafcadio Hearn was born in Greece; Mrs. Barr, R. E. Mullany, and Mrs. Burnett are natives of Great Britain; but they are all recognized as American authors. Their American homes have been in the South; shall they then be claimed for Southern literature? Maurice Thompson, Northern born, fought in the Confederate army, but has for a long time been a Hoosier. Albert Pike went to the South and stayed there. M. D. Conway and Kate Field are native Southerners, but their sympathies and ties are Northern, as was the case with Allston. G. W. Cable and Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt were born in the South, but live in the North. An objection to Miss Manly's work is that it includes *all* of these in its list of Southern writers. The general principle followed in this paper is to classify post-bellum writers according to the locality where most of their work was produced, but in a few instances the distinctive flavor has decided. No hard and fast line can be drawn. It will be found that more doubtful cases are counted against the South than for it.

Completeness is not claimed for the lists of books given in the brief biographical sketches.

I.

A man once wrote a book. This man had in his youth been fostered by a Southern slaveholder, whose funds he subsequently appropriated, fleeing to the west and afterwards becoming famous as a "projector" and a south hater. The name of his parents was Helper, his book is *The Impending Crisis*. It is classed as literature, but this is probably due to its subject and its timeliness rather than to wisdom or to style. The book concerns us, briefly, in so far as it deals with the question of Southern literature before the war. It does not matter that Mr. Helper (as he names himself) calls the Southerners "helpless", nerveless, ignorant, selfish, yet vain-glorious, self-sufficient, and brutal;* nor that he pronounces "Southern literature a travesty upon the honorable profession of letters." Falsehoods do not make facts. But while discussing the subject of Southern literature, we may as well have the truth before us. It was the slaveholding South that gave Washington Allston to art; Audubon, Bachman, Mitchell, and Maury to science; Simms, Kennedy, the Tuckers, Ingraham and Augusta Wilson to fiction. From the ante-bellum South come the inimitable autobiography of Crockett, the histories of Byrd, Benton, and Gayarré, the biographies of Weems, Wirt, and Marshall, and the irresistible drolleries of Bagby. In journalism there was Prentice. In poetry, Key gave his country one of her grandest hymns, and Richard Henry Wilde set the measure for some of our most exquisite sonnets. Pinkney, Albert Pike, O'Hara, Legaré, and B. B. Cooke rank easily amongst the second-class poets, while Poe's fame is increasing with the years. The list is short enough, but it is not a "travesty," any more than the speeches of Hayne and Calhoun and Clay and Henry were travesties on oratory, or the patriotism of Taylor, Monroe, Madison, Jefferson, and Washington, was a travesty on statesmanship.

But it is not denied that the literary output of the old South

*A recent work, *A Girl's Life in Virginia before the War*, gives in true and simple language another side of Mr. Helper's picture. Better still, see Henry W. Grady on *The South before the War*, in "The New South," (*New York Ledger*, 1889).

was of limited quantity, especially when compared with the prolificness of that Eldorado of American letters, New England. Mr. Helper says that slavery was the cause of this, and perhaps it was. Certainly Southern literature since the war is richer in performance, but particularly in promise, than it was before. Moreover, it has a home audience. It was once the reproach of the South that eighty per cent. of her native books were bought by Northern readers. Mr. Helper wrote, in 1857, that "the people of the South are not a reading people." E. C. Stedman writes, in 1885: "I think that standard literature, including poetry, is read with more interest in the South than here."* Thus Southern literature now finds itself in possession of the first prerequisites of unstunted growth; gracious soil, and sunshine.

It has such rich stuff to feed upon; it is so fortunate in its theme. A recent writer says: "One of the most valuable literary movements in the United States in the last twenty years has been the effort to collect before too late the legends of the South, to interpret the spirit of the old plantation life, to preserve the types, the color, the atmosphere of a society that will always remain, artistically, one of the most fascinating in our history."† This is a movement that can properly be forwarded only by natives to the manner born; men and women whose nurses were mam-mies, whose playmates were pickaninnies, whose landscapes are cotton fields and pines. That they love this dear old life, no one will deny; that they can speak their love in plain pure English is a happy fact. Passion and perspicuity are two of the strongest tools of literature. Fortunately, an ever-increasing body of Southerners manifest energy in the use of them.

Nor must it be thought that they all confine themselves to Southern themes. In both of the departments that we shall consider—namely, poetry and fiction—many artists have cared chiefly for their art, "and have believed its country to be universal, and that England, whose poets conspicuously avail themselves of the materials and atmosphere of other lands, should be

*Poets of America, p. 449.

†Ida M. Tarbell in *The Independent*, Nov. 21, 1895.

the last to lay down a law of restriction."* Thus, for the sake of convenience, Southern writers may be classed as cosmopolitan or provincial, according as they deal predominantly with general or with local subjects. It should be born in mind that the significance of this term, Provincial, extends solely to the theme, and that it might be so employed to characterize much of the work of Hawthorne or of Harte, for instance, without the slightest degree of disparagement, but rather otherwise.

Literature, in its technical sense, embraces the departments of poetry, fiction, history, biography, and essay. While limits are set forbidding this modest paper to pass beyond the consideration of the two principal branches, it must not therefore be presumed that Southern letters are weak in other fields. A mere mention of certain names will show that the story-teller and the minstrel are not alone in the march toward brighter days. Alexander H. Stevens,† Jefferson Davis,‡ E. A. Pollard,§ and W. G. McCabe|| wrote able histories of the war from their point of view, and recently Fitzhugh Lee produced a most valuable biography of his distinguished uncle. Charles Colcock Jones, Jr.,¶ has been a voluminous writer on historical subjects relating to the South, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry's** *Southern States of the American Union* (1895) will take rank as one of the best productions of its class. Prof. F. V. N. Painter's†† work in the history of Pedagogics is unsurpassed; good histories of Spain and of Greece have been written by Prof. Jas. A. Harrison; Molly Elliot Sewell‡‡ and Prof. Woodrow Wilson§§ are among the more prominent historical writers for the magazines.

*Poets of America, p. 54.

†The War between the States (1867, 1870); History of the United States.

‡The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government (1881).

§The Lost Cause, Lee and his Lieutenants, etc.

||The Defence of Petersburg, (1876), etc.

¶Historical Sketch of Tomo-Chi-Chi (1868), The Siege of Savannah in 1779 (1874), The History of Georgia (1883), etc.

**Author of Constitutional History of Spain, and "Gladstone."

††History of Education; Luther on Education; etc.

‡‡Paul Jones; Young Heroes of the Navy; Quarterdeck and Fok'sle; etc.

§§See Papers on George Washington, in *Harper's Monthly* for 1896.

In essay, Patrick F. Mullany may be named as representative.* Here may be also mentioned, for want of a better place, the excellent work of such journalists as Henry Watterson and H. W. Grady. Watterson (with Dana, Godkin, and McClure) is one of the few modern editors whose individuality is strong enough to retain for them a measure of the personal power formerly wielded by many of the greater journalists. Some of Grady's character sketches—not to speak of his oratory—entitle him to no mean place in American letters, and certainly no man has done more than he, both by word and pen, to make the North know the South as it is.

But we must pass on to consider the two fields to which this paper chiefly devotes itself.

II.

Of writers of cosmopolitan poetry—that is to say, limited by no predominant Southern theme—we may mention first a name that would grace the anthology of any age or nation; that of one who, like his spiritual kinsman, Keats, sang his last song far too soon, and yet left the world always sweeter for his singing. Sidney Lanier† was a poet born. It was in his nature to touch the soul of things, and then touch hearts. What shall we call this but just the poet's gift? He had delicacy without effeminacy, refinement without affectation, insight, not dissection, and force with no roughness. He had all this, but he had more. Nowadays, "departmental ditties" name a man for laureate,‡ and

**Philosophy of Literature* (1874); *Development of English Literature* (1880); *Address on Thinking* (1881); "Dante" and "Aristotle" (1886-7).

†Born Macon, Ga., Feb. 3, 1842; died Lynn, N. C., Sept. 7, 1891, of consumption. Soldier, lawyer, critic, musician, novelist, poet. Works: *Tiger-Lilies* (1867), *Science of English Verse* (1880), *Florida* (1876), *Centennial Ode* (1876), *Poems* (1887), *The Boy's Froissart* (1878), *The Boy's King Arthur* (1880), *The Boy's Mabinogian* (1881), *The Boy's Percy* (1882), and *the English Novel and the Principles of its Development* (1883). A collection of his poems, introduced by Wm. Hayes Ward, appeared in 1894. Representative poems are *The Marshes of Glynn*, *The Revenge of Hamish* ("than which there are few stronger ballads," says Stedman), *the Song of the Chattahoochee*, and *The Mocking-Bird*.

‡Rudyard Kipling was a nominee to succeed Tennyson!

anatomists of The Fleshly School are "poets." But literature will best hold record of those wise enough to win honey from nettles for us, truth from the treacherous marsh, and strength from a bruised heart. That is what Lanier did. He had a theory,* they tell us, that "led him to essay in language feats that only the gamut can render possible." But this theory was just the intellectual expression of his inborn poet's nature, and it was his *musical thought*† that made him a poet. A high sort of poetry is this musical kind, "which leads us to the edge of the infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that!" What better description than this of the effect produced by that marvelous song of "the length and the breadth and the sweep of" The Marshes of Glynn? That poem stands for all his best work, and in such vague way we purposely characterize, rather than analyze, what he did. We get powerful, definite *impressions*, and prefer to leave the knife aside. His work must be viewed as a whole: yet he was no mere impressionist. He seized always the essence of things, choosing now an outline, now details, choosing always that wherein the heart lay. In all his poetry he is in touch with the eternal. He leaves his mark forever on us, made as with a finger of light. In him we find a new strong soul whose memory we cannot lose. For, again, like that kindred child of nature who

* * "stood tiptoe upon a little hill,"

his was a gift that "penetrated into the inmost heart of the thing; detected the inmost mystery of it," and made us see or feel it with him. Here we may give only a specimen of his lighter work, but it well proves what has just been said. He is singing of the southern king of song, the mocking-bird.

Superb and sole, upon a plumèd spray
That o'er the general leafage boldly grew,
He summ'd the woods in song; or typic drew
The watch of hungry hawks, the lone dismay
Of languid doves when long their lovers stray,
And all birds' passion-plays that sprinkle dew
At morn in brake or bosky avenue.

*See his "Science of English Verse."

†Carlyle's definition of poetry. See *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, III.

Whate'er birds did or dreamed, this bird could say.
Then down he shot, bounced airily along
The sward, twitched in a grasshopper, made song
Midflight, perched, prinked, and to his art again.
Sweet science, this large riddle read me plain :
How may the death of that dull insect be
The life of yon trim Shakspeare on the tree?

We leave him with the words of one who loved him :*

The seas were not too deep for thee ; thine eye
Was comrade with the farthest star on high.
The marsh burst into bloom for thee,—
And still abloom shall ever be !
Its sluggish tides shall henceforth bear away
A charm it did not hold until thy day.

Paul Hamilton Haynes† has been called the laureate of the South. If that is so, the South is not ashamed. There have been lesser laureates. And if Lanier's favorite saying on art be true,—that "beauty is holiness, and holiness is beauty"—then Hayne is a laureate, for his verse (like his life) shows strongly the beauty of holiness. He was one of those rare writers whose lovely character indelibly shows through their work, adding goodness to genius, making their poems psalms. If Lanier was akin to Keats, Hayne is a Southern Longfellow. Nor does his Lyric of Action in the least suffer by comparison with the Psalm of Life.

The relation between Hayne and Lanier is not unlike that of Longfellow and Lowell. On the one hand, Lowell had the more passion, a greater and a unique genius ; on the other hand, Longfellow was the steadier, the always serious. Lanier was like that sounding stream in the mountains, like his own Chat-tahoochee chanting its songs to the hills ; Hayne is this quiet river in the meadow. There is wide and welcoming room for each.

*Waitman Barbe (himself a southern poet) in *Ashes and Incense*, of which E. C. Stedman says : "There is real poetry in the book—a voice worth owning and exercising."

†Born Charleston, S. C., Jan. 1, 1830 ; died in Georgia, 1886. Lawyer, editor, soldier, biographer, poet. A complete edition of his poems (previously published in five separate editions) appeared in 1882. He wrote the *Life of Robert Y. Hayne* (1878), and the *Life of Hugh S. Legare* (1878).

Much richness of color is found in Hayne, and fine sense of rhythm. He has the true poetical instinct for suiting his meter to his meaning. In this richness of coloring and this metrical intuition he sometimes reminds us of Shelley, though there are many more points of contrast than of likeness. He sighs of October, when

The passionate summer's dead! the sky's aglow
With roseate flushes of matured desires,
The winds at eve are musical and low,
As sweeping chords of a lamenting lyre.

Shelley sobs of autumn, when

The warm sun is failing, the bleak wind is wailing,
The bare boughs are sighing, the pale flowers are dying
And the year
On the earth her death-bed, in a shroud of leaves dead,
Is lying.

Yes, Shelley had by far the greater genius, but his music is all in minors. The beauty of Hayne is the beauty of holiness. To Shelley, "the bleak winds are wailing;" to Hayne, the same winds are "musical and low." For Hayne hears the South wind; Shelley, the West.

"O wild west wind,"

he cries,

* * "Be thou, spirit fierce,
My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!"

Sings the southern poet, rapturously,

O fresh, how fresh and fair
Through the crystal gulfs of air,
The fairy South Wind floateth on her subtle wings of balm!
And the green earth lapped in bliss,
To the magic of her kiss
Seems yearning upward fondly through the golden-crested calm.

So the words of Mrs. Margaret J. Preston seem almost justified when she write: "There is no poet in America who has written more lovingly or discriminatingly about nature in her ever varying aspects. We are sure that in his loyal allegiance to her, he is not a whit behind Wordsworth, and we do not hesitate to say that he has often a grace that the old Lake-poet lacks." John Payne Collier says: "Hayne has the lyric gift,

and his shorter poems have a ring and richness that recall the glories of the Elizabethan period." There is no better fruit of this lyric gift than this inspiring Lyric of Action :

'Tis the part of a coward to brood
 O'er the past that is withered and dead :
 What though the heart's roses are ashes and dust ?
 What though the heart's music be fled ?
 Still shine the grand heavens o'erhead,
 Whence the voice of an angel thrills clear on the soul,
 "Gird about thee thine armor, press on to the goal."
 If the faults or crimes of thy youth
 Are a burden too heavy to bear,
 What hope can rebloom on the desolate waste
 Of a jealous and craven despair ?
 Down, down with the fetters of fear !
 In the strength of thy valor and manhood arise,
 With the faith that illumines and the will that defies.
Too late ! Through God's infinite world,
 From his throne to life's nethermost fires,
Too late is a phantom that flies at the dawn
 Of the soul that repents and aspires.
 If pure thou hast made thy desires,
 There's no height the strong wings of immortals may gain
 Which in striving to reach, thou shalt strive for in vain.
 Then up to the contest with fate,
 Unbound by the past which is dead !
 What though the heart's roses are ashes and dust ?
 What though the heart's music be fled ?
 Still shine the fair heavens o'erhead ;
 And sublime as the angel that rules in the sun
 Beams the promise of peace when the conflict is won !

The women of the South, long noted for their grace, beauty, and refinement, have had full share in the recent revival of letters. In their work we find these same three charms. Perhaps none of them is more widely known than Mrs. Margaret J. Preston,* whose productions, both in in prose and poetry, always,

*Born in Philadelphia, 1825, removing to Virginia in 1848. Says Arthur Stedman : "Mrs. Preston, though a Northerner by birth, always was identified as a writer with the South." Her works are : *Silverwood*, a novel (1856) ; *Beechenbrook*, a Rhyme of the War (1866) ; *Old Songs and New* (1870) ; *Cartoons* (1875) ; *For Love's Sake* (1887) ; *Colonial Ballads* (1887) ; etc.

like Hayne's, "breathe forth a sweet and wise influence." Stedman pronounces her a pupil of Browning, with "dramatic purpose and expression." The best example in her work both of dramatic force and of Browning's influence is a kinetoscopic dialogue entitled *The Hero of the Commune*. It is as a religious writer that Mrs. Preston is best known. She concludes one of her sweetest songs with this beautiful verse:

There'll come a day—I shall not care how passes
The cloud across my sight,
If only, lark-like, from earth's nested grasses,
I spring to meet its light.*

Of a very ethereal and genuinely poetic quality is the best work of Mrs. Danske Dandridge.† This quality is so fine that, despite its limitation in quantity, her work merits attention even here. There is a certain eeriness about her themes that recalls the poet's far northern birth, hinting even of legends strange to Southern ears, but no less winning. The style is remarkable for its smooth flow and natural expression; Wordsworth himself could ill find fault with such clearness and ease of structure. There is, moreover, only a happy suggestiveness of truth in place of the bald didacticism of the Lake school. Her poems are not at once postscripted and proscribed by a "Moral;" yet the moral is there, winsome though being veiled. The general poetic effect often suggests such masterpieces as "*Annabel Lee*" and "*The Cloud*." This may be indicated by citing the opening stanzas of *The Dead Moon*:

We are ghost-ridden;
Through the deep night
Wanders a spirit,
Noiseless and white.
Loiters not, lingers not, knoweth no rest;
Ceaselessly haunting the East and the West.
She, whose undoing the ages have wrought,
Moves on to the time of God's rhythmical thought.
In the dark, swinging sea,
As she speedeth through space,

*See also p. 508.

†Born Copenhagen, Denmark, 1859. Removed to West Virginia in 1877. Author of *Joy, and Other Poems* (1888).

She reads her pale image;
The wounds are agape on her face,
She sees her grim nakedness
Pierced by the eyes
Of the spirits of God
In their flight through the skies.
(Her wounds, they are many and hollow.)
The earth turns and wheels as she flies,
And this Spectre, this Ancient, must follow.

A more beautiful poem is entitled *The Spirit and the Wood Sparrow*. Certainly there is wide promise in such a writer, still so young.

The South is fortunate in possessing a school of young poets whose early work—chiefly in the magazines—is a rich earnest of good things yet to come. Such a one is Samuel Minturn Peck,* whom *The Independent*† justly calls “a genuine song-singer, simple, warm, magnetic.” This critical authority—probably the highest among American journals—says further of our author that “his poetry appeals to the heart. His song, the ‘Grapevine Swing,’ has captivated the ear of a large audience with its tenderness and grace. * * No one does better than this Tuskaloosa minstrel. His songs sing themselves.” So they do. Without ambitious pretensions, these verses have a simplicity, a warmth, and a sweetness that endear them to the people everywhere. It is the same charming talent that characterizes the work of James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field. Other writers receive a higher praise, but none are better loved. What father can read these verses without loving the man that wrote them?

MY LITTLE GIRL.

My little girl is nested
Within her tiny bed,
With amber ringlets crested
Around her dainty head;
She lies so calm and stilly,
She breathes so soft and low,

*Born in Tuskaloosa, Ala., Nov. 4, 1854. Farmer, physician, poet. Works: *Rings and Love-Knots*; *Cap and Bells* (1886)—now in its sixth edition; and *Rhymes and Roses* (1895).

†Dec. 5, 1895.

She calls to mind a lily
 Half-hidden in the snow.
 A weary little mortal
 Has gone to slumberland;
 The Pixies at the portal
 Have caught her by the hand;
 She dreams her broken dolly
 Will soon be mended there,
 That looks so melancholy
 Upon the rocking-chair.
 I kiss your wayward tresses,
 My drowsy little queen;
 I know you have caresses
 From floating forms unseen.
 O, Angels, let me keep her
 To kiss away my cares,
 This darling little sleeper,
 Who has my love and prayers.

There is no sweeter thing in American literature, in its way, than a little poem on *The Death of Winter*, by Robert Burns Wilson.* He has the same light fancy of Minturn Peck, with dramatic quality added. The song shows Spring pillowing the old man's dying head,—

And when the strong life faded, on her breast,
 Her own soft tears fell down like heavenly dew.
 O ye sweet blossoms of the whispering lea,
 Ye fair, frail children of the woodland wide,
 Ye are the fruit of that dear love which she
 Did give to wounded Winter ere he died.
 And some are tinted like her eyes of blue,
 Some hold the blush that on her cheek did glow,
 Some from her lips have caught their scarlet hue,
 But more still keep the whiteness of the snow.†

*Born in Washington county, Pa., Oct. 30, 1850. Early removed to Frankfort, Ky. Painter and poet. His collected poems, *Life and Love*, appeared in 1887.

†A deeper note is struck in these sombre opening lines on "An Evening" (*Century Magazine*, Nov. 1894):

Cloud-gloomed, the colorless, disheartened day
 Hath wept itself to death: the fitful wind,
 Upstarting wildly, like some haunted mind,
 Sweeps through the dripping thicket, and away
 Across the darkening fields.

The dedication of his book of poems—"To Elizabeth, my Mother"—has room in every heart.

The green Virginian hills were blithe in May,
And we were plucking violets—thou and I.
A transient gladness flooded earth and sky;
Thy fading strength seemed to return that day,
And I was mad with hope that God would stay
Death's pale approach—Oh! all hath long passed by!
Long years! long years! and now, I well know why
Thine eyes, quick-filled with tears, were turned away.
First loved; first lost; my mother: time must still
Leave my soul's debt uncanceled. All that's best
In me and in my art is thine:—Me-seems
Even now, we walk afield. Through good and ill,
My sorrowing heart forgets not, and in dreams,
I see thee, in the sun-lands of the blest.

The most recent of all these strong young minstrels is Henry Jerome Stockard, of North Carolina. Frank L. Stanton, a talented staff writer on *The Atlanta Constitution*, pronounces his sonnets the best that appear in that stately treasure-house of American letters, *The Century Magazine*. Certainly he deserves his place beside Gilder and Boner and Wilson. It is fit to close this department of our subject as it was opened, with a song to a Southern mocking-bird. For this little gem is worthy of a setting even with the polished workmanship of Sidney Lanier. It ranks with the lines of Browning, in "Home thoughts from Abroad," which Stedman thinks are "the finest ever written touching the song of a bird."*

TO A MOCKING-BIRD.

The name thou wearest does thee grievous wrong:
No mimic thou; that voice is thine alone.
The poets sing but strains of Shakspeare's song;
The birds, but notes of thine imperial own.†

*"That's the wise thrush: he sings each song twice over
Lest you should think he never could recapture
The first fine careless rapture!"

† *The Century Magazine*, Oct. 1894. Worthy of a place here is a bright quatrain on the same theme by Wm. Hamilton Hayne, the son of Lanier's great contemporary:

Each golden note of music greets
The listening leaves divinely stirred,

Other poets of the cosmopolitan class (not mentioned either in the text or in the notes) are Clifford Lanier, Madison J. Cawein, John B. Tabb, James Barron Pope, Daniel Bedinger Lucas, and Mary E. Bryan.

III.

Post-bellum poets whose themes have been exclusively or predominantly Southern may be divided into two classes—those brought out or developed by the war, and those later ones whose joy it has been to paint the scenes of peace. Of the former, Prof. H. A. Beers pronounces Henry Timrod* most noteworthy.

The same is now generally believed in the South, though proper recognition was long in coming. Like many of the better poets, he was ahead of his time. His handiwork is "skillful, imaginative, and strong." It suggests the method of Lanier, with whom, indeed, Timrod had no little in common. The saddest likeness is their early death. In this way the South has been peculiarly unfortunate. But enough of Timrod remains to fix for him a firm place in literary annals.

His sweetest song is that of English "Katie." Among his best war poems are "Charleston," and the "Unknown Dead." He composed a fine hymn for use at the consecration of the Magnolia Cemetery, in his native city. But the most characteristic poem is *The Cotton Boll*, which serves well to show his artistic affinity with Lanier. The opening passage is as follows:

While I recline
At ease beneath
This immemorial pine,
Small sphere!
(By dusky fingers brought this morning here
And shown with boastful smiles),
I turn thy cloven sheath,
Through which the soft white fibres peer,

As if the vanished soul of Keats
Had found its new birth in a bird.

—*The Century Magazine*, Sep. 1893.

Compare also the ode by Albert Pike.

*Born Charleston, S. C., Dec. 8, 1829; died Columbia, S. C., Oct. 6, 1867. Lawyer, teacher, journalist, poet. His poems were published in 1860, and again (edited by R. H. Hayne) in 1873.

That, with their gossamer bands,
Unite, like love, the sea-divided lands,
And slowly, thread by thread,
Draw forth the folded strands,
Than which the trembling line,
By whose frail help yon startled spider fled
Down the tall spear-grass from his swinging bed,
Is scarce more fine;
And as the tangled skein
Unravels in my hands,
Betwixt me and the noonday light
A veil seems lifted, and for miles and miles
The landscapes broadens on my sight,
As, in the little boll, there lurked a spell
Like that which, in the ocean shell,
With mystic sound
Breaks down the narrow walls that hem us round,
And turns some city lane
Into the restless main,
With all his capes and isles!

A number of poets of this period are memorable chiefly for their war songs. James Ryder Randall, who is still living, will always be remembered for "Maryland my Maryland," called the Marseillaise of the Confederacy. It was composed in 1861, and set by Mrs. Burton Harrison to the tune of Lauriger Horatius, "on the wings of which it quickly flew all over the South." Abram Joseph Ryan, (familiarily known as "Father Ryan," the poet-priest) is famous as the author of the "Conquered Banner" and the "Sword of Lee," though he produced other poems of merit. Albert Pike, whose fine work was chiefly done before the war, composed the best one of the many songs known as Dixie.* W. G. McCabe, educator and historian, wrote "Dreaming in the Trenches," and other war verses. John R. Thompson† commemorated in worthy verse the two cavalry heroes, Ashby and Stuart, and narrates a most beautiful incident of the war in his spirited ballad, Music in Camp. He tells how the

*The Bivouac of the Dead, a poem by Theo. O'Hara, often regarded as a song of the Civil War, was written in 1847, in memory of the Kentuckians that fell at Buena Vista.

†Born Richmond, Va., Oct. 23, 1823; died in New York, Apr. 30, 1873. Lawyer, editor. poet. His works have never been collected.

bands of the two hostile armies, which were encamped at evening on opposite banks of the same river, vied with each other in sectional music, until at last deep peace and reverie succeeded the strains of "Home, Sweet Home." Mrs. Preston has paid tribute to him in a poem on his grave, of which the concluding stanza is as follows :

"Think of the thousand mellow rhymes,
The pure idyllic passion-flowers,
Wherewith, in far-gone, happier times,
He garlanded this South of ours.
Provençal-like, he wandered long.
And sang at many a stranger's board,
Yet 'twas Virginia's name that poured
The tenderest pathos through his song.
We owe the poet praise and tears,
Whose ringing ballad sends the brave
Bold Stuart riding down the years—
What have we given him? Just a grave!

Now we shall speak of a few of those later poets who, filled with the song gift and also with strong affection for the everyday scenes of their sunny land, have won both love and fame by singing what Whitcomb Riley would call "poems here at home." Mrs. Mary A. Townsend,* under the pen-name of Xariffa, has written of the far South. Her best known poem, *Down the Bayou*, is a picture without painting. As the lovers drift down the lagoon, we see as with our own eyes that panorama with a cathedral spire fading into the azure sky, while in the foreground mingle brilliant masses of luxuriant vegetation, among which the saurian lies sunning; through which the serpent steals.

Like some blind Homer of the wood,—
A king in beggared solitude,—
Upon the wide, palmettoed plain,
A giant cypress here and there
Stood in impoverished despair;
With leafless crown, with outstretched limbs,

*Mary Ashley Townsend (Van Voorhis), was born in New York State, 1832 (1836?), but removed to New Orleans. Delivered opening poem at the New Orleans exposition in 1884. Works: *The Brother Clerks* (1859); *Poems* (1870); *The Captain's Story* (1874); *Down the Bayou and Other Poems* (1882).

With mien of woe, with voiceless hymns,
 With mossy raiment. tattered, gray,
 Waiting in dumb and sightless pain,
 A model posing for Doré.
 Aloft, on horizontal wing,
 We saw the buzzard rock and swing ;
 That sturdy sailor of the air,
 Whose agile pinions have a grace
 That prouder plumes might proudly wear,
 And claim for it a kinglier race.

What "Xariffa" did for Louisiana, John Henry Boner* has done for the Carolinas. His work is largely "cosmopolitan," as witness many fine sonnets in the current magazines. But he is at his best when strolling among the "whispering pines" of his youth, or when seated in front of a wide hearth of blazing "light'ood." Such a sweet home touch is his sonnet on The Light'ood Fire that we give it here in full :

When wintry days are dark and drear
 And all the forest ways grow still,
 When gray snow-laden clouds appear
 Along the bleak horizon hill,
 When cattle all are snugly penned
 And sheep go huddling close together,
 When steady streams of smoke ascend
 From farm-house chimneys—in such weather
 Give me old Carolina's own,
 A great log house, a great hearthstone,
 A cheering pipe of cob or briar
 And a red, leaping light'ood fire.

When dreary day draws to a close
 And all the silent land is dark,
 When Boreas down the chimney blows
 And sparks fly from the crackling bark,
 When limbs are bent with snow or sleet
 And owls hoot from the hollow tree,
 With hounds asleep about your feet,
 Then is the time for reverie.
 Give me old Carolina's own,
 A hospitable wide hearthstone,
 A cheering pipe of cob or briar
 And a red, rousing light'ood fire.

*Born Salem, N. C., Jan. 31, 1845. Editor and poet. Member of the staffs of two of the most valuable and monumental works ever produced in the United States—the *Century Dictionary* and *The Library of American Literature*. Frequent contributor to the magazines. "Whispering Pines," poems, appeared in 1883.

John Alfred Macon* is one who, like Mrs. Preston, the Laniers, and others, has diligently cultivated the art of writing plantation verse. Through him Uncle Remus talks in rhymes—and excellent rhyming it is, too. As pointed out by our foremost American critic, this sort of work is an outgrowth of the cisatlantic muse sufficiently original to satisfy the most querulous Quiller-Couch that wears an eye-glass.† Of late years Mr. Macon has assumed a style of greater dignity and less value. Here is a choice bit of political philosophy entitled *Politics at the Log Rolling*.

I blebes dat any nigger's in a sorry sort o' way
 Dat swallows all de racket dat de politicians say;
 For I's been a grown-up cullud man some forty years or so,
 An' I's heard 'em make de same old 'sertions heap o' times befo'.
 Dar's lots o' cussed foolishness an' gassin', anyway,
 'Bout bustin' up de Consterchusion eb'ry 'lection-day;
 'Cause I gib it as de notion ob a plain an' humble man,
 Dat the Gub'ment an' de country, too, is tough enough to stan'.
 I nebber takes more polertics den one good man kin tote,
 An' I don't need any 'visin' when I go to drap my vote;
 I talks wid all de canerdates, an' tell 'em what I choose,
 But I goes in on the side dat gibs *de biggest bobbykews*!

Frank L. Stanton has written poetry of merit.

Thus a line of tuneful younger Southrons has passed in rapid review before us. In their verse there may be little of "the grand style;" but there is nothing sickly, and nothing sour, and nothing fleshly. These poems breathe the spirit of a fair old land made new. "The great heart of the generous and lonely South, too long restrained,—of the South once so prodigal of romance, eloquence, gallant aspiration,—once more has found expression. It enables us to know it, having at last begun to comprehend its true self."‡

IV.

Retaining for the sake of convenience the same distinctions hitherto employed, we may name "Christian Reid"§ as one of

*Born Demopolis, Ala., Nov. 15, 1851. Journalist; dialect writer. "Uncle Gabe Tucker" appeared in 1881.

†Poets of America, p. 455.

‡E. C. Stedman, Poets of America, p. 451.

§Frances C. Tiernan (Fisher), was born in Salisbury, N. C., where all

post-bellum pioneers in cosmopolitan fiction. Her stories are good examples of the older romantic type, undisfigured by the fine writing common to many women novelists of the same school. Her best work, *The Land of the Sky*, is a lucid, strong description of the magnificent mountain scenery of her native State. *The Land of the Sun*, appearing in 1895, does much the same service for Mexico.

Equally distinguished in a newer school is Mrs. Burton Harrison,* who began her highly successful career with charming stories of colonial life in Virginia, but is now best known as a clever and keen rebuker of American social folly. *The Anglo-maniacs* announces its own purpose. *Sweet Bells Out of Tune* is a humiliating exposure of the laxness of marriage, and *A Bachelor Maid* deals with the "new woman." Perhaps there has never been a more delightful combination of love-tale and travel than in *An Errant Wooing*. Mrs. Harrison's style is polished and pleasing, her satire unmalicious, her influence excellent.

Miss Julia Magruder† writes popular stories for women. Her work has little other purpose than to amuse, conforming thus to Mr. Bunner's theory that a tale should be told for the telling. Of the same sort is the work of Miss M. G. McClelland,‡ which contains some powerful passages, notably the flood scene in "Oblivion."

of her literary work has been done. Her many novels include: *Valerie Aylmer*, *Mabel Lee*, *Nina's Atonement*, *Carmen's Inheritance*, *Hearts and Hands*, *Heart of Steel*, *Summer Idyl*, *Roslyn's Fortune*, *Morton House*, *Ebb Tide*, *Daughter of Bohemia*, *A Gentle Belle*, *A Question of Honor*, *After Many Days*, *Bonny Kate*, *Armine*, *Miss Churchill*. Two books of travel are *The Land of the Sky*, and *The Land of the Sun*.

*Born in Virginia, 1835 (Constance Cary). Novels: *The Anglomaniacs*, *Flower de Hundred*, *Bellhaven Tales*, *My Lord Fairfax*, *Sweet Bells*, *Out of Tune*, *A Bachelor Maid*, *An Errant Wooing*, etc.

†Born in Virginia, 1854. Novels: *Across the Chasm*, *At Anchor*, *Honored in the Breach*, *A Magnificent Plebeian*, *A Beautiful Alien*, *The Princess Sonia*, etc. Has lately written "Child Sketches from George Eliot."

‡Born Norwood, Va., Novels: *Norwood*, *White Heron*, *Eleanor Gwynn*, *Oblivion* (1885), *Princess* (1886), *Jean Monteith* (1887), *Madame Silva* (1888), and *Burkett's Lock* (1889).

Perhaps the most talented of all these brilliant woman is Miss Amelie Rives,* whose early work gave the richest promise. *A Brother to Dragons* and companion stories were charming tales of Shakspeare's time, powerfully written in choice old English. Unhappily, "The Quick or the Dead?" was a piece of erotic sensationalism, from the ill effects of which Miss Rives's literary reputation never recovered. It was followed by a maudlin story of morphine and mortuary, leaving the young author's friends sorely disappointed, yet treasuring her early work as it deserves.

Lafcadio Hearn† is usually classed as a Southern writer, though he has lived all over the world. "Chita; a Memory of Last Island" contains some exceedingly strong word painting. Indeed, the author is a prose poet. His books of travel, while valueless for truth, are examples of style as artistic as can be found in any prose save Ruskin's.

The list closes with the name of Francis Hopkinson Smith,‡ a man of versatile talent best turned to account in fiction. His most widely known work is *Col. Carter of Cartersville*, a delightful story of the old-time Southerner. His recent creation of Major Tom Slocomb in "A Vagabond Gentleman" has elicited warm praise, but the strongest work he has done is the delineation of "Tom Grogan," amazon of the tenements.

*Born Richmond, Va., Aug. 23, 1863. Married 1888 to John A. Chandler, subsequently divorced. Her works include: *A Brother to Dragons*, *Nurse Crumpet Tells the Story*, *The Farrier Lass o' Piping Pebworth*, *Virginia of Virginia*, *The Quick or the Dead?*—all published in 1888; *Herod and Mariamne*, a drama, 1889; *According to Saint John* (1890), *Athelwood*, *Barbara Dering*, *Story of Arnon*, *Witness of the Sun*, *Tanis*, etc.

†Born in the Ionian Islands, June 27, 1850. Subsequently resided in New Orleans, now in Japan. His books comprise: *Stray Leaves from Strange Literature* (1885); *Some Chinese Ghosts* (1887); *Chita* (1889); *Two years in the French West Indies* (1890); *Youma* (1890); *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894); *Out of the East* (1895); he has been a frequent contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*.

‡Born in Baltimore, Oct. 23, 1838. Painter, art critic, civil engineer, and novelist. Among his works are: *Old Lines in New Black and White* (1885); *Well-worn Roads* (1886); *A Book of the Tile Club* (1886); *A White Umbrella in Mexico* (1889); *Col. Carter of Cartersville* (1891); *A Day at Laguerre's* (1892); *American Illustrators* (1892); *A Vagabond Gentleman and Some Others* (1895); *Tom Grogan* (1896).

v.

With this hasty survey, we pass on to review the writers whose privilege it has been to see the life of the old South before it dissolves in dull universal uniformity, and to paint it with the cunning of lovers.

A link between the old and the new, John Esten Cooke* is chiefly memorable for his romantic stories of the war. Himself an active soldier, gifted with fertile and ambitious imagination, he has written novels as thrilling as any in our whole line of literature. Indeed they are at times sensational. Again, there is a tedious sameness in them that always marks forced tension and fine writing. All of his women are dazzlingly beautiful; every soldier "sits his horse." But, though the coloring is high, the pictures are on the whole pleasing and true. Some passages of these books, obviously penned under a high enthusiasm, are sublime in pathos and passion; as the eulogy on "Lee's *Miserables*" in *Mohun*.

"Marion Harland"† occupies much the same place here as "Christian Reid" in another field. Her stories are of the older South, composed in the older style. They are pervaded by a spirit of tender and harmless romance.

There has at no time arisen in the South a stronger novelist than George Washington Cable.‡ In him we come to consider that large class of gifted writers whose talents have been devo-

*Born Winchester, Va., Nov. 3, 1830. Died Boyce, Va., Sept. 27, 1886. Lawyer, soldier, and novelist. Works: *Leather Stocking and Silk* (1854); *Henry St. John* (1859); *Surrey of Eagle's Nest* (1866); *Mohun*, a sequel; *Hilt to Hilt* (1869); *Hammer and Rapier*; *The Virginia Bohemians* (1880); *The Maurice Mystery* (1885); *lives of Lee and Jackson*; etc., etc.

†Mary Virginia Terhune (Hawes), was born in Amelia Co., Va., 183-. Has resided in the North since 1859. Domestic writer and novelist. Has written *The Story of Mary Washington*; *Alone* (1853); *Miriam* (1860); *Judith* (1883); etc.

‡Born in New Orleans, Oct. 12, 1844. Removed North in 1885. Soldier, journalist, and novelist. His writings include: *Old Creole Days* (1879-'83); *The Grandissimes* (1880); *Dr. Sevier* (1883); *The Creoles of La.* (1884); *The Silent South* (1885); *Bonaventure* (1888); *Stories of La.* (1889); *The Negro Question* (1890); *Life of Wm. Gilmore Simms* (1890); *John March, Southerner* (1894).

ted to the literary portrayal of certain sections. Rudyard Kipling in India, Crawford in Rome, Bret Harte among the miners, Miss Wilkins in New England, and, very recently, Mr. Wister with the cow-boys—as great as any of these is Cable telling of the Creoles. But let him once forsake his last and try reform; or let him once leave home and try Virginia (as with his John March, Southerner), and we will have none of him! To see him at his best, one must see him at home. There he has the delicacy, the perception, the wit of a woman; but effeminacy, not a whit. We can never forget the two Mossys, father and son, nor yet dear old Pas-Trop-Bon, with his foster children. It is doubtful if Mr. Cable has ever done anything better than this short story of Pas-Trop-Bon, “The Taxidermist.” As a character sketch, it ranks with the best work of Dickens, and is without grotesqueness. Thus as in all his better stories he tells us of that strange old creole life; of that little old-world in the big new; we that understand him follow with smiles and tears, as he leads.

Of late years he has been joined by Miss Grace King.* Her creole stories are earnest and artistic, but she has given us only the shadows. Very clear-cut shadows they are (with no penumbra); strange and strong, but they make us long for the light. There is much dramatic force in this new pen; can it use no ink but tears?

For Kentucky, James Lane Allen,† has lately begun to do rich service. Previously, Kentucky had no recognized place in fiction. Several authors had made it the scene of their stories, but with no local color. Mr. Allen is therefore a pioneer, and his State could not wish a better. He is no mere chronicler of early scenes. He has a subtle power of transfiguration that gives to his work an inseparably poetic aspect. A discerning critic has said that this power, coupled with strict adherence to

*Born in New Orleans. Her works include: *Bonne Maman* (1886); *Monsieur Motte* (1888); *Earthlings* (1889); *Bayou L'Ombre*; *Balcony Stories*.

†His works include: *Life in the Blue Grass*; *The White Cowl*; *Flute and Violin*; *John Gray*; *Sister Dolorosa*; *A Kentucky Cardinal*; *Aftermath*.

underlying reality, makes his stories unlike those of any other writer.* They have found a large and appreciative audience.

"Charles Egbert Craddock"† has been longer known as the revealer of mountain life in East Tennessee. She has great imaginative, dramatic and descriptive ability. At times her pictures seem slightly overdrawn: "She is an artist with a deep and changeless faith in the efficacy of descriptive gorgeousness." But there are few abler fiction specialists. Most of her work has a somber tint, doubtless because it is true to the life it portrays. She makes frequent and skillful use of dialect. Besides being of choice literary value, her stories inspire understanding readers with strong sympathy and enthusiasm. A new comer in the same field is Mr. John Fox, Jr.,‡ whose "Mountain Europa" 'has a tender charm, a delicate and enduring pathos no words at second hand can convey.' Mr. Howells finds his "vision and touch * * * clearer and more direct" than Miss Murfree's, but this finding may in part be due to the realistic prejudices of the judge.

Harry Stillwell Edwards§ is one of the prose laureates of Georgia. His style is delightfully simple and true, abounding in pathos and humor. It is an idealized transcript of Georgia life. Some of his best work is in dialect, as witness the Nubian debate in *The Century* for September, 1895. He has done nothing better than "A Battle in Crackerdom," a story that touches the depth of pathos and the heights of moral beauty. In his own particular field Mr. Edwards is unequaled.

**Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 21, 1895.

†Mary Noailles Murfree, born near Murfreesboro', Tenn.; but now resides in St. Louis. Her books include: *In the Tennessee Mountains* (1884); *Where the Battle Was Fought* (1884); *Down the Ravine* (1885); *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* (1885); *In the Clouds* (1886); *The Story of Keedon Bluffs* (1887); *The Despot of Broomsedge Cove* (1888); etc.

‡*A Cumberland Vendetta, and Other Stories* (1885).

§Born Macon, Ga., April 23, 1854. Lawyer and journalist. "Two Runaways, and Other Stories" was published in 1889. His work appears frequently in the *Century Magazine*.

So is Richard Malcolm Johnston* in his. The writer of these lines long ago succumbed to him in the pages of *St. Nicholas*, and even now he knows no better antidote for a rainy day than *The Historic Doubts of Riley Hood*, or *Mr. Ebenezer Bull's Investments*. As a humorist the genial gray-haired Georgian is unsurpassed. There is no trace of coarseness about his work, and nothing forced. He tells his funny backwoods tales in the simplest way imaginable, and the effect is irresistible. They have a flavor of homespun truth that will outlast some of "Mr. Ward's" grotesqueries, much of "Mark Twain's" absurdities, and all of "Bill Nye's" blather. For they are real pictures of a real people, who are, all unconsciously, as funny as one could find.

Still another Georgian remains, he the most famous of them all. Critics may call it *Marinism*† if they will; but a very large class of readers will always be grateful to the best among the writers of dialect. Philosophers have said that language is the great revealer of racial characteristics. On this belief philology is founded. Are not dialects to any one language what that language is to all others? Is there not something lost of a people's life unless we know just *how* they talk? The popular work of Crockett or of "Ian McLaren" would lose much of its charm if you took away its "Marinistic" Scotticisms. So the negro is better understood and appreciated than he ever could have been without the phonographic ear and sympathetic hand of some master friend like Joel Chandler Harris.‡ Besides being richly amusing, this author's work has high value in folk-lore literature. He has shown, in his prefaces, that all the stories are genuine, and that they probably came from Africa. In this we get

*Born in Hancock Co., Ga., March, 8, 1822. Lawyer, educator, storyteller. *Dukesborough Tales* (1883); *Biography of A. H. Stephens* (1883); *Old Mark Langston* (1884); *Two Gray Tourists* (1885); *Mr. Absalom Billingslea* (1887); *Ogeechee Cross-Firings* (1889); etc.

†See Sherman's *Analytics of Literature*, pp. 339, 340.

‡Born Eatonton, Ga., Dec. 9, 1848. Journalist. His works include: *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* (1880, 1895); *Mingo* (1883); *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1884); *Free Joe* (1888); *Daddy Jake* (1889); *Uncle Remus and His Friends* (1892); *Balaam and His Master*; *On the Plantation*; *Little Mr. Thimblefinger*; etc.

glimpses of a world unknown, and filled with mystery. But the chief value of what Mr. Harris has done is in Uncle Remus himself. With the coming of the school to his boys, he goes away. A few years hence, and book lids will hold for us all that remains of the dear old plantation darkey, so loved by all that knew him, so misunderstood by such as have only heard. A helpful thing this biographer has done, then, to give us such living pictures of old Remus, with his devotion and wit and bigness of heart, telling with his own tongue his ancient weird tales. Mr. Harris also knows how to tell strong stories without the use of dialect, as appears in "Free Joe" and like sketches. He richly deserves the magnificent *edition de luxe* just published.

If ever stories in dialect can be called classic, Thomas Nelson Page* has written them. Two of his pieces are as exquisitely beautiful in sentiment and workmanship as any short stories we have—"Marse Chan" and "Meh Lady." Mr. Page has done much else of merit, but it is doubtful whether he can ever again approach these fine first efforts. It is hard to choose between them. In both there is the same strong theme of love, the same enduring beauty of devotion, the same overwhelming pathos succeeding smiles. These two stories, at least, will not meet the early fate of most dialect work. They have in them that which is lasting and living, so long as the South is alive.

There remain several talented women writers whose names have not been noted. First among these is Mrs. Ruth McEnery Stuart, whose recent work for the magazines has been particularly good. The best of this is done in monologue. It is well worth while to hear that lank old sentimental farmer tell how his "Christmas Guest" came; how, later, that guest, in the shape of "The Boy," took despotic possession as only boys can. With a different but no less delightful flavor, Mrs. Stuart joins

*Born Hanover Co., Va., April 23, 1853. Lawyer and author. Marse Chan first appeared in the *Century Magazine* in 1884. Some of his books are: In Ole Virginia (1887); Two Little Confederates (1888); Befo' de War (1888, in collaboration with A. C. Gordon); Elsket, and Other Stories; On New Found River; Pastime Stories; Among the Camps.

Col. Johnston in depicting the humorous features of Southern backwoods life. Some of her negro stories are as good as have been done. Virginia Frazer Boyle has drawn phases of Southern life most deftly; deserving mention by the side of Frances Courtenay Baylor and Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake. Still later comers are Mrs. Bellamy and Mrs. M. E. Davis, each worthily adding to that ever widening volume of good literature that is one of the chief glories of the newer South.

VI.

What is to be said of this work as a whole? Perhaps the question may best be answered by comparison. Let us see for a little what may be said of some of the chief tendencies of current English fiction. Then let us compare results with the general character of the books we have been considering. So shall we know whether to class Southern literature below or above the average standard.

1. It will scarcely be denied that a great mass of modern English fiction bears strong stamp of realism. It would be well enough if books were all realistic at heart; making themselves so true as to be something to us; but then to bear a stamp of realism is not so well. A great deal is written nowadays by men or women insane with the idea of stamping their work with a hollow and evil fad so plainly that one forgets everything else in it. It is like smearing little wooden houses over with glaring red paint. We may possibly find a good warm room somewhere within—we are sure to see the coloring. The worst of it is that the paint has such a foul smell. Men of genius like Thomas Hardy forsake the sweet clouds and paint pig-sties. This is no hyperbole. A favorable review of his latest and “one of his strongest pieces of work” speaks of “that wonderfully realistic and powerful picture of the pig-sticking”—after which Arabella Fawley “walked up and down in front of her cottage door in sight of the whole church-going congregation one Sunday morning, ‘bonnetless, her dishevelled hair blowing in the wind, her neck-fastening apart, her sleeves rolled up above her

elbows, and her hands reeking with melted fat.' " * There are other scenes in this lauded book too coarse for copying. This is realism gone mad. It is interesting to watch esthetic Mr. Howells wriggle himself into praising it. † Himself a pure poet at heart, he must yet stick up to his colors, even when they fly from a dunghill—he who at another time is man enough to say that no high name can condone indecent writing. What he refused to realists, he allows to realism. It is such gross realism that disfigures many modern books. If, in this mechanical age, artists must forsake the palette for the camera, why will they not at least focus decent objects? Better still, let them back to their easels! The photographer lives, let the painter live with him. It is false to draw a line and curse everything that is not on our side of it. In art as in life, Descartes' maxim holds true, and middle ground is safest ground. The best fiction is neither telescopic romance nor the realism of the microscope. On the one hand—"If I can write a story which will make you believe, *while you are reading it*, that when my hero was strolling down Fifth Avenue to attend a meeting of the Young Men's Kindergarten Club, he met a green dragon forty-seven feet long, with eighteen legs and three tails, and that the green dragon wept bitterly, and inquired the way to a cheese-shop—why, that's realism." ‡ On the other hand, and more seriously, the best realism is the sort that remains perfectly true to the underlying reality of a thing, and yet transfigures, idealizes it. Realistic romance, idealistic realism—within these two neighboring fields grows the wheat with fewest tares.

2. Another characteristic of many modern novels is didacticism. We can never pick up an alluring looking book and settle back for an hour of solid rest without a haunting fear that beneath Peter Pindar's mask hides the face and frown of Bradley Headstone. From Mrs. Ward to Conan Doyle, the best of them are like to wound us in the house of our friends. Pathetic

*Laurence Hutton on "Jude the Obscure," in *Harper's Monthly* for Dec. 1895.

†See *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 7, 1895.

‡H. C. Bunner, "Cheating at Letters," *Century Magazine*, March, 1895.

is the plaint of Bunner,—pathetic, delightful, and wise,—in behalf of “the plain man, the dollar and a half, and the author.” The plain man, beginning a railroad journey, buys “Jotham Keen; A Novel.” Expecting to be amused, he finds himself in the thick of a theological discussion. “The only thing he knows positively about the book, as he lays it down in disappointment and looks for the newsboy with the weekly papers, is that he has paid one dollar and fifty cents for it, and that he has no use for it whatever.” The temporary success of a few such volumes, successful in spite of their hobby, has flooded the market with hundreds of cheap imitations. One of our greatest monthlies cheats us into sociology, getting merited rebuke for the droning pessimism of its “stories,” Mrs. Foote forsakes her irrigated prairies to snow us under with the im-morals of illicit love; the same didactic purpose half discovers itself in the latest work of Mr. Crawford himself, and if he indeed desert us, to whom shall we turn? Since a giant like Wordsworth could partly spoil his poetry by persistent preaching, these lesser folk may well take heed to their prose.

3. But there is the opposite evil of emptiness. Mr. Bunner says the only thing needed is just a story that amuses, wherein he flies to the other extreme. No better example of this merely amusing work can be given than his own; light, pleasing, but completely ephemeral; unless, indeed, we name that silly *Trilby*, which has captivated thousands simply because it is a story. Foolish, trivial, harmful story it is! Yet perhaps there has been no such popular book since *Ben Hur*. What a contrast, what a difference! Does any one believe that German-Americans, ten years from now, will call for an edition of *Trilby* in their mother tongue? That is what has happened to the other book. Both popular, but one of them popular for a day; both stories, but one of them more than a story. If the plain man had spent his dollar and a half for *Trilby*, he would have been satisfied, because amused; if he had spent it for *Ben Hur*, he would have been gratified, because uplifted. And that through no slightest didacticism: didacticism declares, where a reader ought to be made to feel. The difference between the two books is that one

has a heart, and the other has not. The truth is ever the heart of a book. Give to it truth, purpose, earnestness; give it motive in itself, not on its surface, and the world will read it for years. It will *be* something to the world. Let no man trifle with this holy art, either to tell an idle tale, or to advertise his head. Let the men who have head and hand have also heart; let them feel the loftiness of their work, and its depth—then, not until then, will they be artists. “The arts can never be right in themselves, unless their motive is right.”* Test all fiction that has stood, and see whether beneath the story there is not a soul.

4. But, again, the writer must see to it that he gives not the mere husks of his selfish vanity. A fourth flaw in our latest fiction is personal egotism. It shows through. Mr. Bunner makes a euphemism out of it, *Megacephalosis in Literates*. It is this that lies at the bottom of much didacticism. Because a man has written good detective stories, he must needs teach us creeds. As *The Independent* says,† “Let him hustle back to his story-writing!” But it goes beyond this; it amounts to the vulgarity of self-advertisement. The bald head of Mr. W. L. Douglas is a “household word throughout the world.” The maker of Buttermilk Soap gives a full-length portrait of himself to an admiring public, with the modest words: “A man may do that which creates a desire in the minds of everybody as to what he looks like.” But then we don’t think any the more of him for his multifold photographs! And his work is no whit better. It is well enough for soap makers to write their names in public places, but why need authors obtrude themselves beyond their work? Must they fall back on the claptrap of the bill-poster? Cannot their thoughts speak for them? There is a vast deal of “Jones-he-pays-the-freight” in current literature. *The Ladies’ Home Journal* dotes on it. Even Mr. Howells, in “My Literary Passions,” makes a mighty big I of himself. Not theologies alone, but autobiographies also, hide between the lids of the modern book.

*Ruskin, in “The Mystery of Life and its Arts.”

†On “The Stark-Munro Letters,” Nov. 14, 1895.

If we are right; if these four faults really mar much that is written nowadays, do they mar Southern fiction with the rest? It is remarkable that the somewhat full review given in this paper does not disclose more than one or two such books, and only one such author. Self is lost in theme. The theme does not obtrude itself, but permeates and underlies. As for the style of treatment, it is, if the expression be allowed, an "idealistic realism." Beyond all, there is worthiness of purpose, deepness of feeling, conviction of calling. Still greater development of this spiritual motive is the one thing chiefly needful. The spirit is life. If all may not have the "divine afflatus," it is yet possible and proper to regard whatever power there is as a heavenly endowment, "a greater trust than ships and armies," and to use it as a lure. Draw men upwards! Fiction has its holy use, as well as its base abuse. Who has not been bettered by its best? Though it paint life "even as a vapor that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away," it may still show the thoughtless that "in the cloud of the human soul there is a fire stronger than the lightning, and a grace more precious than the rain." For him who wills a holy helpfulness, there is always found a way.

O risen South, fair with the promise of the morning, teach thy children all the upward look, the upward lifting! Teach them there is that which is stronger than strength, sweeter than new-found love, more dear than living. There is a wisdom that comes from above. It lifts the fallen towards the sunshine. It makes for righteousness, wooing and winning souls for some bright ideal. *He that is wise winneth souls.*

"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; as the stars for ever and ever."

ARTICLE V.

REGENERATION UNDER THE OLD COVENANT.

BY REV. GEORGE W. MCSHERRY, A. M.

The term regeneration means being born from above. It is a radical work of renovation within the heart by the Spirit of God. It is the creation of a new heart, the cleansing and renewal of the corrupt nature, the working of saving faith in the naturally perverted and faithless soul. It is the production of "the life of God" within the soul. It is therefore the power that produces conversion, and our theology rightly shows its relation to conversion in the orderly topical statement, "Regeneration and Conversion."

The question arises whether men were regenerated under the Old Testament *regime*, and whether God meant that they should be born again in the use of the means of grace provided in the old economy? Said a writer recently in regard to the baptism of John the Baptist: "Just what John's baptism signified and comprehended we regard by no means an easy question. It obviously involves yet a larger question, namely, the spiritual state of men who followed John and Christ prior to the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. Were the disciples of Jesus regenerate men before they received the Holy Ghost, 'the Lord and Giver of life'?"

It is plain to the Bible student that regeneration holds a place in the history of the Chosen People, that it had a real existence in the lives of numerous Old Testament saints, not in the sense of a full evangelical knowledge, but in a restricted, yet more than mere germinal sense, and that God demanded this renovation by explicit statements, admonitions and proclamations in the prophets, and in other divine writings.

It would be a matter of interest and inquiry how able divines even can be swung into so extreme a position as to disallow efficient working of God's grace before the pentecostal down-

pour. Such an idea would certainly be an unseemly reflection upon the law and the prophets, circumcision and the Temple. It would be much more consistent with theological inquiry to ask whether the Gentiles could become regenerated before the pentecostal season, than to insinuate against the fact of Hebrew piety and inner life. Such a view of regeneration must be largely due to an unnecessary limitation of the Holy Spirit and a lack of discrimination between the ordinary and extraordinary in the economy and history of salvation.

Is it not likely that some of our Bible interpreters overlook the fact that the outpouring of the Holy Ghost at the pentecostal season was an extraordinary event; that this special miraculous gift was intended chiefly to qualify the disciples for preaching or teaching the saving word to all people, rather than to date the regeneration of men in the ordinary and true sense of that word? It must be an error to date the time when God meant to *renew* the hearts of men. What did the Saviour mean when before his ascension he breathed upon his apostles and said that they should receive the Holy Ghost? That the apostles then had saving faith, which can only be had by being born from above, is not to be doubted, and that his breathing upon them was not a vain act is evident. Imagine the divine Lord asking unregenerate men to receive the Holy Ghost!

When the great apostle to the Gentiles met some of John's disciples at Ephesus, he asked them whether they had received the Holy Ghost? They replied that they had not "heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." Meyer and others hold that this is not to be understood that they had not known the existence of the Holy Ghost, for they could not have been under the instruction of the Old Testament, nor been baptized by John, without hearing of the existence of the Holy Ghost. The presupposition is that being baptized in the name of Christ they could not but have received the Holy Spirit.* Dr. Ormiston in an appended note to Meyer's comment says: "The words * * must mean that they believed in the Lord Jesus Christ as the Messiah, and were baptized into that faith, but they had not heard

*Vide Meyer on Acts.

anything about the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and the marvels that followed. That the question and answer both had reference to the special rather than ordinary gifts of the Spirit." Reference is made to this to show that before the miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost we have reason to believe that there was an *ordinary* working of the Holy Spirit, and that to speak of the new birth or regeneration as only accomplished at or after the pentecostal baptism is attaching undue significance to that great event, and is without warrant. We are to note that having been baptized, and having received the laying on of hands from Paul, "they spake with tongues, and prophesied," which makes obvious the extraordinary element in the case. We have no miraculous gifts now, but we have still the Spirit's regeneration and sanctifying power.

Again, there may be misapprehension and lack of discrimination on this point because of elevating the mind above the horizon of the old dispensation and fixing its eye upon the sacrament of baptism by which in the new dispensation the Holy Spirit works or completes regeneration. In this way the means of grace in the old dispensation are not amply regarded, nor is the freedom of the Holy Spirit recognized. The ancient Israel had the word and the Holy Spirit, and these wrought on men's hearts so as to bring them into communion with God, and there can be no communion with him without regeneration. Though the *fides explicita* be not reached, the essential matter abounds, viz., *trust in God*, like Abraham's, that moves all the personality, subduing the will, enlisting the confidence, setting conscience at ease, in short, all the essential characteristics of the regenerated heart and life as we now understand the work of grace. We must not forget also the imputation of righteousness as a concomitant of the faith of the old covenant.

In treating of regeneration we get into the sphere of the Spirit. It is the action of the divine Spirit upon the human spirit. The spirit of man manifests itself in intellect, sensibility and the will. Regeneration has to do with the mind and thoughts, the conscience and self-determination. The so-called

science of Gall and Combe rightly tells us of other original semi-intellectual or moral sentiments, notably veneration. Regeneration has to do also with the propensities and appetites indirectly. Man is more or less by nature subject to the lower range of feelings or sensibilities, the intellect serving to gain worldly or selfish ends, rather than serving an enlightened conscience. Consciousness tells us that there is discord in this wonderful unity of sublime powers; the moral intelligence served by these faculties not only has perceived and felt disorder within itself, but the personality is incapable of willing or doing by its own power what is in accord with the all-perfect Maker of the universe. Man is self-centred, or eccentric, instead of being spiritually heliocentric; he is a meteor in the spiritual universe.

Now I want to say that when God revealed his purpose to redeem and save man, and established a way of communication with himself, disclosing sin and alienation, proclaiming pardon, calling for faith in the Redeemer to come, and providing the rule of life, amplified and diversified in prophecy and psalm and proverb and miracle and sacred records,—when God by grace did all this, supplemented by the ceremonial law, he meant to enlighten the intellect, to correct the thoughts, to re-enforce and re-enthroned conscience, to reveal and correct a perverted veneration, and to give holy decision to the will. Here is spiritual reconstruction begun, and this, begun by lifting up all the best powers with the ascendancy of the will, in substantial harmony with our Maker, is regeneration, the starting point, observe, of sanctification. Regeneration is a babe; sanctification is the growing youth or ripe manhood. Sanctification is the principle of regeneration carried forward. Man begins to order his life in opposition to his depraved nature, and the power to co-ordinate imperfectly even all his immortal endowments came not by his own power or will but by the power and grace of God. What! A whole dispensation of thousands of years and no regenerate men, and yet the new dispensation never paralleled a man that “walked with God” and “was not,” and another carried aloft in fiery chariot, both removed from earth by a wonderful transla-

tion! What essential difference could there have been between the reconstructed manhood of David and that of Paul?

In the next place we are not to forget that the Holy Ghost is co-equal and co-eternal with the Father and the Son. Because his personality was not revealed very clearly has nothing to do with his active existence and gracious working within the sphere of grace among the Hebrews. Indeed, when God created the earth he, the Spirit, was active, for we are told in Genesis, that he brooded over chaos and brought it into order. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." The regenerating and enlightening Spirit moved on the chaos of the heart and mind of God's servants of old and produced life and inspired knowledge and wisdom. Who inspired Moses and others to write the Old Testament Scriptures? Hear Peter's declaration: "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." (2 Peter 1 : 21). What did David mean when he prayed, "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me?" What did Isaiah mean when he spoke of the Jews as vexing the Holy Spirit? (Isa. 63 : 10). The Holy Spirit was of course confined in his action mostly to the Chosen People, and if he was thus known and not inactive in the way of inspiring and creating, why would he not as representative of the Godhead be active in influencing men's hearts and lives by the means employed by prophet and word, law and miracle? "Holy men of old," mark, *holy men of old*, were specially moved by the Holy Spirit; they were devout and heaven-born, regenerated, who desired "a better country, that is, a heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city." (Heb. 11 : 16).

Again, what does the prophet mean when he (Ezekiel) says, "And I will put my Spirit within you?" Is it clear that he is speaking only of New Testament saints, and not at all of the returned captives? Idolatry was forever renounced by the Jews after the return from Babylon. What is meant by the Old Testament utterance, "circumcision of the heart?" What does David mean when he supplicates the Throne, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me?" Was the

nature of Abraham's faith different from that of Paul's? How could Paul in his Epistle to the Romans call Abraham the father of them that believe? "And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised: that he might be the father of them that believe, though they be not circumcised." Abraham was justified by faith, and faith is the gift of God, and the work of the Holy Spirit. He had saving faith. Saving faith must be the offspring of the regenerative grace of God and therefore the essential spiritual life and principle of regeneration.

The promises made in different places in holy writ concerning richer spiritual experience, deeper inner life, and the sweet influences of the Comforter, are not meant to imply that there were no such blessings precedent. The literal knowledge of Christ is not to be compared with the spiritual knowledge of God of old time. The full-orbed faith of the new covenant with all its explicit knowledge can not be said to be more pleasing to God or more spiritual than the faith of the grand old worthies extolled in the eleventh of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The faith that works by love is more than knowledge, by which it is meant to accentuate the fact that hearts can be made new without stores of sacred erudition.

The necessary means for making men righteous were given and urged on men under the old covenant. God was revealed as a God of mercy and pardon, as the good Shepherd, kind and loving. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah sets forth the One who was to come as the sin-bearer, and men were to have a penitent and pious spirit; to worship God, and on special occasions to approach the throne of grace by the bloody sacrifices, the type of the bleeding Lamb of God. People *now* have faith in a sort of rudimentary sense; their knowledge of Christ and the plan of salvation is not yet as full as it can and may become. And yet we believe them to be regenerate, because of the evidence of the faith manifested. Children are called regenerate who are received into the covenant by the sacrament of baptism, and why should not the many pious saints of old have been changed

in nature by the Spirit through the word and other means then established? How absurd to think otherwise!

God meant that his chosen people should be like Nathaniel and Simeon and a host of others who looked for the promised Redeemer. When our Lord called Nathaniel to be his disciple, we see a pious Israelite, a man "without guile," as the Lord declared, who was ready without repentance from dead works or guilty sinfulness to be received into the kingdom of wider spiritual horizon. Many in Christ's time were "waiting for the consolation of Israel," who were children of God under the old covenant and ready for adoption under the new.

The world existed many ages and men lived not knowing the scientific explanation of things, did not know the chemistry of the kitchen, nor the true physiology of the body, and countless other things generally known, but they lived nevertheless, lived with little knowledge and few inventions, and still they had their day of prosperity and happiness; so men under the old dispensation lived and walked by faith, and wrought in love, though they saw not the express image of God the Father in the face of Jesus Christ, and knew not the personality of the Holy Spirit, saw as in a glass darkly, only less plainly than we.

Godet, writing on the subject of "The Four Chief Apostles," contrasts the religious life and experience of James the Just with the religious life and experience of Paul. In this we have an illustration of Old Testament regeneration. We are to realize that Old Testament believers were in a sense what pious children are to-day in the Christian Church—regenerate.

Paul was of the school of Pharisees who perverted the law and made it a round of commandments in the keeping of which, as in the performance of a task, they sincerely or hypocritically regarded themselves as earning or meriting the reward of salvation. Then his name was Saul. Even as a Hebrew of the Hebrews he by his own strength performed the precepts of the law and traditions thus adding barrier to barrier in opposition to grace. Conversion here was necessary, for we are saved by grace and not by the deeds of the law. Here was degeneration rather than regeneration. Now when the law was set on fire by

the fuse of the Spirit in the heart of Saul, he said it slew him ; he had no spiritual life, the law was a minister of death to him. "But," says Godet, "there was also, among the Jews themselves, a very different way of regarding the law, by virtue of which the gospel grace was not the *contrast*, but the *fulfilment* of the legal covenant. This was the conception of the psalmists when they cried, 'The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart. * * More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold ; sweeter also than honey and the honey-comb.' (Ps. 19 : 8, 10). * * 'The law of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul,' (Ps. 19 : 7) etc., etc. This state of mind, characteristic of the truly humble Israelite, has nothing in common with that of the Pharisee. He makes no pretence of accomplishing the law in his own strength in order to claim the merit of its accomplishment. Recognizing in the law itself a gift of Jehovah's grace, he does not presume to receive it but in his fellowship and by his aid. If there be a salvation which he yet awaits, he expects it in the shape of a deeper and more perfect law and a still more potent grace."

Here Godet is speaking of the faith of St. James which is in correspondence with the faith of the gospel believer. In him the grace of God wrought to the subduing of the soul, and of such Dr. Godet exclaims: "See how these humble believers, with their feet already in the way of salvation, still sighed and panted for the salvation of God !" "To such as these the law was not the antithesis of grace ; it was a grace not yet made perfect." To such as James the Lord Jesus had only to be proven as the Saviour of men when he would be received as the law of God personified. Such had all the elements of spiritual life found in them who are born from above.

"The truth is, that the Christian Church is the continuation of the Church that preceded it, only with enlarged life, privileges and powers. The Israelites had the Gospel preached to them as really as it has been preached to us (Heb. 4 : 2). Patriarchism was the embryo, and Judaism the chrysalis and cradle of Christianity. They each belong to the one divine economy of human redemption. The latter is simply a graft on the root and

stock of the former (Rom. 11 : 18). Everything under the Mosaic code had reference to what was to be under Christ, and, in a way accommodated to the times, embodied all the elements of genuine Christianity.”*

Once more, we are to note the language of Jesus to Nicodemus. We have here an irrefutable position in support of the proposition that regeneration was not only disclosed and taught in the Old Testament, but expected as an experience in the life. Why did Christ chide this “master in Israel?” Because of his ignorance on this doctrine of regeneration. His manner of thinking, feeling, and acting, in relation to God were in need of fundamental revolution. Nicodemus spoke as though Jews were by nationality spiritually right, or as though the formalities of the ancient religion brought the righteousness of God. But the inner life had to be rectified by the divine Spirit, and the true Master of Israel proceeded to deliver a lecture to him on the Holy Spirit and his office. The Holy Spirit wrought the transformation of the heart before “the veil of the temple was rent in twain.” The Saviour substantially declared: “Marvel not, Nicodemus; you ought to have felt the breath of the Spirit, for he comes and goes invisibly as the wind, but leaves his impress on the heart.” (St. John 3 : 1-13).

Jamieson, Fausset and Brown, standard commentators, say on this interview: “The question clearly implies that *the doctrine of regeneration is so far disclosed in the Old Testament that Nicodemus was culpable in being ignorant of it*. Nor is it merely as something that should be experienced *under the Gospel* that the Old Testament holds forth, as many distinguished critics allege, denying that there was any such thing as regeneration before Christ. For our Lord’s proposition is universal, that no fallen man is or can be spiritual without a regenerating operation of the Holy Ghost, and the necessity of a *spiritual obedience*, under whatever name, in opposition to mere mechanical services, is proclaimed throughout all the Old Testament.”

The distinguished Meyer quoted above remarks: “Still, as

*From Dr. J. A. Seiss on “The Liturgical Question,” in July number 1896 of the QUARTERLY.

one acquainted with the Scriptures, he (Nicodemus) *might* and *ought* to have recognized the possibility regarding the nature of the new birth; for the power of the divine Spirit, the need of renewal in heart and mind, and the fact that this renewal is a divine work, are often mentioned in the Old Testament."

We therefore regard it as unreasonable and untenable to maintain that regeneration did not occur under the old covenant and was not divinely expected, or provided for. To maintain such a view would be a reflection on the use of the Old Testament in pulpit and school and home. It would give a superfineness and astuteness to the term regeneration, or lead to a particularism, undesirable and unscriptural. We cannot but believe that when God gave his servants of old time the broken and the contrite spirit, it was not different from the same given by the Holy Spirit later on, and that trust and obedience that pleased God, must have pleased, and been wrought by, the Third Person of the Trinity.

Finally it might be remarked that were the Old Testament alone to fall into the hands of intelligent men who knew not the Gospel or New Testament, what verdict would they render on this point, but the conclusion arrived at in this inquiry? They would declare that man is a sinful and depraved creature; that he has come short of the glory of God and is in absolute need of a deep moral and spiritual change. They would declare it set forth clearly that God demands a new nature, calls and pleads for repentance and faith, and provides an accessible way of approach to him, and wants union and communion with himself. Would that not be the verdict? It certainly would. Now ask this circle of thoughtful and intelligent men whether they can find any men who gave evidence of return to God under the old covenant; whether men exhibited sorrow for sin, such sorrow as constrained them to renounce their iniquity and turn into the way of filial obedience; whether also God was reconciled and expressed his pleasure in such? They would certainly decide that an innumerable host must have been washed and cleansed, made new in heart, and have entered upon the antitype of the earthly land of promise, and that God would not cry,

“Wash you and make you clean,” “Repent,” and “Come, now, and let us reason together:” “Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool;”—God would not cry thus and withhold the power which produces the conversion or regeneration.

ARTICLE VI.

EPISTLE FOR PALM SUNDAY. PHILIPPIANS 2: 5-11.

BY REV. WILLIAM HULL.

5. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus,
6. Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God:
7. But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men:
8. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross:
9. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name;
10. That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth:
11. And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Palm Sunday is the church festival which emphasizes the kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ. He said to Pilate *that he was a king*, and that to this end he came into the world. Yet at the same time he said his kingdom was not of this world—that is, from a worldly point of view. Yet he is to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. All kings are to bow down before him and all nations are to serve him.

The Divine Being here portrayed in this portion of Scripture which we are considering, has other portraitures drawn by in-

NOTE.—An exegesis read at the meeting of the Northern Conference of the New York and New Jersey Synod at Rhinebeck, N. Y. Conference passed a resolution requesting its publication in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

spired penmen in other parts of the sacred Scriptures. This is the picture Isaiah presents: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. (Isaiah 9 : 6).

St. John draws this picture: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men." (John 1 : 1, 2, 3).

St. Paul, in his letter to the Hebrews, draws the outline of this unique character in these words: "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds: who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high." (Heb. 1 : 1-3).

1. But let us notice successively the declarations made by St. Paul in this epistle to the Philippians. He says: "Who being in the form of God."

The Greek word *μορφη* means form, figure. It relates to external appearance. Our Lord said (John 1 : 18): "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed him." He who is in the form of a living man we call a man—he is a man—she who is in the form of a living woman we call a woman—she is a woman. The animal in the form of a lion must be a lion and not some other beast. One in the form of God cannot be less than God. Of God's external appearance we know nothing—we can have but very crude conceptions of his appearance. The declaration therefore of St. Paul that our Lord was in the form of God previous to his advent on earth is equivalent to asserting his divinity.

2. This view is confirmed by the next declaration : "Thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

The New Version reads : "Accounted it not a prize to be on equality with God." In my notes in my Greek Testament, on the word "robbery" I find this rendering by my theological teacher, the late Rev. Dr. George B. Miller, "a thing to be seized." In the Lutheran Commentary Drs. Horn and Voight say : "Counted it not a prize to be snatched at, to be equal with God."

To have pretended to be equal with God when he was not equal would have been a trespass, an attempt at robbery, an encroachment upon the divine prerogatives. It would have made our Lord a pretender. But being in the form of God and being God, it was no encroachment, no attempt at robbery and no pretence to claim equality with God. He was with the Father and the equal of the Father from all eternity. He said to the Jews (John 10 : 30) : "I and my Father are one." They understood that as a declaration of an equality with God, for they took up stones to stone him for blasphemy, saying : "For a good work we stone thee not ; but for blasphemy ; and that thou being a man makest thyself God."

In each of the two declarations, therefore, of the sixth verse, the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ is most clearly taught.

This then was the previous condition of the world's Redeemer before he came to earth.

The plan of salvation involved his becoming incarnate. He took upon himself our nature—he became bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, he was to suffer for sin in the flesh. The Son of God was also to become the Son of Man. How this was accomplished is a great mystery and so St. Paul the inspired apostle regarded it. He says in his first letter to Timothy (1 Tim. 3 : 16), "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness : God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

3. The first declaration of the seventh verse is : "He made himself of no reputation."

His mother was of humble parentage. He was reared in poverty in the obscure village of Nazareth. No one suspected that the God of the universe was dwelling in the child Jesus. The glory of his divine nature was not manifest—it was hidden—veiled by the flesh—he had apparently emptied himself of his glory. On the mount of transfiguration it temporarily burst forth and then we read (Matt. 17 : 2), “And his face did shine as the sun and his raiment was white as the light.” For thirty years the Divine Redeemer lived in obscurity in Nazareth, following the occupation of a mechanic. Surely “He made himself of no reputation.”

4. The next declaration of the apostle is: “And took upon himself the form of a servant.”

He who was in the form of God and who could only be recognized as God in that form which he had borne from eternity, now suffered a transition in the new form he had assumed and he appeared in the form of a servant. He looked like a servant. He followed a menial occupation: he was surrounded by the environments of poverty. He said (Matt. 20 : 28), “Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life as a ransom for many.” After supper he girded himself and washed his disciples feet. It was an infinite condescension from the form of God to the form of a servant.

5. The next statement is: “And was made in the likeness of men.”

He became a real man. The Gnostics taught in the early centuries of the Christian Church that he had not taken upon himself human nature—that it was an illusion of the senses—that he seemed like a man but was not a real man. He was not only found in the fashion or form of a man, but he had flesh and blood as we have. When he died it was not only an appearance of a dying man but a real death. After his resurrection Thomas was invited to thrust his hand into the spear-pierced side of the Redeemer and to put his fingers where the cruel nails had been and to believe. He was satisfied and exclaimed, “My Lord and my God.”

6. The next declaration of the apostle is: "He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

His enemies could not humble him without his consent. He had power to wipe them out of existence by a word, but in permitting the humiliation he is said to have humbled himself. What a bitter humiliation he experienced the last week of his earthly life. To be arraigned before the Jewish court and charged falsely with blasphemy—to stand as a prisoner at the bar of a heathen tribunal—to be charged with treason against the government, to be scourged, spit upon, smitten with rods, crowned with thorns, to be mocked and derided as a fictitious king, to be pronounced guilty of blasphemy, and although held to be innocent on the charge of treason by his pagan judge, yet to be sentenced to its penalty—to be nailed to the cross and to die its painful and disgraceful death between two robbers, was humbling himself in an extreme degree.

But this humiliation was short-lived. He bowed his head to the great conqueror death and he was held by him in bondage only three days, when to the astonishment of his followers, he who had been dead was alive again. He arose by his own power which exceeded that of death. The strong man armed was overcome. At the same time hundreds of millions of the Redeemer's brethren were lying in the grave under the despotic power of death. He had power to lay down his life and take it again, but they had no such power as the kingly Redeemer had. In the time to come he will reappear to exercise his omnipotent resurrection-power for his brethren as he did for himself, and then the bondage of death will be broken and all these dead shall live.

The tide turned as he came out of the new tomb in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea. Then the humiliation of the God-man had ended and with it commenced the succession of his wonderful triumphs, culminating in the occupancy of the throne of the universe, with his Father, as the inheritor of all things.

He did not change his residence to the celestial world until

forty days after he came forth from the tomb in the garden as the conqueror of death. That triumph is the precursor of the general victory which all shall achieve when the trumpet of the archangel shall sound.

After a number of appearances to his followers, covering a period of forty days, he led them out as far as Bethany, and while his hands were extended in blessing them he arose from their midst and a cloud received him out of their sight. Thus he who first appeared on earth as a little child in Bethlehem, after thirty-three years went back again to the celestial country in this glorious manner, having conquered death and the grave—the greatest conqueror who ever trod the earth. He accomplished the redemption of the human race and made it possible for them to reach heaven at length and to become sharers with him in the glory he had achieved and to become kings and priests unto God to reign forever and ever. He said to his apostles, “In my Father’s house are many mansions: if it were not so I would have told you: I go to prepare a place for you that where I am there ye may be also.”

“Princes to his imperial name
Bend their bright sceptres down;
Dominions, thrones and powers rejoice,
To see him wear the crown.

Archangels sound his lofty praise
Through ev’ry heavenly street;
And lay their richest honors down,
Submissive at his feet.”

7. St. Paul says further in the Scripture we are considering: “Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name.”

The being of our Lord Jesus Christ is unique in the universe. There are at least God, the God-man, archangels, angels and men. By its union with our Lord Jesus Christ, human nature has been exalted or lifted up above angel and archangel. It is a mystery to us, yet we are clearly taught that the Father has exalted the human nature represented in the Son far above principalities and powers and above every name, subordinate to himself, that is named.

How all names here on earth pale before the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is above all names even as the heavens are higher than the earth. Four hundred millions of the human family worship him and are called by his name. How strange it appears to the eye of an unbeliever that a peasant of Nazareth, who never attended human schools, who never held an office, who was not endorsed by the great or rich or the influential, should attain such a pre-eminence, such a fame and such a following. He had died as a malefactor upon the cross which was a symbol of shame, but to-day that cross has become the symbol of the world's redemption from the bondage of sin and Satan. It now crowns the highest architectural points in the world as a symbol of the highest glory and reverence. Christians sing,

"In the cross of Christ I glory,
Towering o'er the wrecks of time ;
All the light of sacred story
Gathers round its head sublime."

8. In the closing part of this Scripture the apostle describes the final result of Christ's exaltation from the deep depths of his earthly humiliation. He says: "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

This is a marvelous consummation. The meek and lowly one of Nazareth, the God-man, becomes the illustrious sovereign of heaven, earth and hell and he receives tokens of subordination to his kingly and universal rule. The ovation of Palm Sunday on its limited scale expands to cover the realm of the universe. Human nature wedded to divinity becomes the Lamb's wife and sits as queen over this vast expanse of the creation.

In that coming day of the complete coronation no one will challenge his sovereignty and he shall reign forever and ever as the mighty monarch of the universe, with a most beneficent rule, to the infinite advantage and joy of all his subjects.

"Let every kindred, every tribe
On this terrestrial ball,
To him all majesty ascribe
And crown him Lord of all."

ARTICLE VII.

THE MEANING AND EFFICACY OF INFANT BAPTISM.

BY REV. SAMUEL SCHWARM, PH. D.

Our Saviour's commission, on which the sacrament of baptism is based, is, "Go ye, therefore, and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," etc. This makes it obligatory upon his Church to baptize infants as well as adults, for both classes are included in a nation. The Augsburg Confession, Art. IX., therefore, says: "Of Baptism they teach (namely our churches), that it is necessary to salvation, and that by baptism the grace of God is offered, and that children are to be baptized, who by baptism, being offered to God, are received into God's favor.

They condemn the Anabaptists who allow not the baptism of children, and affirm that children are saved without baptism."

But if children are to be baptized, as is evidently taught by the Word and the Confession, of what meaning and efficacy is this sacrament to them?

In order to discuss this subject properly and beneficially it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the true nature of baptism as it is taught in the sacred Scriptures and the symbols of our Church. In John 3 : 5 it is written: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be *born of water* and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." In Mark 16 : 16, it is written: "He that believeth, and is *baptized*, shall be saved; he that believeth not, shall be damned." In Acts 2 : 38, it is written: "Repent, and be *baptized* every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, *for the remission of sins*, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." And in Titus 3 : 5, it is written: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by *the washing of regeneration*, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." And in Eph. 5 : 26, it is written: "Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it, that

he might sanctify and cleanse it by the *washing of water* by the word." And again in Heb. 10 : 21, it is written : "Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and *our bodies washed with pure water.*" And again in 1 Pet. 3 : 21, 22, it is written of the "Ark, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water, the like figure whereunto *baptism doth now save us.*"

We see from these passages of the Scriptures, which are admitted by all except partisans to refer to baptism, that this ordinance of God is infinitely more than the mere application of the water to the subject, or of the subject to the water. The washing with water is most intimately connected with the washing of the Holy Ghost and the word, consequently, with the *new birth*. They speak of being "born of water and the Spirit," of being "washed by water by the word," of the "washing of regeneration (evidently baptism) and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." Hence baptism is most intimately connected with the work of saving grace in man, and is called (Tit. 3 : 5) "the washing of regeneration." It is one of God's means of bestowing saving grace upon sinful men. Hence Luther says, in his Smaller Catechism, "Baptism is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command, and connected with God's word."

He also says in the Smalcald Articles : "Baptism is nothing else than the word in the water, commanded in the institution, or as Paul says, a washing by the word ; or just as Augustine says, 'The word comes to the element and it becomes a sacrament.'" And in his Larger Catechism Luther says : "Therefore I exhort that these two, the water and the word, be by no means separated. For if the word be taken away, the water is the same as that with which the servant cooks, and may indeed be called a bath-keeper's baptism. But when the word is added, as God has ordained, it is a sacrament, and is called Christian baptism."

Baptism, according to the conception of Luther and the Lutheran Church, is not a mere water bath, nor yet a mere use of the words of the commission without water, but it is the use of

the two in connection; as our Lord and Saviour has commanded. The Lutheran Church knows nothing of a mere water baptism. In its conception there can be no baptism where the water and the word are not connected according to the great commission, "Go ye therefore," etc. But whenever and wherever these two elements are properly connected, according to Christ's command, there there is true baptism; and that baptism is a divine sacrament. And a sacrament, according to its conception, "is a holy ordinance instituted by God, through which, by means of external and visible elements, he bestows and seals his grace." (See Catechism).

Now this sacrament of baptism, through which God "bestows and seals his grace," is to be applied to infants as well as to believing adults.

First, Because of the commission, which includes infants as well as adults.

Second, Because of the need of the children of God's grace. The custom of infant baptism has, of course, for its background the doctrine of original sin. It implies that infants are, by nature, subject to the wrath of God as well as unsaved adults; and that the former need God's saving grace as much as the latter. The infant does not belong to the kingdom of God by natural birth, but to the kingdom of Satan. It is not, by its natural birth, an heir of the righteousness of the covenant of redemption, but an heir of the wrath and condemnation of violated law. Its relationship to God and his redemptive plan must be changed before it can be an heir of the "righteousness of faith."

This is evidently the teaching of the word of God as well as of the symbols of our Church. And it is the teaching of the latter simply because it was found to be the express teaching of the former. Job says, 25 : 4, "How can he be clean that is born of a woman." This certainly refers to uncleanness inhering in birth and not coming merely by actual transgression. The Psalmist says, 51 : 5 : "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity and in sin did my mother conceive me." Our blessed Saviour says : "That which is born of the flesh (sinful nature) is flesh (sinful)." And Paul says, Gal 3 : 22 : "But the Scripture hath

concluded all under sin." "There is none righteous, no, not one." And in Rom. 5 : 12, he says: "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so hath death passed upon all men, for all have sinned." That "all men" here includes infants is evident from the fact that they are also the subjects of death which is the fruit of sin. And again Paul says: "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight."

Therefore, according to the Scriptures, human nature, of which infants are also partakers, is estranged from God, is under the condemnation of the law, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God unless it is "born again of water and of the Spirit," or first changed in its nature and relation towards God.

Now let us see the testimony of our Church on this subject. "Also they teach (Augs. Conf., Art. II.) that, after Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature, are born in sin: that is, without the fear of God, without trust in him, and with fleshly appetites, and that this disease, or original fault, is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost. They condemn the Pelagians, and others, who deny this original fault to be sin indeed; and who, so as to lessen the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may, by the strength of his own reason, be justified before God."

And in the Smalcald Articles we read: "This hereditary sin is so deep [and horrible] a corruption of nature, that no reason can understand it, but it must be [learned and] believed from the revelation of the Scriptures. Ps. 51 : 5; Rom. 5 : 12, etc."

This subject is also fully discussed in the Apology to the Confession and in the Formula of Concord. All these symbols of the Lutheran Church prove very clearly from the Scriptures that original sin adheres to infants and that it is "truly sin and condemns to eternal death all who are not born again of baptism and the Holy Spirit."

Third, Because it is the only sacrament that is peculiarly adapted to the infant and the only visible way by which God's saving grace can be brought, by the Church, to bear upon the

child. If infants, by the fact of their participation in human nature, are the heirs of eternal death, how are they to be reached by God's saving grace and made heirs of "the righteousness of faith," viz., eternal life? Is there any way by which they can be reached, according to God's plan of salvation, through his Church? Has the Gospel of Christ Jesus, as it has been committed unto his Church, any way by which it can reach the child with the offer and bestowal of grace, or must it be admitted, as it is admitted by some of the opponents of infant baptism, "that by the Gospel no infant can be saved;" and that "the Gospel has nothing to do with infants?"* If such is the case, then the New Testament is less comprehensive than the Old. If such be the case, then it cannot be truly said, as Paul says, "Where sin abounded there did grace much more abound;" for sin has reached the child with its condemnation, but grace does not abound for its regeneration and salvation, in so far at least as the Gospel committed unto the Church is concerned. The old covenant, as administered under the patriarchal and Jewish Church, had a scheme of salvation for the child. It had a special rite or sacrament by which the child at eight days of age was brought into covenant relations with God and made an heir of the "righteousness of faith." But the new covenant, as administered by the Church of Christ, has no scheme by which it can reach the child and make it an heir of the covenant of grace, unless baptism be that scheme, for the child manifestly cannot be reached by the oral preaching of the word. But baptism is, according to God's word and the teaching of our Church, God's ordinary means of grace to the child through his Church. Martensen says: "What circumcision was for the children of Israel, baptism is, though in a far higher sense, for Christians, a pledge that the God of the community is the God of the individual, and that the Redeemer of the Church will be the Redeemer of each member. According to the word of God, In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision

* See Ewing & Carson as quoted by Seiss in his "Baptist System Examined."

of Christ; buried with him in baptism, wherefore also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who raised him from the dead. (Col. 2 : 11, 12).”*

Gerhard says: “There is no other ordinary means of regeneration than the word and the sacrament of baptism. By the word infants cannot be influenced, but only adults, who have come to years of discretion. It remains, therefore, that they are regenerated, cleansed from the contagion of original sin, and made partakers of eternal life, through baptism.”†

Our Saviour says: “Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.” Now how can infants be brought to Jesus but through baptism? Certainly not through the preached word. And then if they are subjects fitted to be made members and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, as is implied by, “Of such is the kingdom of heaven,” and “Except ye be converted and become as a little child, ye cannot,” etc., certainly they ought not to be denied the sign and the seal of the kingdom, but it ought to be applied unto them.

We have considered the true meaning of baptism and why it should be applied to the child. Now let us notice more particularly what baptism is to the child, and what it effects in the child, according to God’s word and the Confession of our Church.

First. In baptism God offers his saving grace to the child. This is implied in the fact that it is a means of grace, as the word of God evidently teaches. “Means of grace are a divinely appointed channel through which God makes known, *offers*, and communicates his grace.”‡ In infant baptism, Christ through his Church, approaches the child with the offer and bestowal of grace. The Confession says: “And by baptism the grace of God is offered.” “Baptism is an act which goes out from Christ, a divine motion toward the sinner.”§ “Baptism as a divine ceremony, is the act by which Christ, our invisible High Priest and King, establishes his Church within the individual. The old covenant was established by an act of election, for the Lord separated Abraham to the true worship, made his covenant

*See his Dogmatics.

†See Schmid’s Dogmatics, 549.

‡See Catechism.

§Seiss.

with him and with his seed, and instituted circumcision as the sign of the covenant. In like manner the new covenant was established by an act of election, for the new Adam set his disciples apart from the race of mankind, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.'" (Martensen). "The primary design of baptism," says Hollazius, "is the *offering*, application, conferring and sealing of evangelical grace." "To infants," says Gerhard, "baptism is *primarily* the ordinary means of regeneration and purification from sin." That is, baptism is the means by which Christ, through his Church, offers the grace of salvation to the child, saying: "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." "The object of baptism," says Martensen again, "is to spread the spirit of hope in God's election of grace throughout life, to be a sign from heaven upon which believers may base the certainty of their election; a certainty which cannot be retained by merely inward convictions in the midst of life's changes, but which must be associated with a visible sign, like the rainbow, to which they can look back in the midst of the storms of life in every time of external or inward need; a bow of hope in the clouds appearing as the rainbow did in the days of Noah."

Second. By baptism the child is placed into a right relation with God, namely, into a covenant relationship with him. Baptism introduces the child into the kingdom of God and makes it an heir of redeeming grace. Or, as the Confession says: "Children are to be baptized, who by baptism, *being offered to God*, are received into his favor." "Infant baptism is the divinely appointed token and sacrament of infant discipleship; the solemn rite in which the remedial kingdom comes to the child, and the child comes into visible relationship with the kingdom of God. It is the great Christening ordinance, without which no child can be regarded as truly belonging to the visible kingdom of God." And it is the only visible rite by which the child can be made a member of Christ's visible kingdom.

As the infant by the sacrament of circumcision, under the Old Testament dispensation, was brought into covenant relations

with God and made an heir of all the blessings of the covenant, so under the New Testament dispensation the infant is brought into covenant relations with God and made a member of his kingdom and an heir of its blessings by the sacrament of baptism. Of course, the child in riper years can by unbelief and disobedience forfeit the blessings of the covenant, just as the child who had been circumcised could by his unbelief become a child of the wicked one. But this did not disprove the validity and value of circumcision: "For what if some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid!" So with the sacrament of baptism by which the child is brought into covenant relations with God and made an heir of the redeeming grace of Christ. It may be rendered wholly ineffectual by falling into unbelief. But that does not disprove its validity and precious value to all those who abide faithfully in their covenant relations. Baptism is spoken of by Martensen "as the sacrament of instituting the true relation to God."

Infant baptism may be properly described as the sacrament of instituting right relations with God, of bringing the child into covenant relations with him and making it a member of his kingdom according to his own appointed ordinance. But it may be said, The children of believing parents are already, by virtue of their birth, in the relation of believers with him and presumptively members of his kingdom and heirs of the promise, for, "The promise is to you and to your children." But we have no visible pledge of their heirship until the sign and the seal of the covenant of grace is administered to them by Christ's Church. They may, by virtue of their birth of Christian parents, have a right to the sign and seal of the "righteousness of faith," but they have no visible or positive pledge of the benefits of the covenant prior to their baptism. We have a parallel case in regard to the relation of the children of the circumcised Israelite with the covenant with God. His children were presumptively Israelites and heirs of the covenant in which their father lived, and had a right to the sign and seal of that covenant, but until that sign and seal was administered unto them, they were not in reality Israelites, for God said, "And the uncircumcised

man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant." (Gen. 17 : 14). And the Lord met Moses in the way and sought to kill him because he had neglected to circumcise his children. (Ex. 4 : 24). Thus it is very apparent that these children of circumcised Israelites did not by virtue of their birth stand in the same relation with God and the covenant before their circumcision as they did afterwards. And certainly the children of Christian parents have not already by birth every thing that baptism really signifies. If they had, then baptism would signify nothing at all to them.

Regenerate parents do not beget children after their regenerate nature, but after their carnal or fleshly, and that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and needs to be born again of water and the Spirit. It needs to be placed into right relation with God. Not that God will eternally damn the child that, on account of no fault of its own, has not received the sign and seal of the covenant, but because baptism is God's ordinary means of grace to the child, and no parent has the right to neglect God's ordinary way of salvation to his child and expect him to save it in an extraordinary way. God undoubtedly is able to save the child in an extraordinary way, but no parent ought to try to force him to do so by the neglect of his ordinary means. Parents should make a prayerful use of the means of grace, for the salvation of their children, which God has provided.

Third. Baptism secures for the child the gracious favor of God. In baptism the child is not simply offered to God and brought into covenant relations with him, but it is actually received into his favor. The Confession says: "Who by baptism, being offered to God, *are received into his favor.*" This is certainly substantiated by the words of our Saviour, "Suffer the little children," etc.; and, "Except ye be converted and become as a little child," etc. These passages certainly imply that the little children who are brought to him are most graciously received into his favor. And he also said, "If any man offend one of these little ones that believe on me it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck and he drowned in the midst of the sea."

But how can any "little one" be said to believe in Jesus except as it is brought into a believing relation with him by baptism? And as God most graciously received the little ones who were brought unto him by the sacrament of circumcision, as we are assured he did in the case of Samuel, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, etc., so he also does those who are brought to him by the sacrament of baptism.

Luther in his Larger Catechism gives us an answer for those who doubt whether children also believe and whether it be right to baptize them. "That baptism of infants is pleasing to Christ is sufficiently proved from his own work, namely, that God sanctifies many of them who have been baptized, and has given them the Holy Spirit; and that there are yet many even to-day in whose life and doctrine we perceive they have the Holy Ghost; as it is also given to us by the grace of God that we can expound the Scriptures and come to a knowledge of Christ, which is impossible without the Holy Spirit. But if God did not accept the baptism of infants, he would not give the Holy Spirit, nor any part thereof to any of them; therefore during this long time unto this day, no man on earth could have been a Christian. But since God confirms baptism by the gift of the Holy Ghost, as is plainly perceptible in some of the church fathers, as St. Bernard, Gerson, John Huss, and others, who were baptized in infancy, and since the Holy Christian Church cannot perish until the end of the world, they must acknowledge that such infant baptism is pleasing to God. For he can never be opposed to himself, or support falsehood and wickedness, or for its promotion impart his grace and Spirit."

Luther himself was a most conspicuous proof that baptized infants are accepted into God's favor and are not denied his Spirit. He was baptized on the day following his birth, and was an advocate of infant baptism during all his public ministry, and was a powerful confessor that Christ had come in the flesh, and was manifestly in the possession of the Holy Spirit. But Paul says, "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." So with the great host of saints from the Reformation

down until now, Melanchthon, Arndt, Spener, Knox, Wesley, Swartz, Chalmers, etc. If infant baptism were not acceptable to Christ he would certainly not have bestowed upon these men who were baptized in infancy, and who practiced infant baptism, such an extraordinary measure of his grace and Spirit. If infant baptism were not pleasing to God, and baptized infants received into his favor, he certainly would not have maintained his Church in the world for centuries solely through those who were made his disciples in infancy, either by circumcision or baptism. So the blessings which have attended those who were baptized in infancy, and the churches that have practiced infant baptism through their whole history, prove most conclusively that baptized infants are received into God's favor and are most graciously blessed by him.

It appears to me that this single argument ought to settle forever, not merely the validity of infant baptism, but also that it is pleasing in the sight of God and most heartily approved by him. If infant baptism were the sin which some of its opponents have claimed, would God in any way have added his blessing in connection with it? We are told in the word that God cannot look upon sin with any degree of allowance. And yet infant baptism has been considered by nearly the whole Church, since the days of Christ, a means of grace, and he has manifestly blessed his Church in the practice of it. Would he have done this if it were an abominable sin? Most assuredly not. His blessing in that case, in the days of the Reformation, would have been bestowed upon the Anabaptists instead of upon the Lutherans. The history of Christ's Church proves that infant baptism is not displeasing unto God, but that he has undoubtedly received baptized infants into his favor and blessed many of them by his renewing grace.

These three things, therefore, may be said to be the meaning and efficacy of infant baptism. It is an offer of grace on the part of Christ, through his Church, to the child. It is the placing of the child into proper relation with God and his kingdom. It is the reception of the child into favor by God. These things,

of course, assures the salvation of the child, of whose salvation we have no positive and visible pledge outside of baptism.

Fourth. Baptism is not merely a pledge to the child of the grace of the covenant of salvation at some future time, but it is the actual bestowal of that grace. A sacrament, according to the Lutheran conception, bestows grace, and is not merely a sign or pledge of it, for such future time, possibly at death or at confirmation. But we must bear in mind here what baptism really is, that it "is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command, and connected with God's word." This makes it a sacrament, a means of grace, and "God's Holy Spirit is always present in the means of grace, and works saving faith in those who do not resist him."* Hence Luther says in his Shorter Catechism: "Baptism works the forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe, as the word and promise of God declare." It does this not by virtue of the water, but by virtue of the word and the Spirit with the water. There is no dispute as to these benefits accruing to the believing adult from baptism. But faith is joined in the word with the benefits of baptism. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Can the infant believe? Is it capable of exercising saving faith? That the infant cannot exercise *conscious* faith in the same way that the adult can seems evident. But is such conscious faith necessary to the operation of the Spirit of God through baptism on the heart of the child? It is, of course, necessary to the adult who is capable of exercising it. But is it required under all circumstances to the efficacy of baptism? May there not be a receptive faith, an unresisting disposition, a believing relation, which will meet every requirement for the bestowal of grace upon the baptized child? The preached word, through the Holy Spirit, must carry with it, even in the case of the adult, the power of faith to make it effective to the saving of the soul. No man can believe of himself. Faith is the gift of God. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," etc. So it is certainly not impossible for God to bestow upon the infant

*Rom. 10 : 13-17, and Augs. Conf., Art. V.

in connection with baptism all that is required to make that sacrament a real means of grace to the child. To give it, if you please, just the kind of faith and the amount of faith that is necessary. Whether that is the faith of the believing parent, or the believing Church, or the personal receptive faith of the child, may be left to the speculations of the dogmaticians. God certainly has not appointed a means of grace to be administered to the child, as we believe he has baptism, that is ineffectual or that cannot be made effectual by him. He most certainly also with the sacrament gives everything that is necessary to make it effectual. That the Holy Spirit can operate on the heart of the unconscious child is clearly told us in the case of Israel, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, Timothy, and has also been clearly manifest in the lives of many in the history of the Church. It is, hence, not impossible for the Holy Spirit to operate on the heart of the child through God's appointed means. There is no condition necessary which, through the grace of God, cannot be fully met by the child, or else none of these Old Testament worthies could have been "filled with the Holy Ghost from their mother's womb."

But what is baptism? It is a means of grace. But "God's Spirit is always present in the means of grace, and works saving faith in those who do not resist," in the infant as well as in the believing adult. Hence Chemnitz says: "Baptism is the laver of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Ghost, who is poured out upon the baptized, that being justified, they may become heirs of eternal life, (Tit. 3 : 5 ; Matt. 10 : 15). And this is called the faith of infants. For as the circumcision of children in the Old Testament was the seal of the righteousness of faith, so, because in the New Testament baptized infants please God, and are saved, they cannot and ought not be cast out among unbelievers, but are properly reckoned among believers." Baur adds: "It is not to be supposed that the actual benefit of regeneration, or the production of faith in infants, is to be deferred to years of discretion, and that they are in the meanwhile in no way received into grace." Martensen says: "We say that baptism is not merely the pledge (of a future regeneration), not

merely the promise and declaration of God's grace, but the bath of regeneration (Tit. 3 : 5), which involves not indeed personal, but substantial and essential regeneration. Baptism is, in fact, the beginning of the Christian life, and it must accordingly be, to use the apostle's word, the true bath of regeneration, for the final aim of the development must be included in every beginning. * * * Regeneration is by no means concluded with baptism, but the foundation is therein laid, and it is not therefore baptism alone which saves, but baptism and faith: 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' Regeneration is completed only when the grace of baptism appears in power as *personal* regeneration."

With these dogmaticians, which I have quoted, agree the greater part of the theologians of our Church. They do not all agree perfectly as to the nature of the faith of the baptized child, nor as to the extent of the work of grace in its heart, but they do agree, in the main, that baptism is not merely the pledge of grace to be bestowed at some time in the future, but that it is the actual bestowal of saving grace. And this is evidently the import of the passages which I have already quoted from God's word in relation to baptism. These passages connect baptism most intimately and indissolubly with the *new birth, the renewing of the Holy Spirit, and the saving of the soul*. And baptism cannot be one thing to the receptive adult and quite another thing to the receptive infant. If it means the bestowal of the grace of salvation, or the germ of a new life, to the one, it must mean the same to the other. This saving grace needs Christian nurture in the child to make it personally effective when the years of accountability arrive, and it also needs Christian nurture in the case of the adult if it is to bear fruit unto eternal life and the glory of God.

One thing is most certainly true, and must be kept in mind in discussing this subject, sin has abounded to the condemnation of the unconscious child, and, consequently, grace must also in some way abound for the unconscious child for its justification, or else it cannot be truly said, "Where sin abounded, there did grace much more abound," "And as by the offence of one judgment

came upon all men to condemnation ; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." Now this free gift must come also, in some way, for the justification of the child, or else a great part of our sinful race is beyond the reach of grace. But how does it come to the child according to the plan of salvation as it is manifested through Christ's Church? Evidently through baptism, and through baptism only. Not that God cannot save outside of the pale of the Christian Church, but he has not revealed unto us any scheme of saving anybody outside of the Church. Baptism, depending for its essential power upon the command and word of God, in connection with, at least, a receptive faith or capacity for the Holy Spirit, is the means of grace which God has committed to his Church for the bestowal of grace upon the infant.

What, then, is the special efficacy of infant baptism? "It works the forgiveness of sins." These, of course, in the infant are original only. It takes away the guilt of these, so that they are not imputed. It does not destroy concupiscence, or all tendency toward sin. The Holy Spirit who is given in baptism begins to put to death the old nature and to create new movements in the heart. "Sin is destroyed in baptism not in such a manner that it no longer exists, but so that it is not imputed."* "It frees from death and the devil." The sting of death is sin, and where there is no sin to impute, there can be no sting nor claim of the devil. "It confers everlasting salvation on all who believe." This blessing must also follow infant baptism, for how could God bestow the forgiveness of sin and still hold the forgiven as a subject of eternal death. The forgiveness of sins also implies the bestowal of life, and, at least, the germ of the new nature; or else we would have a being which is a fit subject neither for heaven nor hell. It could not be sent to hell, for it has been forgiven; nor yet to heaven, for it has not been born again.

"The creation of Christianity, which embraces the whole man, body, soul and spirit, must begin at some definite point when the spirit and nature first unite, a point which contains in germinal fulness what seems to be separate during man's develop-

*See Apology.

ment in time. This hidden point of life is the mystery of baptism. It cannot certainly be authenticated by any experience; but the believer who sees in baptism the complete *beginning* of the work which the Lord will finish 'in that day,' recognizes therein also not only the historical anticipation and pre-supposition of his personal life of faith, the connecting link between this life and the whole economy of revelation, not only a pledge, rich in promise, of the grace of God, but the beginning of a new relation of being between himself and the Lord, that is, a creative grace itself." (Martensen).

ARTICLE VIII.

THE CHURCH AND POPULAR SKEPTICISM.

BY PRÉSIDENT SAMUEL A. ORT, D. D., LL. D.

How can the Church best stem the current of the present popular skepticism? This is a timely question. There is much skepticism to-day in the world around us and in the Church. It is a bold and daring disbelief of those saving truths which characterize the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Moreover, it is an alarming question. The inquiry made presupposes the fact that the tendency adverse to Christianity and the progress of evangelical religion, is not only rapidly developing but already exists in strength and is widespread in its influence, both among the irreligious and the professors of a Christian faith. It is a high tide rolling over the land, and in its onward movement unsettling the belief of many, and seriously endangering the prosperity of the Church. Vast issues are at stake, both for the individual Christian and the body of believers. The most vital consequences are involved for this generation. If the tide is left unchecked, how disastrous the result! The republic will be shaken to its foundation and in all probability perish. The Church will sink into a state of utter effeminacy, and all the various agencies, which in their operations tend to uplift mankind into a better, happier sphere, will be paralyzed. Infidelity

founds no governments, perpetuates no beneficent institutions, builds no asylums, erects no churches, and fosters no religion. It has neither guided the career of man along its upward course, nor produced that remarkable history of worthy achievement which fills the past time of human toil and struggle.

We face to-day a dangerous fact. Infidelity is here. Skepticism abounds. It is on every side. We meet it everywhere, in the Church and outside. It is a popular movement. The many are governed by its power and follow its false light.

Skepticism, What is it? Doubt. Religious skepticism, the fact now in question, What is this? Doubt of the reality and truth of those divine acts and verities which constitute the biblical system of belief. Strictly speaking, it is an attitude of mind which is neither for nor against, neither affirms nor denies, and is best described by the well known word, Agnosticism. In the common usage of the term skepticism means infidelity, disbelief, both of which are resolvable into that unbelief of the heart which is a prime characteristic of sin. Whatever be the sense in which the word is understood, it is in any case correct to say that skepticism produces, first, indifference to the truth, second, refusal to accept the truth and, third, positive opposition to the truth.

Analysis shows that skepticism is composed of two parts: form and content. The latter, namely the content, is always the same. In essence skepticism never changes. Substantially the objections urged against the Gospel of Jesus Christ, against the inspiration of the Scriptures and the Bible as a divine revelation, against a real incarnation of the Son of God, against an actual atonement for sin, in short, against all those divine acts which are the essential elements of a scheme of redemption,—these objections are now, as they always have been, either Ebionitic, that is Judaistic, or Dokeric, that is heathen. There have been only two opponents and rejectors of Christianity: Judaism and heathenism. All skepticism as to contents is reducible to either the one or the other. The form, however, is variable, according to the type and tone of the prevailing philosophy at a given time, or of the speculations of natural science. For example,

in the eighteenth century the Sensational Philosophy produced the Deism of England, the Rationalism of Germany and the Infidelity of France, while in the present century theories of natural science have given caste to many of the skeptical forms of religious view which abound.

With these preliminary remarks I pass on to inquire :

What has contributed and is now contributing to the production of the present popular skepticism? My answer, for one thing, is a certain way of scientific thinking about nature.

The human mind ever seeks for the reason of things, that is, a sufficient explanation for all its facts of knowledge. In our century no subject has received more diligent, persistent and severe study than the natural world. With this object man is constantly in direct contact. It seems to him more close and real than any other because it is part of his own existence, and because he always touches it. He finds himself so linked with it in all his life, so dependent on its ministrations for his comfort and progress that quite easily it is for him a subject of absorbing interest. What is this world of nature? more especially, How has it been produced? What is the method of its development? This is the one pressing inquiry the scientific mind aims to answer. After patient search it is now able to make reply. The process for making a universe of natural objects as these have been in the various stages of their growth and as they now are, is known. This process is labeled, evolution.

In answer to the question, how have all natural existences arisen? how taken on the forms they wear? and why do they stand related one to the other as the members of an ascending series? it is affirmed, by a method of development which requires that one member of this series be worked out of the preceding one, so that each individual is a resultant of all those that have preceded it. Since all objects of sense must be accounted for by the evolutionary process of development, man, who is also an object of sense perception, must, in the beginning of his existence as well as in the progress of his life, be subject to the same explanation. It is easy to see how, through such teaching, man is finally esti-

mated, in the basis of his existence, to be physical. He results from a long course of natural growth. His deepest needs, hence, are physical wants whose satisfaction can be gained only through the operation of physical agencies.

Under such view, the chief maxim becomes, "Appropriate nature." The fuller the appropriation, the happier one's life. Nature and her ways are supreme for man. The human creature is but a child of the natural world, to be "nourished and developed into a thing of excellent beauty by the sweet and loving care of natural energy." Why then concern ourselves about a world of supernatural realities? If such a world exists, what is that to us? We belong to the sphere of nature existence and are able to account for our being here on solely natural grounds. It is with nature we have to do. We are of it. We are out of it. We are what it has made us, and we can only become in the endless future what it, in its ceaseless energizing, is able to produce. Nothing is so essential to man, nothing so valuable, as nature. The more of it he can bring into his experience, the more he can incorporate in his life, the more desirable his existence, the more comfortable his state, and the happier his years. On his part, hence, the wise thing to do, is to give himself in his entire living to the pursuit of nature and its ends, to work for nature's pay, and thus gain for himself as much as possible of nature's goods, while he moves *from* he knows not whence *to* he knows not whither. For him the realm of spiritual facts is a world of dreams, the passing shadow of a distempered brain.

Under the influence of this undue emphasis and exaltation of the natural, much of that popular skepticism with which, in our professional pursuits, we are familiar, takes its rise. How forcibly every day we are impressed with the fact that the tendency of the present time is to sensualize everything. In education materialistic utility is foremost. The young man of to-day wishes that knowledge which will help to get most largely and quickly natural goods. I desire, he says, to pursue that calling in which I can get the most money. The ruling thought is, not self-development for his own sake and because of what he is as a moral, personal being, but the getting of physical goods that he may

satisfy to the fullest measure the craving of bodily appetite and enjoy without limit the emotions of sensuous pleasure. To gain this world is the summum bonum, the right meaning and true value of human existence. All perfectly legitimate, if out of nature he has come and back to nature again returns.

In religion and the Church the same is observable. Here, too, the sensuous is ever thrusting itself forward as the chief motive for even the mechanical performance of duty. Fairs, suppers, entertainments of divers sorts, with all the various physical machinery, are employed, sometimes under the name of applied Christianity, to arrest the attention of the passer by, to stimulate the church member and to develop the Christian in the graces of a godly life. And why all this physical energizing in order to win people from evil ways and induce them to be good? Why is the Gospel sensualized in order to get men and women of to-day to do Christian acts? Is it not because they have lost faith in the reality of the spiritual and are moved in their living by the delusion that nature is God? Is it not because of this naturalistic conception of things heavenly, crude though it may be when in popularized form, that the Church finds it so difficult to get the ear of the masses and then makes the sad mistake of trying to conform the religion of Christianity to the sensuous notions of the day? No wonder the battle against the wickedness and ungodliness of men goes hard, and the enemy is proud and boastful of his strength. SAMSON IS SHORN OF HIS LOCKS WHILE RESTING HIS HEAD IN THE LAP OF DELILAH.

Concerning the production of the prevailing skepticism of our time, I state, for a second thing, a teaching of some religious thinkers of to-day, both in the pulpit and out of it. These thinkers accepting the present conclusions of natural science, especially concerning man, suppose that the needful revelation has at last been given, and that now all those dark questions relating to the human creature, in his origin and progressive development, can be readily solved. The actual method of the production of all things has at last been found and, hence, a different and more satisfactory account of the coming of the several

kingdoms of nature into existence can be given. In the application of the theory of evolution, such use is made of it, that supernatural agency falls far into the back ground and finally vanishes from view altogether. Nothing is left for the course of things save natural force. Take a present phase of thought on this question. It is about as follows: The body of man at least is the resultant of the evolutionary process. No divine agency was present at the formation of the human physical organism. Through the long ages it was in process of becoming. Natural law, natural selection, natural energy, was back of all movements steadily working to reach the ultimate climax, man's body. Forth from an original germ endowed with all potency of natural existence, at last it came, the body of man, perfect in its form, the master-workmanship of nature's artistic skill. Through all this long history of outworking of the potential seed, no divine hand guided the movement. None was needed. The original germ contained within itself all possible nature existences. When in the ongoing of this evolving method a transition was made from one order of creature to another, no agency was present other than the original force with its accumulated momentum. God made the primal energy with its inherent possibilities, and then, having set it working, withdrew to be an observer of its operations. And this is Deism.

The Biblical view of evolution is clearly that God was omnipotently present at every divisional stage of the world making process. The new was not the old worked into a fresh form, but the old with an energy superinduced, which had not yet been. Every stage of the process which marked the beginning of a kind was a creation and not a development. The Biblical view is that God is in the world originating a world developing process from beginning to end.

In the light of the foregoing naturalistic view we can readily see why so many here and there are saying, "We don't believe what the Bible says about the creation of man, is true. God didn't make his body; nature produced it." How probable also the inference, that since the supernatural is not in this long history of the development of the universe up to the appearance of

man, there is no special reason to believe that God is directly concerned about men and their ways. But if he is not in and through his universe at all points of its progress, introducing that which is new, preserving the old, and directing his entire work, rational and irrational creatures, to a glorious destiny, the conception of creatorship falls away, for it is inconceivable that a wise, good and benevolent God should never show himself to be anything more than a mere toy maker.

If now in the making of the body of the first Adam the creative power of God was not immediately present, the highest and most glorious work of the original creation, and it is to be accounted for solely by the operation of natural cause, what shall we say of the body of the Second Adam? Was not this also the result of the evolutionary process? Why should it not be? If the beginner of the old race was as to his body, to say no more, the product of development and not a creation of God, are we not justified in holding that the beginner of the new race was likewise a natural evolution? What more need for the direct formative power of the Most High God in the production of the latter, than the former, the Second Adam, than the first? None. And this is precisely the conclusion which skepticism draws. When consequently religious teachers fall in with certain views of evolution which aim to exclude God as far as possible from the realm of his creature and adjust their instruction of the people as closely as they can in harmony with naturalistic belief, they are, perhaps unawares, promoting the spread of infidelity. If they do not draw the logical conclusion from the premises they lay down for their hearers, some of their hearers will undoubtedly do it for themselves. It is a dangerous thing to unsettle the foundations.

Again, some religious teachers proclaim with much ardor the ideal Christ. And who is this ideal Christ? Not the historic Jesus of Nazareth. He was only the member of a series, who, more than any other member, has approximated the fulness of the ideal. The essential Christ, the Christ all perfect, without spot or wrinkle, is the human race at the climax of perfection,—the Judaistic conception of the Messiah applied to the whole hu-

man family. This is the Christ of humanitarianism, of whom so much is said to-day in speech and print. No wonder the popular mind loses interest in the old Gospel which shows us humanity already perfected in Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of man.

Besides all this, Higher Criticism is making no small contribution to the infidelity of our time. We are all familiar with its claims. Its logical outcome is unbelief. The legitimate conclusion has been drawn and stated by its leaders, Reuss, Kuenen and Wellhausen, and these conclusions are the same as those of Tom Paine and Voltaire. In the end Higher Criticism, like every form of disbelief, repudiates the incarnation. If the eternal Son of God was not manifested in the flesh, then the only true ground for inspiration of prophet and apostle does not exist. Higher Criticism finds that the Sacred Scriptures are not inspired. It, hence, has no place for incarnation. If Jesus Christ is the incarnate Son of God, then in him human nature is inspired and the revelation which God gives to man through him is a revelation by inspiration. It could not be otherwise.

The trend of Higher Criticism is skeptical, and the conclusion of its skepticism is to sweep away the very foundation of Christianity, the God-Man, Christ Jesus. Some Higher critics, and some who endorse their views, do not go to the full length of this later phase of doubt, and still cling to the old, well tried doctrines of the Gospel; but they are traveling on a strange road, whose guide-posts are misleading, and will, in all probability, some day find themselves at the terminus of a way they thought had no end. Unfortunately for sound belief there are in the pulpit to-day those who exhibit to the people in favorable terms the teachings of Higher Criticism. The fruit of this sowing is already beginning to be apparent in the spread of that skepticism which has little, if any, respect for the Bible as the inspired record of a divine revelation.

The destructive teaching of the new criticism is pleasing speech to the natural man, and quickly moves him to say: "I always thought that was the truth about the old book, and now my judgment is confirmed by the discoveries of the latest critical

science." The old man is a persistent skeptic because he wants to be. The natural heart is prone to doubt. This no doubt is chief among the reasons why now so much disbelief in the Church and out of it prevails.

But the remedy, what is it? I answer, first, not the wisdom of this world. Excellent as this may be in its proper sphere, still it is not sufficient to cure the unbelief of the age. It is itself a great skeptic; for does it not account the cross a shame and the preaching of the cross foolishness? Besides, the most refined literary, scientific and æsthetic culture cannot check and put down the infidelity of the time. This too is full of doubt about spiritual facts. It has no eye with which to see beyond the horizon of nature's realm, and instead of helping to restrain the skepticism of the day only supports its claims.

Still further, the infidelity of to-day cannot be stopped in its course by sheer argument. The Church might resolve herself into a debating society and argue most profoundly against unbelief, but still the natural man would be of the same opinion as before. Argument will not convince him; logic will not change him. Whenever the Church gives her time and strength to controversy, doubt and disbelief flourish vigorously.

Still less is the skepticism of the present to be halted by an adaptation of the fundamental, saving truths of the Gospel to the false conceptions of this world. In some quarters, it seems, this is now being tried. It is a foolish attempt. "The words that I speak to you they are spirit and they are life." But it must never be forgotten that these words are spirit and life only as framed by their divine author. When changed to correspond with the speech of the unregenerate mind, they are no longer God's message of wisdom and power, but the frail and erring speech of sinful man. To change the doctrines of revelation or to modify them so as to please the natural understanding, is to yield the contest and surrender to the enemy. And this the Church of Jesus Christ, that Church which he bought with his own blood, cannot, dare not do. She must ever marshal before the foe an uncompromising host.

What the Church needs to do now, in order to stem the

tide of the current skepticism, is to live a pure and holy life. She dare not countenance little sins or be indifferent to whatever defiles. She must be a fit temple for God. She must watch herself and be sure that she is undefiled. Is her own life what it ought to be? Is it pure, is it holy? If not, then she is weak. Oh, so weak! In such condition how can she grapple the strong man of sin and hold him captive? She is in danger of being taken prisoner herself and losing her heritage.

But the Church must not only be pure and holy, she must also live a life of faith. In the presence of faith, skepticism is powerless. The quibbles and false reasoning of the natural understanding concerning spiritual realities are easily swept away. The doubts of the unbelieving heart are quickly silenced. By faith the Church has won her victories. By faith she triumphed over heathenism. By faith she came forth again in the sixteenth century to run the race of victory. By faith she overcame the Deism of the eighteenth century and the rationalism of a later day. By faith she routed the hosts of infidelity in our own land in the days of Jonathan Edwards. By faith, ever living faith, the Church of God in every age has stemmed the tide of current skepticism and saved the generations of her time from the wreck and ruin of infidelity. "This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our faith." If the tide of skepticism now rolling over our land, carrying with it thousands and thousand of the people, will ever be turned back, the millions on this western continent be rescued from its destructive march, and the Church come forth again, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun and terrible as an army with banners," it will only be because a living faith is supreme in the lives of God's people. What the Church needs to-day in order that she may meet her old enemy on the field of battle and vanquish him, is the power of an endless life, that life of which Paul speaks, when he says: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, and the life which I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." Life! Ah, yes, that is the irresistible power. Before this nothing can stand. The world, the flesh and the devil have no might to

match it. In every age this it is, the life which is Christ living in us, that has "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness and put to flight the armies of aliens." Has the Church this power to-day? Then she need not fear. The final issue is certain. She can easily stem the tide of a current infidelity and win to the standard of King Immanuel millions of souls. On the other hand, has she little of this power? then is she in a state of alarm, trembles with fear, is perplexed to know what to do and in her distress cries out, "What can I do to stem this tide of skepticism? to hold back and put down this enemy of Christ and mine?" Do? Is this the anxious inquiry of the Church in America? I answer: "Put on the whole armor of God." Put on the helmet of salvation, to protect the head against the blows of doubt; the breastplate of love, to guard the heart against the assaults of unbelief; and then take in the one hand the shield of faith with which to ward off the fiery darts of the adversary and in the other the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and, like her Great Captain, she can face the forces of infidelity in successful battle, win the age for God and achieve for herself spotless renown.

In order that this blessed state of the Church may be realized more and more, and that she may be strong in the Lord, brethren, be sure to preach a sound Gospel. Not a gospel which teaches that sin is a mere accident, or chiefly a radical disturbance in man's physical organism, or an imperfection of the finite creature, but a gospel which reveals the true nature of sin through the life, sufferings and death of the Incarnate Son of God;—not a gospel that magnifies divine love in such a way that the eternal righteousness of God is minimized, but a gospel which is the revelation of the divine righteousness against all ungodliness and wickedness of men, and that is the power of God unto salvation unto every one who believes,—the gospel, which a human race, lost in sin, needs,—the gospel of a Christ who died for us and rose for our justification, and who assures his Church: "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world." This is the Gospel that can convict sinners, edify believers and save the world.

ARTICLE IX.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE OVER THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Lecture delivered in Berlin, Jan. 13th, 1896, by Prof. Ettl, Professor of Theology in Griefswald University.*

Translated by REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

There was a solemn crowd assembled at the house of Jahve, in Bethel, the seat of the empire and the royal sanctuary. Altars smoked and hymns resounded to honor the God who had brought the ruler of the land, Jeroboam II., victory and safety. The sacrificial feasts were in course on every hand. Suddenly there appeared before the motley rejoicing assembly a man who had wandered in from Judah, a simple shepherd and peasant, and began a hymn of lamentation: "The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise; she is forsaken upon her ground and there is none to raise her up." This evil must break upon them because in their land they trod right with their feet, imposed upon the poor and the needy and tried to satisfy their God with the outward service of offering. He who sent it upon them is none other than Jahve himself, for he holds just scales over all nations. Amos can prophesy it with perfect certainty, for the Lord Jahve does nothing unless he reveals his counsel to his servants, the prophets. He had taken him away from behind his flocks in Hebron and had given him the commission: "Go prophesy against my people Israel." Thus he became a herald of the day of Jahve who would bring the destruction of the state through the Assyrians, but at the same time sifting with the judgment, for behind the dark clouds that were collecting Amos saw bits of light on the horizon's edge. Only the chaff will be scattered, the good grain remains, and at the end of the days the house of David will be gloriously established.

*His standpoint may be taken as representative of the most conservative professors of Old Testament work in the universities of Germany, which means that he accepts the Old Testament as a book from God and at the same time some of the results of higher criticism.

This scene places the religion of Israel before our eyes in a picture that is easily surveyed. Is it *true* that a call from a higher world laid hold of this man? Did he speak of and by the counsel of his God or from his own breast? Is this a living God who deals with his people in grace and judgment, and with wisdom and goodness; and with righteousness and power directs the destinies of all nations toward a premeditated goal? These are the questions about which the present struggle concerning the Old Testament centers. The noise of the conflict has long passed beyond the circles of the schools and has penetrated the congregation, unsettling and shaking many. Therefore it is well worth our while to clearly state the question and to answer it: Concerning what does this struggle really contend? Particularly in regard to this are important misunderstandings in vogue that require consideration.

Primarily the question is not concerning the doctrine of *the divine inspiration of the holy Scriptures* as applied to the Old Testament. This doctrine grew out of the necessity of making the peculiar religious effects that come from the Bible intelligible. For these effects do not cease to be if that doctrine in its established form proves to be untenable. The word that is like fire and the hammer that crushes rocks does not need for its verification a human theory as to its origin. The question is also not concerning the *literary questions* which give the Old Testament over to historical investigation. According to the nature of the matter these must remain in the hands of those who have the necessary tools for such work, *i. e.* the knowledge of the language and history. And it brings no good results when, presumably in the interests of faith, those who can neither know nor appreciate the present questions, trespass on this branch. Whether the Pentateuch is all from Moses, or the book of Isaiah comes wholly from the prophet Isaiah, may be submitted to the discussion of the specialists. He who does not belong to the profession can satisfy himself by nourishing his inner life on the one as well as the other of these works. If he feels the Holy Spirit of God in it, the assertions of the learned concerning it affect him rather indifferently, for this experience is infinitely more

important than the understanding of the circumstances of the composition of those writings. On the other hand, if he does not experience the witness of the Spirit in itself, the assertion of their inspiration and authenticity cannot help him much. Certainly a reverential attitude to the Scriptures corresponding to the confessions of the Church forms a favorable condition for their spiritual and personal apprehension, but never an equivalent for this as some seem to think.

The question in the present struggle concerning the Old Testament touches, in fact, much greater and more important things than the rightness of the established doctrine of inspiration and the Jewish-Christian tradition concerning individual books. The question is concerning *the truth of the whole Old Testament religion and concerning its relation to Christianity*. And I think that I cannot present it to you better than by picturing in concise lines the course of development, which, according to the chief representatives of the new school (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade), the religion of Israel took. On our side we will then examine this picture critically and test the justification of its claim, that here for the first time has been gained the correct view of the remarkable phenomenon of ancient religious history. We will accordingly let the critics speak first.

The religion of Israel begins with the existence of the people Israel. That which Genesis has to relate of an earlier step of Jahve worship is in truth the religion of the later time of the prophets, for the patriarchs were only the characters of the free creative popular tradition. Much rather was the religion of the tribes out of which Israel's unity as a people gradually grew of very different origin. They formed the Semitic heathendom, which was hereditary from the individual fragment to the lower national form of the Jahve religion. It consisted in worship of the dead, veneration of ancestors, and animal, stone and star worship, and was a kind of animism* or pandemonism, by which

*Not that of Stahl that made "the soul the proper principle of life and development in the body," but the term used to designate "a perverted veneration of spirits and belief in ghosts that lies at the foundation of all natural religions."—TRANS.

the possibility is not excluded that the deity of one or the other of these clans was already called Jahve, originally the storm-god that in storm traveled through the air. For reasons unknown to us there was an emigration toward the east of several tribes that had settled at the delta of the Nile. On their way others joined them forming a league and the sacred place Kadesh that lies deep in southern Canaan became their central point. What part in this movement belongs to one or several leading men is not to be ascertained. The Moses of the later Jewish tradition is a form of very uncertain outline, and, if he ever existed at all, was no law-giver but an administrator of right and a leader in war. The unification of the tribes had of course also a religious side. It was the recognition of the God Jahve, who dwelt on Sinai, as the real patron of this tribal alliance. However, beside him the former clan deities claim their existence and worship proximately undisputed. The overcoming of Canaan followed different attacks on the part of the several tribes, not by a common action. The invaders united with the former population that had not been exterminated, even in religious matters, so that the religion of ancient Israel presents a compromise between the incoming Semitic form and the former native worship of God. Jahve, who was generally thought of as God of war, able to help and present in the sacred treasury, a much venerated palladium, was merged with Baal, the god of the land, so that it was hard to distinguish them. In fact on several occasions it went so far that he almost supplanted Baal; if in the first place the needs of war on the part of the Canaanites had not united the loosely bound tribes, then for years the Philistines accomplished it by the watchword of Jahve's name. "The Philistines awaken Israel and Jahve from slumber," said Wellhausen very significantly. When at last the victory of Jahve and Israel was decided, the more peaceful attributes of Baal, together with his symbols and customs of worship and cities, were transferred to Jahve. And the service was not essentially different from Baal's. He became straightway the chief deity of the land to whom they must pay homage with the fruits of the earth at the ancient holy cities, on high places, in Bethel,

Dan, Gilgal, Mizpah, and others. He was honored with sacrifices, probably even human offerings, and with festivals of nature, exactly as the neighboring peoples honored their gods. And in return he gave rain to his people and harvest and wine in times of peace, and help and victory in war. Even the sacred stones and pillars and, before all, the images of oxen were appropriated for the service of Jahve, and were viewed as wholly unobjectionable. When Jahve was worshiped at different places and with different local attributes, the danger of breaking up into several deities threatened him. And since the relation of Israel to Jahve was merely a national one and limited to cult, no important ethical effects came from it.

Not until the prophets of the eighth century was the first crude form of the people's religion overcome. They were really the creators of all that thus far has generally been known as the work of Moses. The service of an Amos, a Hosea, an Isaiah, consisted in this: they loosened the bond between Jahve and Israel and brought the religion over from the realm of mere cult to that of morals, and they even moralized the conception of God. Now Jahve is no longer the God of Israel in the sense that his people's fortune and power are a proof of his existence and greatness, and their misfortune an evidence of his weakness, but he rules over his people and all the nations that come in contact with them, and applies to all a like standard of unchangeable righteousness. The service that he demands is not that of the outward cult—such he rather rejects—but morality, and probably of the same extent and depth as is seen in the formulation of the individual requirements of the decalogue (which came into being about this time), particularly that of right and fairness in daily walk and conversation. The revealers of the purposes of Jahve are his trustworthy servants, the prophets who were called upon to prophesy the downfall of the ten tribes and later that of Judah.

In the first place the prophets, with their fine conception of religion, did not leaven all. There was rather a compromise between the religion of the prophets and the previous religion of the people in Deuteronomy, which, in truth, strongly emphasized

the unity and peculiarity and even the spirituality of Jahve, but it also brought the cult to a more honorable place, and that in a strongly centralized form, and consequently gave the prophets again a place behind the priests. Thus the first step was taken toward making the religion fast in legal form—toward monism. In the place of the living, inspired word of the prophets was found the sacred codex which regulated and bound the religion. Both the prophetic and priestly tendencies were continued in exile, the former most excellently in Deutero Isaiah, who developed the conception of God sharply monotheistic, the latter in laws of sanctity, and by Ezekiel, both creating a legal expression for the sanctity of Israel. Finally the priestly tendency won the over-hand, though it, by its neglecting of morality in the interests of cult, meant really a decline into heathenism. Its great document is the priestly law that fills the middle part of the Pentateuch. When this was made canon and raised to the highest norm of life after the return from Babylon about the middle of the fifth century, the prophetic breath, that had held the religion alive, died, and even morality degenerated into mere dogma-existence or wretched letter-service, beside which, strange as it may seem, there sprung up an eccentric Messianic hope.

Since Jeremiah, who already stood with one foot in the decline of the external state, the religion was no more considered as merely national but was regarded as a personal affair, and they began to distinguish people as pious or godly according to their supposed relation to Jahve. In Psalms, Proverbs and Job, which are merely post-exilian writings, this undercurrent of personal morality and piety shows itself; but in the later period it was almost smothered by the dogmatics, and scholasticism and cult of Judaism.

This, with the passing over of all that is non-essential, is the religiously historical hypothesis of the new school. The idea of development is determinative for its perfection. And in this is founded its relative rightness and the charm which it works over growing circles. It contains an element of truth in comparison with, and in opposition to, that untenable view according to which Israel's religion came forth as a completed thing already

in the time of Moses, so that the men of God of a later period were to assert that which was already present, or at most to re-establish obscured truths. That contradicts every historic analogy, yes, we can even say God's entire method of dealing. All spiritual life grows up (and herein, like the life of the body,) from productive germs in full relation to, and in reciprocal action with the factors of its spiritual surroundings, to its full stature. It is not sent down into this world as a perfect product of art, but it brings with it the ways of an organism which, animated by a peculiar principle of growth, forms the more perfect from that which is more simple, and the noble from that which is unseemly. But the question intrudes itself whether the use of the idea of development, which *per se* is unassailable, was made here in the proper way. We dispute that very decidedly. This is the first point at which we raise a contradiction to the findings of the modern school.

How is the idea of religious development considered here? They simply apply to the realm of spiritual and religious life the scheme of spontaneous evolution which has been raised to a self-evident axiom for the explaining of life in nature. No effect can appear for which there is not present a known and adequate cause. The already existent things, or spirits, work upon each other according to their peculiar method, and by this new forms come into being which again bring still others into existence. This movement is blind, guided by no purpose, yet probably placed under the command of an honorable necessity. And the forms of religious thought follow one another, in their way, under a similar conformity to law, to that which through a thousand intervening steps causes the complex organic structure to come from the simple organic cell. And since there is nowhere a leap, there happens in reality nothing new. That which takes place before our eyes is merely the summing up of factors already present. In the realm of religion the animating power of this movement is human thinking. It smooths off by degrees the rough, contradictory characteristics of the idea of God, refines it, ennobles it, and decorates it with moral characteristics taken from human morality; and the idea of God thus formed

works reflexively on these qualities, purifying them. So the whole process becomes plausible, clear and intelligible. As soon as the first member is known one can run it off on a string, so to speak. First is the deity lost in the life of nature, and in itself not a unit; then in connection with the forming of firmer tribal alliances the god of a clan thought of as inseparably connected with that clan; when the clans grow together into a people the national god that enters into a special relation to his people and land and possibly unites himself to some previously found deity of the country; after this, in conflict with the neighboring peoples and their gods, the stronger god that reaches out over the boundaries of his original sphere of power; then with rising culture the moral god, to whom is imparted the nobler human traits of character; and still further, with the widening of the circle of vision over the entire world, the just God who directs history; and, finally, with the still further advanced reflection and abstraction, the one God and Creator of all, who does not tolerate him who loves another god. In this way are the religious heights of the Old Testament easily ascended, and everything in it goes very naturally. But does the reality correspond to this picture? We will test the theory on three points that seem to us to be decisive: *The religious founding of Israel in the time of Moses; the claimed moralizing of the idea of God by the prophets; and the continuation, yes, perfecting, of the Jahve faith in the exile.*

The more remote the religious step of the pre-Mosaic time is placed,—and many critics can scarcely do enough just here—the more astounding is the advance reached here with one stroke. One may view the “sources” with ever so critical an eye, Jahve, the God of Israel whom Moses preached, is from the very beginning loose and free from any binding with nature, a free spiritual personality, a redeeming God, and a God of right, whose hand is felt in the history of his people and who wants to make their life a mirror of his own holy being. How did this God grow up out of the Semitic Pantheon or Pandemonium? The Egyptian or Midian certificate of birth that a fanciful science

gave him, has been torn to pieces by sober investigation. There is no explanation, not even a "natural" one, for the fact that from the common ground of Jewish heathendom only at this point such a religious development arose, which, although borne by an unimportant nation, surpassed all the religions of the racially related peoples. Why did not Kamosh, of the Moabites, or Milkrom, of the Ammonites, or why did not the gods of the world-wide empires, Anu and Nabu, rather ascend the throne of the world? Why did Jahve alone, from the hour when his name first shone into history, bear the seal of imperishable divinity on his forehead? It sounds almost like sport when a man wants to make the religious genius of Moses or of some other the generating source for the living, salvation-bringing God of Israel. That is merely to change the name of the riddle, not to solve it. No, the only thing that helps us is the simple acknowledgment that if Moses knew and preached this God, this God had borne a new and wonderful witness of himself in his spirit. And with this is the notion of natural development broken already at its starting point.

It was not different in the ninth and eighth centuries. Under the Omris the power of the state, the kingdom, the priesthood, the guild of the prophets and the mass of the people stood on the side of Baal, and the uprooting of Jahve seemed to be completed. There came one man in the name of just this Jahve against the whole power of the state and won the victory for Jahve. Was that the fruit of a "natural" development? And whence did Amos, Hosea and Isaiah win their deep insight into the being of Jahve, if they as children of their people from their homes overcame such an unrefined idea of God? According to that notion the indeterminable, morally indifferent God of the people becomes all at once the powerful protector of right, who gives his own people over to decline when they work the eternal rule of his righteousness—a thought elsewhere unheard of on the ground of the ancient peoples' religions. Elsewhere the gods of the heathen nations bear the marks of the people's character or their appearance. The God of these prophets stood in such a marked contrast to his people Israel that they must

perish just because of their relation to Jahve. Isaiah, the most powerful preacher of this God, who in sublime sanctity rules over the world of nations, is seized with deadly terror at his spiritual meeting with him. "Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips and dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts." And in the face of all that, the new knowledge of God is to have sprouted out very naturally from reflection in the minds of these men! No! but the living and gracious God touched their eyes and gave them a deeper insight into his heart.

Finally, the exile meant death to Israel as a people. What returned later to the old home was only a needy remnant without national independence. Now it is unheard of in all the ancient world that a nation's god survived his people's downfall. If the nationality breaks down the religion comes to an end and gives place to new formations or resolves itself into philosophical speculation which lacks religious warmth and power and is accessible only to a few select minds. But instead of this we see here in the midst of the destruction of the Israelitish national existence the belief in Jahve reaching its greatest perfection under the prophets of the exile. In the entire Old Testament there is nothing more powerful and more striking than that which we hear from the great book of comfort to the exiles—the song of praise of the lordly Creator and God of redemption who brings his servant to perfection through suffering and prepares for the Mediator of salvation for Israel and the world. Whence from all the world came such knowledge to Israel trodden under foot in Babylon? They did not get it from their own hearts, desperately despondent and for that purpose weighed down under guilt, but the prophet himself confessed it: "The Lord Jahve and his Spirit sent and empowered me to bring glad tidings to the suffering." Here, therefore, as in both the cases mentioned before, the theory of development denies every reasonable explanation of the facts in the case at hand, and then it is much wiser to suit the theory to the history than to reconstruct the history according to the theory.

There is a second and still more important consideration that brings us into pronounced opposition to the most influential spokesmen of the new school. They present the source of the religious development of Israel in such a way as if the history of religious thought was the only thing at stake. They speak of a more or less pure conception of Jahve, of a more or less developed idea of God, and on the other hand the question seems scarcely to have touched them as to whether a divine reality corresponds to these interesting forms of thought, whether the God discovered and thought of by Israel, one might almost say whether the God worked out by Israel, also existed. This most important thing *per se* they purposely have covered under an impenetrable veil. And yet just here lies the fundamental question of all religion. Religion does not live from an accurately constructed, unobjectionable *idea* of *God*. Its rallying cry sounds: My soul thirsteth after the *living* God! If, then, as it often seems here, the limits of mankind are never crossed by even a hairbreadth, the religion of Israel remains indeed a notable phantom in the history of the human mind, but *its inner truth is destroyed*. Without hesitation we place it on the same level with the mythologies of other ancient peoples. It avails us nothing if we admit the idea of *revelation* as an indispensable hypothesis, but explain it in such a way that it is perfected in the development of the religious spirit and covers itself with it. For that presupposes an immanence of God in man's spirit and in the course of human history, which is very far removed from the belief in the God of the Bible, and is able to explain neither the reaching by leaps of the higher steps, nor entirely the declines and deformities in the realm of religion, which are also not wanting in Israel. Here we do not come out at all without the assumption of a serious and supernatural revelation of God. For example, we must attribute to the prophets the most inexplicable illusion, if not something worse, as soon as we do not recognize as essentially true the formula that is so common in their mouth: "Thus spake the Lord Jahve." This is not the place to penetrate into the secret of the prophetic consciousness, but we dare determine that the sources of their religion accord-

ing to their testimony, which is clear as sunlight, and the sources of their special enlightenment, lay not in their own spirit but in a transcendental world of divine reality miraculously revealed unto them.

With this conception the proper idea of development is quite consistent, only that in the light of revelation the development now presents itself as an education. Also, from the standpoint of the strongest belief in revelation we have not the least concern to gainsay natural mediations and starting points, *i. e.* such as are founded in the laws of the spiritual life, and to make everything magically new and wonderful, or perhaps to carry back into the Old Testament the clear cognitions that brought us the Gospel, and thus obliterate the steps in the history of the children of Israel.

That which is right in the picture of development that we have just drawn, we gladly acknowledge. But we view it in a very different light; not as a spontaneous upward striving of man's mind from crude error to more purified forms of thought, but as a progressive disclosure of self by God in the field of revelation, as a divine work of construction on a material generally unsympathetic and opposing. It is the same God who revealed himself to Abraham and Moses, to Elias and Isaiah. He is none other than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and our God. He is the same to the fathers and to the children, and condescending and kind he enters into the conditions of man's spiritual life which he himself set. He reveals himself to children as they are able to understand him, and to men as befits them. He does not clear away with one wrench every obstruction and all hindrances, but overcomes them gently and with patience, working from within outward. Nor does he destroy with one stroke of magic all strange elements that his revelation finds present in the spirits of its receivers, but has it depend upon the working of the measure of the knowledge of God and experience that he can give from time to time as a ferment which in time of itself rejects those strange elements.

If we attempt to view the history of Israel from this standpoint, the wonder is that so much inadequate and imperfect still

clings to it. On the one hand the theoretical attempt to prove such things perfect and in harmony with God, and valid for all time, is given up. And on the other hand the insipid mockery of a God, full of pleasure and smelling of the odor of offerings that must testify of his earthly relations by a personal appearance, and who has his court in heaven, ceases to be known. For one detects in the childlike method of expression the warm pulsation of the *living* God who can sit on his throne and descend from heaven only because he can love and really give himself for the world. And at this God no one takes offence who has felt a want of divine love.

That which separates us from the new school, aside from disputing their speculative idea of evolution, is a third and very important difference. They break asunder the relation between the Old Testament and the New Testament. According to them the Old Testament religious development ended in ruin. The post-exilian nomism is a decline into heathenism. The inwardness and spirituality of the religion of the prophets died in lifeless forms and dogmas. And in its stead, they further claim, is a poor equivalent—the Messianic dreaming which luxuriously sprung up from this spiritual desert and which would like to awaken the irretrievably sunken national glory to a semblance of life, at least for the future. The most important Messianic prophecies, in the narrower sense, are pushed down into late post-exilian times by the most advanced critics, and branded as error. Those among these investigators who think highly of Jesus for this reason busy themselves to separate him as thoroughly as possible from the Messianic expectations of his contemporaries, to sever the threads entirely that run back from his religious consciousness into the religion of the Old Testament. The assertion is by no means unheard of in their camp: Jesus thought of nothing less than to want to be the Messiah of the prophets. And thus the appearance is now that the joining of Christianity to the religion of the Old Testament was only an incidental thing, merely an historical consecution, but not inward and necessary, in the sense that in reality one and the same religious development runs through the whole Bible and makes

the Gospel the consummation of Israel's faith. Then Jesus stood just as near Hellenism, if not nearer, than he stood to Judaism. They have already begun to draw the practical results of this depreciation of the Old Testament. Men object to the worth of the Old Testament as a means of upbuilding. From the schools they speak in the interests of their estrangement and find a hundred perversities and inconsistencies to bring up against it.

Over against this we will place the question: Why do we interest ourselves at all for the Old Testament? He who is willing to hear the testimony of Jesus and his witnesses knows why. It is because the beginner and perfecter of our faith nourished his inner life on these writings; because by them he had moulded his consciousness as Saviour and King; because not one important idea of the Gospel of Christ and his apostles has its root elsewhere than in the Old Testament; and because, according to his own words, salvation comes from the Jews and eternal life is to be found in their writings because they testify of him. The witnesses of Jahve in Israel all knew that they stood in a stream of divine thoughts and institutions that was not to run into oblivion in the sand, but would lead to a glorious goal of perfect self impartation of God to man. Every one in his own way—sometimes stammering, sometimes speaking clearly—pointed to him who fulfilled the purpose of Israel and satisfied the yearnings of the heathen. The law also with its confining discipline prepared for him who should come, for it brought knowledge of sin before the Saviour from sin. There is needed indeed a wonderful estrangement from the biblical spirit in order to be blind to this divinely-willed continuity in the two Testaments, and to want to sever what God has bound together. And no one can depreciate the Old Testament in this way without, as a just retribution, shutting the door of his mind to a sense for the true content of the New.

These, honored hearers, seem to me to be the chief positions at which the discussion concerning the Old Testament is aimed. This struggle, as every other contest of minds, will not be decided by carnal weapons, by decrees of proscription and by vio-

lent measures from without. The spirits that have the field here must live and work themselves out, then it will be evident whether the Old Testament contains a living witness of God's work for God's people, or merely a valuable collection of material for the religious history of the ancient world. But those on whose hearts this question lies can test for themselves and investigate and delve, and that more energetically than before, whether they were not led by the voice of the sacred singer and the prophets of Israel to David's Son, and then in turn by him pointed back to the temple halls of the old covenant on which there lay already a morning beam of divine glory.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

IMPORTED BY CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Philosophy of Belief, or Law in Christian Theology. By the Duke of Argyll, K. G., K. T. pp. 535. Price \$5.00.

This work, though complete in itself, is to be regarded as the concluding one of a series by the author, the first of which was *The Reign of Law*, published in 1866, and the second, *The Unity of Nature*, published in 1884. The three works maintain, in the main, a continuous line of thought. The last applies the reasonings and conclusions of the earlier volumes, especially the great conception of Natural Law, to the subject of religion and for the construction of a philosophy of the Christian faith. It is a worthy completion of the author's endeavor to exhibit the harmonies of cosmic law and the spiritual constitution of the world.

The Duke of Argyll approaches the subject both as a Christian believer and as a student of the speculative science of our times. He has thought independently, but with evident care and in fairly conservative temper. While he has sought to give frank and full recognition to whatever truth the progress of modern science and thought have really established, he does not permit himself or his readers to forget the great ineradicable spiritual features and realities in the constitution of things, which a one-sided scientism, of the materialistic sort, has sought to deny or at least tends to obscure. His style is clear and direct. The work, though cast into the mould of a philosophy, may properly be classed as apologetic. Its appearance reminds us of the gratifying fact

that so many of the men who occupy most conspicuous rank in British public life find time and inclination to pursue these great themes, and, amid the unrest of our times, use their pens for the defence of theistic and Christian truth.

In exhibiting the philosophy of belief, the author begins in the sphere of natural religion, which he designates by the term "intuitive theology." And the fundamental fact which he points out as the one that must underlie our whole view of the ground of religious belief, is that the human mind, spontaneously and by necessity, directly recognizes the presence and acting of mind in nature as everywhere marked by movement and activity directed to rational ends. As truly and as necessarily as man is sure of mind within him, he is sure of Mind in nature about him—a Mind not himself. And this conviction of the existence of Mind as the cause of the order and purposiveness in the natural world, does not come or stand as an "inference" or conclusion from an "argument," but as an immediate perception, as fully and directly "intuitive," so that the conviction is universal and unavoidable. "The universal presence and power of mind in Nature, which has been well called in one word its purposiveness, is not a mere inference, or the result of any conscious reasoning, but is a fact apprehended by direct, immediate and self-evident perception; so much so that the perpetual acknowledgment and expression of it cannot be escaped in describing natural phenomena, even by those who are most desirous of avoiding or suppressing it." "It is part of its direct contents," he further says, "that this universal mind is—to employ the strong old English word—the Maker of the world, and of ourselves as part of it. But it does not, with the same directness, tell us anything of any characteristics of that mind, nor of any of its relations to our own, other than those of constructive origin and authorship." The chapters on this "intuitive theology" trace in a fine and impressive way from both literature and science, how universally, deeply and necessarily this fact of "purposiveness" has been incorporated in the forms of language and description of the structures and functions of life. The true and necessary philosophy of nature must be theistic.

Two chapters are devoted to the Theology of the Hebrews. One of them traces out the Old Testament conception of the Godhead. This conception views Jehovah as 'the universal God, whom we must think of as a Person, as the Creator of all things, whose will constitutes what we call the Laws of Nature, and whose law is truth and whose government is perfect righteousness.' The other chapter draws out the Old Testament view of man, as created in the 'image of God,' which has since been much defaced but not irretrievably lost, as normally capable of seeing truth and duty, and, under training of divine grace, rising into fellowship with God and righteousness.

The chapters on distinctively Christian Theology and on Christian Belief in its Relation to Philosophy exhibit, in instructive and suggestive way, how deeply the Christian system is integrated in the natural constitution of the world, and all its great verities and requirements harmonize with the principles of reason and natural law. Even in the great spiritual realities of faith and regeneration, the author finds no rupture with natural law, but spiritual movements which take place through the mental and moral faculties that belong to man's nature. "Nothing can be more striking than the complete and uniform assumption of St. Paul, that all the great conceptions of Christian theology are not only intelligible, but are in a special and structural harmony with the highest faculties of our nature. It is the custom of the sacred writers, and of St. Paul especially, to connect every doctrine of spiritual truth, or every exhortation on the conduct of life, with some general principle or law lying deep in the very nature of things."

This integration of all spiritual realities, truths and life into the unity of Nature and their essential harmony under the reign of law and the relation of means and ends, forms the fundamental idea in the author's philosophy of Christian belief.

We feel obliged to interpose objection to one position which mars this otherwise quickening and helpful work and impairs its consistency and value. On the very first page the author, following the example of some other prominent writers, condemns and repudiates the distinction between "the Natural and Supernatural." He repeats the repudiation at different points of the discussion and at its close. He does not make clear what conception he means to put in place of the rejected distinction. He says it is no question of opinion, but purely of "definition." And when he undertakes to define, he makes Nature a "name for the sum of all existence, visible and invisible, including not only the mind of man with all its works, but also whatever other and higher Mind there may be, of which he is only an emanation or a fragment." He accepts Huxley's statement: "The term Nature covers the totality of that which is." Of course he may well say: "This definition reduces the word 'supernatural' to nonsense." But is not the nonsense in the definition, which thus neglects the essential distinction between God as the self-existent Creator, and all other existences as originated and dependent? Do both belong to "nature" in the same sense? To reduce God, the "higher Mind" which the human mind recognizes as the Author of the purposes and laws incorporated in the world, to the common undistinguished and undistinguishable category of Nature, is utterly unscientific except upon the assumed basis of pantheism. But the discussion is not conducted upon the conception of pantheism—as it is not on the basis of materialism. Its Theism is purely Christian, viewing God as self-existent, personal, the Author of nature, transcendent, and yet immanent in it. And the question of the legitimacy and correctness of

the distinction between "natural" and "supernatural" is simply the question whether or not Christianity, as a *redemptive* religion, for recovery of men from sin and sinfulness, has involved any divine action in time and the world other or beyond the occurrences produced by the forces and laws placed in the world's constitution and human life simply in the creative act or process. Does Christianity carry and exhibit nothing but the natural undisturbed ongoing and development of the powers and laws set in human nature at the start? Does Christianity's divine work of redemption—God, in his eternal freedom, power, and love, in the way of affording rescue and help to lost and erring children—mean nothing more than simply letting them alone under the powers and laws that inherently belong to evolving humanity? Do not the Christian Scriptures bring us any revelation from God in excess of that from the simple human ability to make discovery of him through reading natural phenomena and laws? Is there no predictive prophecy in the Old or New Testament other than that of mere human foresight? Was the incarnation of the Son of God a merely natural event, or Jesus Christ only a product of human and cosmic forces? This denial of the distinction between nature and the supernatural, however well meant, is no little harmless matter of mere 'definition,' but strikes down inevitably against a vital reality in the claim and character of Christianity. It is to be regretted that the Duke of Argyll, who is otherwise doing such able and conspicuous service for Christian truth, has marred this valuable work by unfitting introduction of it here. We say 'unfitting'; for the repudiation does not fit the essential representations and 'philosophy' of the work itself. Again and again, in its examination of both the Hebrew and Christian teachings, it presents interpretations and views which, in spite of the repudiation, necessarily and fully involve and confess the 'supernatural' in the sense in which scientific theology uses the term. This manifest inconsistency and the utter failure of the discussion to sustain the denial of the distinction will largely save from the misleading influence of having made it. And the work will prove a valuable and helpful contribution to the discussion of the philosophy of religion.

M. V.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Threshold Covenant, or The Beginning of Religious Rites. By H. Clay Trumbull, author of "The Blood Covenant," "Studies in Oriental Life," etc. pp. 335. \$2.00 net.

Dr. Trumbull, the accomplished editor of the *Sunday School Times*, has given to the public another monument of his tireless energy and prodigious learning. Taking up an original subject, the threshold as the primitive altar upon which blood was shed as the medium of a covenant with God or with one's fellowmen, he has penetrated into some long-forgotten secrets respecting the sanctity of the threshold alike in home and in temple, in marriage customs and in religious rites, and has

brought forth, from this hitherto untrodden realm, results of the most interesting character, and of great importance, often, in the elucidation of Holy Writ.

The volume is a companion to Dr. Trumbull's "Blood Covenant," having, indeed, grown out of that, and, looking back to a still earlier date, it traces the primitive rites and religions, by which man evidenced a belief in the possibility of covenant relations between God and man, and showed, by the same sacred forms, his estimate of the sanctity of man's relation to man.

The course followed by religious observances from their first beginnings has a lesson for modern thought which it would have been well for the author to have emphasized. The earlier cult was not only the simpler but the purer cult, expressive of holy instincts and lofty impulses, forming the basis of noble religious conceptions, but gradually deteriorating into the most revolting and debasing orgies, vile perversions of the original simple rite. Whatever may be the case in other domains, there is no proof that in natural religions we find the "Survival of the Fittest."

The treatment of phallic worship and allied subjects Dr. T. has considerably relegated to a Latin Appendix, but hints are scattered through the body of the work showing how closely and how sacredly the ancients associated the factors of reproduction with the deity. He even holds that when the Bible narrative was first written, the terms "tree," "fruit of the tree," "knowledge," &c., were familiar figures of speech, or euphemisms, relating to carnal intercourse—"an untimely partaking of the fruit of the forbidden tree." "It was not until the dull prosaic literalism of the Western mind obscured the meaning of Oriental figures of speech that there was any general doubt as to what was affirmed in the Bible story of the first temptation and disobedience."

The work is not one for popular reading but for students of primitive life and culture. Its general accuracy and scientific value are vouched for by such authorities as Hilprecht, Max Müller, Sayce, Cheyne, Fritz Hommel and others. Its copious Index adds immensely to the convenience of its use. It is a volume to which scholars will often need to refer.

E. J. W.

A History of the Hebrew People, from the Settlement in Canaan to the Division of the Kingdom. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and History, Brown University. With Maps and Plans. pp. 220. \$1.25.

The reviewer very much regrets that he has not had time to complete the examination of what he discovered to be a fresh and delightful volume. The author writes, it is hardly necessary to say, from the modern point of view, but the results yielded to scholarly research into the Old Testament are accepted not for destructive purposes, but made to

contribute to the acquisition of the whole instead of partial truth. "In reconstructing the facts of Hebrew history in the light of modern biblical research, positive rather than negative results command attention." In pursuit of this method the history of the Hebrew people becomes living and real. "Its heroes seem at home in their surroundings. They command our admiration not because they were perfect, but because, laboring under all the limitations of their age, they were struggling, though afar, toward perfection." This is probably the secret of the charm with which readers will find the work invested, though the chief satisfaction to students must be the solution of perplexing problems by the historical perspective into which they are brought. So too "the evidence of a progressive development running through Israel's history brings it into closer relations with all history and with the universe, where God's law of progress is dominant."

Devout students, fortified by personal religious faith, and familiar with right methods of historical and literary study, will find this work not only very stimulating but, we believe, highly profitable. E. J. W.

SHERMAN AND CO., PHILADELPHIA.

Euchologion. The First Part of a Book of Common Order: Forms of Prayer by the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland. To which is added a Psalter. pp. 142, 112. 25 cts.

The resolve of the writer formed some years since to examine every order of public worship that might appear, he finds to be a considerable contract. With Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, the churches formerly opposed to prescribed forms, bringing out Liturgy after Liturgy, it keeps one busy to follow up and examine all these publications.

The work now in hand is of Presbyterian origin, prepared by a Society of The Church of Scotland, representing seventy of its eighty-four Presbyteries, and evidently, as shown by its reprint, as well as by slight changes adapting it to our country, intended for use by churches of the same faith in America.

The Presbyterian cast is strongly marked by the long prayers provided for both Morning and Evening Service. Both Services have two forms of prayer to be used, one immediately after the Introit, and one just before the sermon, each very much longer than the General Prayer contained in the Common Service. Happily these long prayers are broken up into parts, the first one under the headings of Invocation, Confession, Pardon and Peace, Supplications, and the second one under the headings of Intercessions, Thanksgiving, Illumination, the congregational Amen, said or sung, punctuating each part.

The much praying however, does not lessen the measure of praise. The Morning Order provides besides antiphonal versicles, and The Salutation, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, besides other Hymns

or Psalms. The Evening Order has the *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, besides versicles, and three other hymns or Psalms.

A Lesson is directed to be read from the Old Testament, as well as one from the New, but the Creed does not follow in its proper place immediately after the Scriptures, *The Benedictus* intervening in the morning, *The Nunc Dimittis* in the evening, and to our amazement the rubric reads that the Creed "may be *sung* or said by the Minister and people standing." The Sermon is to conclude with an ascription of praise, which can hardly vie in appropriateness with the votum of the Lutheran Service: "The peace of God which passes all understanding," &c. The "Offering" is collected after the Sermon.

While the order remains the same, the substance of the prayers for five Sundays of the month changes somewhat, the interests of variety being thus provided for, as is also the need for special prayers. A selection from the Psalms and other Scriptures for responsive reading is appended, and the Psalms are read, as they should be, not verse about, but according to the rhythm of the thought, the response of the congregation being always the latter part of the verse.

We miss the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which, besides the ignoring of the Church Year, is the only part of the historic Service that is wanting, and, to be candid, we must pronounce the sequence of parts unhistoric, as for example, the General Prayer before the Sermon. We believe that the Church Service Society would have profited by the examination of the Lutheran Service, but we cannot withhold our admiration from a manual, which offers so excellent a change from the proverbial unattractiveness and baldness of Presbyterian worship, and the use of which is likely to become as extended in this country as it is already in the Scottish Parish Churches.

E. J. W.

MACMILLAN COMPANY, 66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation. By Robert L. Ottley, M. A. Two vols. Price \$3.50.

We can scarcely speak of these two splendid volumes, without seeming to intrude our private rapture, in perusing them, upon what ought to be the dispassionate service of the critic, in so grave a discussion as that undertaken by this author—the fact of the Incarnation, its scriptural presentation, and the history of the dogma down to the present time. Mr. Ottley has written primarily for theological students, and, wisely, on the central theme of gospel truth, on which the minds of theological students, in our day, must be profoundly and devoutly exercised.

On the opening page of Part 1st, we find the key note to the author's conception of his subject, in the answer he gives to the question, What is Christianity? "The simple answer is, that in its essence it is not an idea, nor a particular view of life, nor a speculation, but a fact,

a unique phenomenon." Coming to discuss the scriptural presentation of the doctrine of the Incarnation the author finds it everywhere witnessed in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, in the Hebrew conception of the divine immanence, in the yearning for the Messiah, in the Christology of the apostles, and above all in the theology of St. John. To the minds of all those in immediate contact with our Lord, and those following after, there was but one conception of his person—he was God manifest in the flesh, he was the divine assuming human nature, the image of the Invisible moving before the eyes of men. It was a stupendous mystery, but to those who saw him, and wrote about him, and to those who afterward drew the mystery into the endless toils of their speculative mystification, he could never be anything less than that—God coming to men in a way altogether unique.

There has, indeed, been no time in the history of the Church when the fact has not been called in question, and when on the one hand its magnitude has not been so far etherealized as to stultify the exceeding human realism of the account we have of it, or on the other side, so contracted and thinned out, as to be in no proper sense an incarnation at all. And what makes this long history of the dogma so interesting, despite the maze of schismatic wrangling and learned folly that besets it, is that John's simple *logos* conception of Jesus is constantly reasserting itself, and clinging all along, in triumph to the very heart of our Christian beliefs.

Two things we most cordially commend in Mr. Ottley's work, his comprehensive grasp and mastery of the subject, and the attractive manner in which he has set it forth. All scholarly resources bearing on his theme are freely, and even sumptuously at his command, and his method seems to be, to get at the heart of the contending systems of thought as they spring up along the ages,—‘the soul of truth in things false,’—and then give it such chaste and finished expression as the inherently lofty nature of the discussion would require. The literary quality of these volumes is in marked contrast with the traditional form in which learned theological disquisitions are wont to be put forth—there is no heaviness, no monastic intrusion of the mediaeval gown of serge. There is in our own time a growing circle of great writers on these special themes, who have thought to help their deeper insights into a wider circle of interest by having a painstaking reference to the manner in which they write, and in these Mr. Ottley is deeply read, and among them takes himself a very high rank. Whenever in these discussions he recalls a happy form of words, a *curiosa felicitas*, which has fallen from the favored moment of some great writer along the lines of thinking he is traversing, those apt words he will quote, and then in a foot note indicate where they are to be found. This is an attractive way of introducing the student to the great company of recent and con-

temporary theologians, who have thought and written profoundly and powerfully on these great themes.

In this way we often meet with Dorner—that chief among them all—and Pfeiderer, and Westcott, and Illingworth, and Luthardt, and Bruce, and Martineau, and Newman, and Hutton, and Fairbairn, and Caird, and Harnack, and Delitzsch, and Dale, and Newman Smith, and Martensen, and a host of others, with whom in our day it were a shame not to be acquainted. Their views vary, and some may have gone widely astray, but they have all attempted the rehabilitating of this central and vital dogma of the Christian faith.

The Lutheran theologian, whose right to this region fairly antedates all others, will not fail to turn to the chapter, in the second volume, on the “*Christology of the Lutheran Church*,” and elsewhere, *e. g.* on p. 271, where Luther’s distinguishing doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* is discussed. It was Luther’s conception of the person of Christ, and not, as he supposed, his much bruited doctrine of justification by faith, that gave his system its “Christocentric” character from the beginning. This is made to appear in Dr. Dorner’s great classic on the *Person of Christ*, to which Mr. Ottley, meaning in this chapter to give but the briefest statement, constantly appeals. Mr. Ottley has not, therefore, missed the order of development of this doctrine in Luther’s mind, namely, that at first, while under the warm inspiration of the *Deutsch Théologie* (1516), his notions of the incarnate and glorified person of our Lord were at their highest, but that afterward “the fair and beautiful dogma” was tarnished and travestied, when he allowed himself to carry his priceless treasure down into the dust and din of that sacramental controversy, which, from that day to this, has not ceased to disturb and divide the Church.

The matter simply hinted at by Mr. Ottley, is developed in detail by Dorner, showing definitely and historically, that Luther’s christological ideas were diverted and perverted, by being thrown into the whirlpool of religious controversy, and specifically that the christology of the *Form of Concord* is at fault. As much is asserted by Mr. Ottley, when he says concerning the Giessen and Tübingen schools of battle-scarred champions over this doctrine: “Both schools made the fundamental mistake of substituting *a priori* argument for devout study of the scriptural image of Christ” (vol. II., p. 231)—that is, as I conceive, they erred in the very act of controversy on such a subject—they and Luther ought to have left it where Luther, in his primitive enlightenment, was made the favored instrument of its discovery, in “the devout study of the scriptural image of Christ.”

I had almost said, that it is this pristine Lutheran conception of the incarnate person of Christ, that is the guiding star of Mr. Ottley’s discussion throughout these magnificent volumes, and that our theological schools cannot do better than to appropriate the rich product as their

own. If it be objected that this high view of the incarnate and glorified person of our Lord has, as a matter of history, lent itself freely to a species of æstheticism in churchly ceremonialism, and, specifically, to the sacramental mysticism that has distracted and enervated the spiritual energies of God's people wherever it has prevailed, we may answer, with Dr. Dorner, that history has admonished us against that application of the dogma, as its diversion and perversion, as inducing a sacerdotal blight, under which 'things highest into most disastrous ruin come.' Mr. Ottley has seized the subject in the devout study of the scriptural image of it, and with a characteristic fairness and hospitality of mind, has contented himself with but one simple mention of the sacramental principle, and there he lets it rest.

W. H. W.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE CO., NEW YORK.

The Lutheran Commentary. Vols. V, VI, VII and IX, as follows :

Vol. V. Annotations on the Gospel according to St. John. By Professor A. Spaeth, D. D. pp. xlv, 351.

Vol. VI. Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles. By Professor F. W. Stellhorn. pp. ix, 420.

Vol. VII. Annotations on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans and 1 Corinthians, Chaps. i-vi. By Professor Henry E. Jacobs, D. D., LL. pp. 403.

Vol. IX. Annotations on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians. By Edward T. Horn, D. D., and Professor A. G. Voigt, D. D. pp. 361.

These four volumes of the Lutheran Commentary, now in course of publication by the Christian Literature Company, constitute a most important part of the eleven that will make up the whole set. They fully justify the sub-title given to the series, viz., "A Plain Exposition of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament." The comments are characterized by an admirable and, we may say, exceptional clearness, making the books treated "plain" not merely to the preacher but even to the average layman. This has been accomplished, too, without making the commentaries less scholarly because so plain. The authors have accomplished what most theological writers would like to do but not many succeed in doing, *i. e.*, to write in a way that will interest the general reader without repelling him with terms technical to theology and phrases unfamiliar to the lay mind, and at the same time to avoid the fault chargeable to so many popular theological writers of cheapening theology by watering it. These comments, though plain, are real *expositions* that show scholarship. There is a comprehensiveness, too, rather remarkable when we consider the space allowed each volume.

The forty-two pages of Dr. Spaeth's "Prolegomena" are themselves worth far more than the price of the whole volume, and the Church

will freely acknowledge its debt to Dr. Jacobs for the excellent English dress he has given to Luther's Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. To all, indeed, will cheerfully be accorded the verdict of work well done in these commentaries.

It is a matter of gratification that the reduced price of \$1.50 per volume continues till further notice and that each present subscriber will be given one volume free for each new subscriber sent to be publishers.

FLOOD AND VINCENT, MEADVILLE, PA.

The Growth of the French Nation. By George B. Adams, Professor of History in Yale University. pp. 350. Illustrated.

French Traits. By W. C. Brownell. pp. 316.

A Study of the Sky. A Popular Astronomy. By Professor Herbert A. Howe, Director of the Chamberlin Observatory, University of Denver. pp. 340.

A Survey of Greek Civilization. By Professor J. P. Mahaffy, of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. pp. 340.

A History of Greek Art. By Professor Frank B. Tarbell, of the University of Chicago. pp. 295.

Professor Adams traces the growth of the French nation from the scattered elements of the feudal system into the centralized and unified state of to-day. Of course, in a compass so small, he has given only the salient features of the evolution and consolidation of this interesting people, but he has done this so well that the reader will get as clear and comprehensive view as many a larger work will give. The history is brought down to the present day.

In the second volume we name, Mr. Brownell, a cultured American who enjoyed several years of residence in France, portrays the most conspicuous traits of the French people in a series of charming essays, valuable alike for their subject-matter and their literary quality. He gives evidence of close observation and just discrimination as he writes of their social instinct, morality, intelligence, sense and sentiment, manners, women, the art instinct, their provincial spirit, and the democracy of the people. His last chapter, entitled "New York After Paris," gives in fine colors the peculiarities of our metropolis in contrast with Paris, with the odds largely in favor of the French capital.

A work on Astronomy usually repels by its technical and mathematical features, and finds few that will take up the study from pure choice. Here we have "A Study of the Sky" presented in popular form, which, with the aid of a hundred practical illustrations, gives quite a satisfactory outline of the science of Astronomy. Concrete material is used in such an abundance as to obviate the necessity, in great measure, of the technical and abstract. The book is up to date, giving us the latest investigations and discoveries and the best results of celestial photography.

Little need be said of Professor Mahaffy's qualifications to write of

Greek civilization. He is known the world over as a writer who has delightfully popularized the literature, social life, and educational methods of the Greeks. Here he has used all his best powers in giving a clear and interesting picture of Hellenic civilization. It is a book that will have a fascination for any intelligent reader, but above all for the student pursuing the study of the Greek language.

All of the books named at the head of this notice are well illustrated except the one on French Traits, but those on Greek Art, by Professor Tarbell, and Astronomy, by Professor Howe, surpass in the number and excellence of their illustrations. In the former we have two hundred reproductions of Greek architecture, sculpture, and painting; and with their aid Professor Tarbell gives a clear and comprehensive outline of the expression which Greek genius found in various artistic forms. It is worth far more than the price of the book to enjoy the pleasure of simply looking at these pictures.

These five books are written by men qualified in every way for their subjects. They constitute the required literature of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle for the year 1896-97. They are well printed and attractively bound in brown grain cloth artistically stamped. They constitute a course of reading unsurpassed in excellence by that of any preceding year. The price is very reasonable—\$1.00 each.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, NEW YORK.

Beulah Land. By Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D.

The part of the Pilgrims' Progress that brings the Pilgrims near the close of their journey to the Land of Beulah has suggested to Dr. Cuyler the title for his book. It is addressed throughout to those who are nearing the "bound of life," to those who have almost rounded out a full three score years and ten, or perhaps even more. This is not often a cheerful, sunshiny period, but too often the gloom of melancholy broods over it, yet Dr. Cuyler has come with a wand to dispel all clouds and darkness and to flood this evening time of life with sunshine. Each chapter is filled, not with the spirit of submission and resignation, but with the spirit of energy and interest in the world's movements. He proves most conclusively that the heart may stay young and the mind vigorous no matter how well silvered the locks are. And, too, that notwithstanding the demand for young men, it is the advice and counsel of the men advanced in years and experience that are sought when important questions are at stake. In fact he clearly shows how charming old age may be, how like to the beautiful sunset of a clear day it may become, and how it may be the very best part of life. We are sure that it is because Dr. Cuyler's own life is such a strikingly beautiful illustration of his arguments that they carry so much weight with them. This book is filled with genuine heart-to-heart talks from one who has by his earnest, thoughtful, sympathetic sermons and writings won the re-

gard and affection of perhaps more persons than has any other American minister, and they will fire with new courage the heart of many readers no longer young.

Sweetheart. By Ernest Gilmore.

A most beautiful story, illustrating the truth, "And a little child shall lead them." The child, in this instance, was an orphan who found her way into the home of a man whom disappointments and cares had soured, who cared not for his neighbor but lived a selfish, unlovely life. How this little "Sweetheart" brought peace and joy into his heart and home, how she wrought a revolution in his life, and how she led him to the pursuit of all that is best in life, is most touchingly told. Older persons will be benefited by it as they detect in themselves qualities of heart here made conspicuous, and children will be stimulated to imitate the lovely example of the pure and unselfish little heroine of this tale. Her sunny disposition will prove itself very winning to them and they must be incited to cultivate a similar one in themselves. So it will not fail of its purpose.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

The American Series of Drawing Books.

We are very much pleased with this series as well as with the books which represent the preparatory steps to it. The series includes twenty-seven numbers, and is arranged with great care and neatness. The lessons progress so skilfully that it seems any pupil without the aid of a teacher might make very decided strides in drawing. Beginning with straight lines and angles they pass on to geometrical figures, on to flowers, fruit, faces, and then to landscapes. The system of dots employed is an excellent one. While the books may be used alone, much greater benefit will of course be gained where they are used under the direction of a teacher, and we have no question but that this series will meet with the hearty approval of those who are instructors in the art of drawing.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

With My Neighbors. By Margaret E. Sangster.

It was at the suggestion of many readers that the papers which appeared first in leading weeklies were gathered together and published in this very attractive book. They cover a wide range of subjects and reveal throughout a sincere desire to relieve and comfort, to counsel and cheer, to lift up and in every manner help those who in any way are conscious of needing direction or sympathy. Parents and children who read these talks must gain many valuable hints for making happy lives in happy homes; we know of no one who so thoroughly understands the writing on ideal domestic life as does Mrs. Sangster. She has here discussed every phase of home-life and never once does she under-

value the importance of a broader life than that confined within the walls of home. She has also touched upon school-life; society; the servant problem; dress; ways in which women may earn a livelihood; and scores of other subjects are treated in her very best style.

We would speed on its way this hopeful, helpful book, knowing that into the homes it goes it will bring messages that will gladden and brighten the hearts about the hearthstones.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

The Historic Episcopate: A Study of Anglican Claims and Methodist Orders. By R. J. Cooke, D. D. pp. 224.

The overture of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in 1886, proposing a basis of union with other Protestant Churches, and of the Lambeth Conference of English Bishops, two years later, contained four conditions of such union, the fourth one being the acceptance of the "Historic Episcopate." This overture has called forth many answers both from individuals and church conventions. This is an answer from a Methodist who has given the matter careful investigation. He is led by his study not only to question the validity of the historic episcopate in the Church of England, but even to declare its actual nullity. In his sixth chapter will be found his evidence and argument on this point. The very grounds on which the Anglicans rule out other Protestants will rule themselves out, and the same arguments they use in behalf of themselves will also include the others. He gives (p. 122) Francis Mason's answer to a Romanist, and then asks: "If Cranmer, on Mason's reasoning, was in the succession, was not Luther, and Bucer, and Zwingli, and Calvin, and Knox, and all the leaders of the Presbyterians and their successors?" To those who are disposed to examine this figment, so earnestly insisted upon as a condition of union among Protestants, this book will prove very interesting if not convincing.

The Creed and Prayer. By J. Wesley Johnston, D. D. Introduction by William V. Kelley, D. D. pp. 284.

Here are twenty-one sermons delivered on twenty-one Sunday evenings by Dr. Johnston in his church in Brooklyn, N. Y. He claims that it is the only volume of sermons on the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, thus far published under Methodist auspices. He finds gratification in the fact that "its appearance is coincident with the action of our General Conference, which enjoins the use of the Apostles' Creed in our regular Sabbath services," and says that it "falls in opportunely with the present desire of the Church in giving prominence to these sacred formulæ of profession and supplication, the one authoritative with the command of Christ, the other venerable with the consensus and hallowed by the worship of the saints through many Christian centuries." It certainly is something unusual for a Methodist minister to

use a number of successive Sunday evenings for the exposition of the Apostles' Creed, and we suspect he is quite right in his supposition that his is the first book of this kind in his Church. He recognizes the trend toward the enrichment of worship and the study of doctrine, and gives his hearty approval. On one page he says, "Doctrines, creeds, and catechetical instruction are indispensable for making intelligent and biblically educated Christians," and on another, "Churches which remand creeds and catechisms to the limbo of historical cabinets are substituting make-believe for believing." These discourses have a freshness about them and a richness of illustration that make them highly entertaining to the reader as well as useful. They constitute an excellent contribution to the literature on the two subjects treated.

Nature and Christ: A Revelation of the Unseen. Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, 1896. By Joseph Agar Beet, D. D. pp. 184.

Associated with the summer resort is rest, diversion, entertainment—high living and plain, very plain, thinking. At some of them, however, the summer school has found a welcome, and pretty solid thinking goes on with helpful recreation and recuperation. Here are some lectures delivered at Ocean Grove the past summer. They are on theological themes and hence not light and easy. The average sea-shore visitor would not find them attractive. But they were delivered at a Summer School of Theology, and we venture the statement that they were just as entertaining as instructive to the select class of hearers enrolled in that school. The author is Professor of Systematic Theology in Wesleyan College, Richmond, England. The subjects of his lectures included Religion and Theology; The Universal Revelation in Nature; The Historical Revelation in Christ; The Gospel of Pardon; The Superhuman Claims of Christ; The Supernatural Outward Attestations; The Inward Attestations; Results Attained—their Relation to the Bible, to the Church, and to the Christian Life. The first session of the school was held in 1895, but the publication of a volume containing lectures selected from the programme was not begun till this year. It is the purpose of the management to do this annually. The initial volume is a most excellent leader.

PERIODICALS.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the *Century* magazine for October is the concluding chapters of Prof. Sloane's *Life of Napoleon* which has attracted the attention of scholars all over the land and has won from them the highest encomiums of praise. A paper About French Children; Glare in the Heart of Africa and A Study of Mental Epidemics are the important papers in this issue. The second part of Amelia E. Barr's story, *Prisoners of Conscience*, appears in this num-

ber, and it is one of the strongest, one of the most thoroughly artistic, and in every sense admirable stories that has appeared for some time. On account of its dealing with the doctrine of election it is likely to excite great interest among many who care little for fiction. Sir George Tressady is also concluded in this number, as is W. D. Howells' *An Open-Eyed Conspiracy*. A serial soon to appear in the *Century* will come from the pen of Dr. Weir Mitchell, and it promises to be one of very unusual interest.

The Atlantic Monthly for October contains discussions of many important and timely subjects, among them: The Political Menace of the Discontented; The Imperiled Dignity of Science; and The Law and Girls in a Factory Village. One of the most notable articles of the year appears in this number—Five American Contributions to Civilization. Sunday in New Netherlands and New York; Margaret Fuller in a New Aspect; The Fate of the Coliseum and "Tis Sixty Years Since" at Harvard, are all excellent papers by well known contributors. The fiction of this number is exceptionally bright and a paper in her usually fine style comes from Agnes Repplier. The *Comments on New Books* and *The Contributors Club* are full of helpful hints in the selection of books and of entertainment.

St. Nicholas for October is full of bright stories, poems, puzzles and pictures. Indeed the editors seem to have thought that because vacation was ended, it should therefore not be all work for their readers, and so they have filled their magazine this month with what was specially calculated to please their youthful readers. Ogres and Gobolinks and the always fascinating dwellers in Fairy-land are here to greet their friends. It is enough to say that among the contributors to this number are Tudor Jenks, Laura E. Richards, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Isabel F. Hapgood, Noah Brooks and William O. Stoddard. A story of the time of Shakespere will be the leading serial for the new volume of *St. Nicholas*. It will be begun in the November number.

The October issue of *Table Talk* contains an article on "The Foods of Some of the North American People." This issue contains an article on Hallowe'en and its entertainments that will be particularly welcome. A paper on "Childlife in Japan" and another of the "Friends in Council" series are interesting. Dainty English Desserts; Creole Recipes; Housekeepers' Inquiries and the always acceptable Menus for the month are perhaps the most welcome contents to the average housekeeper. A sample copy of this delightful magazine can be obtained free by writing to the *Table Talk Publishing Co.*, of Philadelphia.

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